THE LIFE AND LEGEND OF GODFREY OF BOUILLON:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CULTURAL

HERO IN ART AND LITERATURE

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the

University of North Texas in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Kathryn R. Lynass, B.A.

Denton, Texas

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In the fourteenth century, Jacques de Longuyon popularized the theme of the nine worthies in his poem *Les Voeux du Paon*. Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine and Protector of the Holy Sepulchre, was the last of the Christian Worthies in the poem. In his life and legends he exemplified the medieval world's heroic ideal. His achievement, the recovery of the Holy City for Christianity, was the pinnacle—the crowning glory—for the western world. By examining the historical fact of Godfrey's life and comparing it to legends and artistic renderings of that life, one can learn more about the time during which he lived and the people of which he was a part.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE CONCEPT OF HERO

Who is there ... that does not experience a delight when he hears of the deeds, and sayings, and councils of our ancestors, of the Africani and of the other brave men who were excellent in every virtue?[1]

The theme of hero—a figure larger than life—extends back to ancient times, when "hero" meant part human, part divine. Heroes, whether ancient or modern, attract myths. As myths develop into legends, from assumed knowledge to a recognizable historical past, the individuals gain in authenticity. Heroes of all ages lose their historical past as it becomes buried under their legends and stories. In this way, they lose some of their stature as historical people but their images regain prestige through the growth and spread of their legend. If the legend overwhelms the hero to the extent that we lose sight of the known facts, replacing them with noble deeds and noble reasons for those deeds, we lessen our understanding of the events and the times during which the hero played a leading part. We both gain and lose by this. The historical facts blur with time and with the growth and emphasis of the legend but as a society, we develop a history, a background and backdrop, for our understanding.

Cicero's question, asking if we enjoy hearing of the deeds and actions of our ancestors, applies to modern audiences just as much as it did to those in his own period.

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[1]Cicero, *De Finibus*, lib. iii. Quoted in Kenelon Henry Digby, *The Broad Sword of Honor* (London: Edward Lumley, 1844), 11.

Our heroes may not be "excellent in every virtue" but they do excel at the one thing for which they earn our admiration. Society upholds men and women, warriors and saints, leaders and statesmen as ideals, as persons to emulate, to look to for guidance, wisdom, and strength of mind and body. For society, the hero becomes the ideal for our imitation.

During the Middle Ages, the people saw the world changing around them and did not know how much, if any, control they could exert over those changes. Their writings, both secular and spiritual, had reflected their search for the ideal, whether saints, warriors, or Christ himself. In the fourteenth century, Jacques de Longuyon listed nine exemplary heroes in his *Les Voeux du paon* (*The Vows of the Peacock*) and created an archetype for the medieval west.[2] A continuation of the fourth-century *Roman d'Alexandre*, his poem glorified the heroism of Alexander's enemy, Porrus, while bringing the knights of the poem in line with fourteenth-century chivalric ideals rather than the practises common in their own time. In the poem, Porrus fought as never a man had fought before, more bravely than the nine heroes of old: Alexander, Hector, Julius Caesar, David, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon.[3] Jacques de Longuyon's chronology gave the idea of listing the noblest men and women who ever lived a clear, concrete form which was retained for centuries afterward.

This poem reflected the changing interests in literature in the Middle Ages. Although tales of worthy individuals were common at an earlier time the stories were generally lives of the saints, kings, and folk heroes. Possibly the earliest known *Life* of an exemplary figure was Xenophon's fictionalized account of Cyrus the Great, the *Cyropedia*, in the fourth century B.C.[4] The seventh and eighth-century lives of the saints emphasized

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[2] The poem, *Les Voeux de paon*, in John Barbour, *The Buik of Alexander, or The Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conquerour Alexander the Grit* , edited with notes and glossary by R. L. Graeme Ritchie, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1929),   .

[3] For relevant lines of the poem, see Appendix I.

[4] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, tr. Walter Miller, (London: William Heinemann, 1925), vii-xiii.

their sanctity; their heroic dimension stemmed from their faith rather than their ability to succeed in this world. By the thirteenth century, however, people began looking for an ideal to fit their more martial society. This ideal became the medieval concept of the knight and the virtues upheld were those stressed by chivalry—nobility of mind and person, courage, liberality and largesse, strength, and loyalty. While saints' lives continued to hold an important place in the literature of the era, romances and *chansons de geste* extolling a knight's deeds emerged as the overwhelming popular literature. As a later essayist commented, "For as the image of each action styrreth and instructeth the mind, so the loftie image of such Worthies most inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy, and informes with counsel how to be worthy."[5]

Chansons de geste were the culmination of a long and now largely unknown oral tradition of epic chants, which in the later years was inspired by the legends of Charlemagne in his role as a defender of Christianity and of other great families associated with the emperor in Northern France. As the northern trouvères and jongleurs composed and performed them, the *chansons* grew to encompass local heroes' and their deeds, including stories about their progenitors and their descendents. The themes and heroes in the poets' tales closely approximated society's own way of life and interests—warfare and a world ordered around war. Jacques de Longuyon's nine worthies echoed this interest; all were warriors and battle leaders glorified for their skill in arms.

The Nine Worthies included three men each from the three laws of the medieval, Western world: the pagan, the Hebrew, and the Christian. The poet probably chose each hero for his place in the mind of the audience as one of the greatest men of the age in which

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[5]Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1583), *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, (Oxford, 1904)I:179. *See also*, Eugene M. Waith, "Heywood's Women Worthies," in *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Norman T. Burns and Christopher J. Reagan, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975), 222.

he lived. Medieval sympathies, following the older tradition of Homer and the *Aneid*, held the Trojans as victors and Hector, as the hero from Troy, was a warrior to whom they looked as a precedent for their own society.[6] Julius Caesar was ideologically the father of the Roman emperors for medieval society even though the empire did not begin until Caesar Augustus, his great nephew and adopted son.[7] Charlemagne represented the change from a classical to a medieval world during his reign, moving from Roman ideas to a medieval, Christian rule.[8] The long tradition of the others culminated in the figure of Godfrey of Bouillon, as the leader of Jerusalem and of the remaining crusading forces as Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre and so-called King of Jerusalem after the city's recovery by the Western forces in the First Crusade.[9] Through the development of his character in legends and later literature and art, medieval society came to believe that not all the places for the most honored heroes were filled. Godfrey was so contemporaneous to themselves, that medieval people could look at him as one of their own and know that what he achieved could also be accomplished by others.

Jacques de Longuyon and his poem

The author of *Les Voeux du paon* was probably a jongleur, a minstrel with multiple skills in recitation, gymnastics, music, and foolery in general, but Jacques de Longuyon

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[6]*See* ll. 1-16, Appendix I. One example of the medieval preference for Troy is the *Roman de Troie* (c. 1160), a French verse romance which transformed epic heroes into Christian knights and made the defeated Trojans rather than the victorious Greeks the heroes. For information on this romance, *see The Story of Troilus*, as told by Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Giovanni Boccacio, Geoffrey Chaucer, and Robert Henryson, ed. R. K. Gordon, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), xi-xviii. *See* Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Le Roman de Troie*, 3-22.

[7]*See* ll. 28-44, Appendix I.

[8]*See* ll. 100-06, Appendix I.

[9]*See* ll. 107-13, Appendix I.

was perhaps better educated and of a higher social status than the ordinary minstrel.[10] His primary audience was the landed gentry of Lorraine and their households. The names in Jacques de Longuyon's poems, including *Les Voeux du paon*, were similar to many of the names in the family of Godfrey of Bouillon, who was tied to the area through his mother's family and his own position as Duke of Lower Lorraine. The poet may have included Godfrey as one of the nine because of this tie, but, while many poets upheld diverse people as worthies, often including regional heroes in arms or letters, the nine listed in *Les Voeux du paon* continued from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries to represent the most worthy individuals in literature, art, and music. Godfrey could hardly have been included in these listings if he was not considered an equal of the other eight. A nineteenth-century historian titled his first book in a series on chivalry 'Godefrius' in honor of Godfrey of Bouillon whose rule corresponded with the ideal of perfection in the social order according to the writers of his age, and whose personal qualities exemplified heroism to such a degree, that, "according to an ancient chronicle, an infedel [*sic.*] king was heard to say, 'If the honor of the world were feeble, Duke Godfrey is all that is needed to recover and maintain it.'"[11]

Les Voeux du paon was the earliest known treatment of these nine worthies as a group, and was translated into Scottish as *The Avows of Alexander* (c. 1438).[12] During the reign of David II in Scotland, Jacques de Longuyon's poem was widely popular because of its connection with the Alexander of the legends, who was tied to the first leader of the Scots, Gadifer. The author probably chose to translate the poem because of that

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[10]Information on Jacques de Longuyon taken from John Barbour, *The Buik of Alexander, or The Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conquerour Alexander the Grit*, edited with notes and glossary by R. L. Graeme Ritchie, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1929), Introduction, xxxv ff.

[11]"*Quand tout l'honneur du monde seroit faille et assorbe, que le duc Godefroy est suffisant pour le recouvrer et meter dessus,*" Kenelon Henry Digby, *The Broad Stone of Honour: or the True Sense and Practice of Chivalry*, (London: Edward Lumley, 1844), 9.

[12]Ritchie, vol. 1,

popularity. A translation was needed because, while French was known and spoken at the Scottish court, a vernacular edition of the poem would benefit "thame that na Romanes can," for those unfamiliar with French.[13] Also widely popular on the continent, the poem was translated into most of the chief languages of Western Europe, including Spanish, Dutch, and English,[14] and it inspired generations of artists and poets from the early fourteenth to the twentieth century.

The idea of the worthies was not novel to Jacques de Longuyon; he may have been inspired by a latent medieval tradition which existed in popular songs of the time. A thirteenth-century example of listing men as ideals for a medieval audience was Philip Mouskés' rhyming chronicle representing the three laws of the Western world with three heroes: Hector, Judas Maccabeus, and Ogier the Dane from a Carolingian legend.[15] Jacques de Longuyon's listing, however, created a definite vogue for using his particular nine. A number of other treatments of these nine appeared soon after Longuyon's, including *The Parlement of the Three Ages* (c. 1370), *The Alliterative Morte Arthure* (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century), and the *Ballad of the Nine Nobles* (c. fifteenth century).[16]

Chivalry and the Chivalric ideal

Treating a worthy as a larger than life figure was not restricted to Jacques de Longuyon's nine only but served other poets as well. Gilbert of the Haye translated Honoré Bonet's *Tree of Battles* in 1456, and listed some of the worthiest men of the time,

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[13]Ritchie, vol. 1, cxcv-cxcviii.
[14]Ritchie, vol. 1, xlii, n. 2.
[15]*See* Isaac Gollancz, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, (London: Nichols and Sons, 1897), 120.
[16]Numerous other allusions to the Nine Worthies in medieval and modern literature and representations of them in art and music will be discussed in the following chapters.

including "Ector, Alexander, Julius Cesar, Josue, Judas, David and Salamon the wys, Sampson the wicht, Absolon the faire, Arthure, Charlis, Goddefray of Bayllonu with mony ane othir full worthy."[17] Occasionally, Jacques de Longuyon's nine were supplemented with the addition of a tenth worthy or one of the original nine was replaced by someone else since courtier poets sometimes added their masters' names to the roster of the nine as a tribute to their deeds. These additions included Pierre de Lusiguan, Bayard, Francis I, Henry IV of England, Henry VI and VII, Guy of Warwick, Robert the Bruce, and Bertrand du Guesclin.[18] The poets and their audiences realized that the example of the past and the history of chivalry was ever changing and part of the reason other worthies were added to the nine stemmed from this realization. From the fourteenth century, however, the nine from Jacques de Longuyon's poem were generally accepted as the definitive set and any other listing had to contend with that fact.

The Nine Worthies of Jacques du Longuyon's poem were for the most part warrior chieftains whose virtues were manifested in their deeds. The poet portrayed them as chivalric knights, regardless of the traditions and practices of their own era. In the period of the *chansons de geste*, *chevalier* meant little more than horseman or knight; but, the medieval poets never spoke of a bad *chevalier*; only of a good, courageous, valiant, or bold knight. This distinction implied a higher meaning for the word. Eventually, *chevalerie* also changed its meaning from merely the act of being a knight to specific actions and prowess in arms. Medieval poets wrote on the idea of fair play with a set of rules regulating warfare and the behavior of knights in warfare in the romances and these writings form the basis of the idea of chivalry proper.

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[17]Gilbert of the Haye, *The Buke of the Law of Armys or Buke of Bataillis*, as quoted in *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet*, tr. G. W. Coopland, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 65, note 149.
[18]The additional worthies will be discussed below, in chapter 3.

Chivalry developed from the idea of knighthood, an institution based on personal allegiance and the right to bear knightly arms.[19] The ideas of chivalry and knighthood were inextricably bound together by the thirteenth century, and the romances of wondrous deeds and the manuals codifying correct behavior reflect this. Probably the most popular handbook for chivalry was Ramond Lull's thirteenth-century work, *Libre del ordre de cavalayria*, in which he codified the duties and obligations of a knight.[20] Many other books along the same lines preceded and followed Lull's work. The authors of the chivalric biographies and handbooks treated chivalry as the only acceptable way of life for society and instructed others in its precepts. The ideas of chivalry—honor, valor, skill in arms, and largesse—gradually emerged into the rules propounded by both the poets and the manual writers. Even well into the fifteenth century very few changes occurred in the idea of chivalry. Alain Chartier in his *Le breviaire des nobles* listed twelve virtues based on general information from earlier writings and ideas: nobility, loyalty, honor, righteousness, prowess, love, courtesy, diligence, cleanliness, generosity, sobriety, and perseverance.[21] This fifteenth-century list came the closest to an all-embracing definition of chivalry. Romances more than any other source, including these manuals and the lessons learned on the battlefield, taught medieval society the art of chivalry. It was the

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[19]A knight was allowed to carry only certain weapons into battle including a sword, a lance, a helmet, and armor. He generally disdained using a crossbow or a longbow because of the impracticality of using them from horseback, gentleman were not to kill from a distance but rather face their enemy one on one, and the fact that archers were from the lesser ranks of society. For further information on a knight's equipment, see Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry*, (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1984), 198-200 and Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), *passim.*

[20]Raymond Lull, "Book of the Order of Knighthood," quoted by Gilbert Hay in William Matthews' translation, "Political Philosophers: Sir Gilbert Hay, 'The Book of the Order of Knighthood,' *Later Medieval English Prose*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), 168-73. For more information *see* below, Chapter 4, 137-38.

[21]For information on the poet and the poem, including a copy of it in its entirety, see *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier*, ed. J. C. Laidlaw, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 395-409. In this poem, Alain Chartier intended to list the duties incumbant upon the nobility, defining and describing *noblesse* by dividing the subject into twelve separate virtues and writing a ballad for each. The date of composition was unknown, but probably took place between 1416 and 1424. *Also see* Barber, 154.

ideas engendered by these stories that inspired and fixed the concept of knight in the Middle Ages and the ages that followed.

Medieval society admired the heroic image of the Nine Worthies, but the concept of what was heroic and the word 'hero' was vastly different in the Middle Ages than previously. Poets and society used the word 'worthy' or *preux* rather than the word 'hero' until the fifteenth century when gradually worthy, *preux*, hero, and noble became interchangeable. The word hero meant various things at different times and in different cultures. In the Indo-European languages, 'hero' meant a protector or helper; while in Greek it meant one who was super-human or semi-divine.[22] In most European cultures by the Middle Ages, the concept of a hero or a worthy meant someone who was outstanding in some area, generally as a warrior but occasionally as a saintly person.

Medieval heroes were either historical figures, conquerors like Alexander the Great or Charlemagne, saints like Alfred or Brendan, or main characters in poems like Hector or Arthur.[23] Medieval audiences required their worthies in art, literature, and fact to possess the chivalric virtues of valor, honor, graciousness, and strength as well as the others listed by Alain Chartier. In addition, the poets gave the worthies many of the vices of their age, including pride, rashness of temper, and ruthlessness against the enemy, to make the worthy seem more human. Heroes in the romances were outstanding men who upheld the ideals of heroic action and virtues as great military leaders, chieftains, kings, or valiant knights. The world of the hero resembled the world of the poets' audience, a world revolving around war. In the later Middle Ages, the role of the hero gradually changed from a warrior in the tradition of Roland and Oliver to a man with more human and sometimes even humorous qualities. The later romances even poked fun at the heroes and

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[22]Morton W. Bloomfield, "The Problem of the Hero in the Later Medieval Period," in Burns and Reagan, *Concepts of the Hero*, 27.

[23]Bruce W. Wardropper, "The Epic Hero Superseded," in Burns and Reagan, *Concepts of the Hero*, 198.

their idealistic stances. The author of the *Gwain*, for instance, made fun of the Knights of the Round Table throughout his tale, treating them as baffoons and dollards. In the poem, Arthur, instead of the majestic king portrayed in the Vulgate was

> boisterous and merry as a boy. ...
>
> His blood ran young, and his brain was restless,
>
> And he liked to be gay, he hated lying
>
> About or sitting long at a time.[24]

While the ideal of the hero knight was still upheld as a worthy goal, the battles changed and the role of the knight in those battles changed, not just on the field of honor but in the world at large.

Later medieval and early Renaissance society felt the need for someone beyond their daily scope, more a thinking man than just a warrior.[25] The Renaissance poet needed to invest his heroes with moral and theological virtues as well as the medieval martial skills. The classical hero was no longer acceptable; rather, he needed both material and ethical weapons to meet the approval of a Renaissance audience. Writers in the Renaissance developed more individualistic heroes; men who possessed public virtue, charisma, civic duty, even openly-acknowledged faults. Petrarch raised up new heroes, not just kings or warriors, but statesmen, soldiers, poets, scholars, and civic people. He wrote of those he considered important or heroic because of some outstanding quality of mind more than of action. Echoing Cicero were Petrarch's examples of Horatius Cocles and Scipio Africanus, heroes because of their statesmanship and the fact that they served their country

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[24]*Sir Gwain and the Green Knight*, ll. 85-89, tr. and intro. Burton Raffel, (New York: The New American Library, Inc., Mentor Books, 1970).

[25]John M. Steadman, "The Arming of an Archetype, Heroic Virtue and the Conventions of Literary Epic," in Burns and Reagan, *Concepts of the Hero*, 147.

true and well.[26] Petrarch wrote that Scipio "used to declare that he was born to serve his country. Ever eager to praise the Roman people and to turn his own glory to their credit, he would exhort the friends his merits won him to transfer their feelings of friendship to Rome."[27] In the same way, Castiglione, in the fifteenth century, thought the conquering hero no longer existed. He believed arms were a means of developing gentlemanly skills and character, and to acquire a quiet manner possessing "a kind of impressive boldness about it, because it seems to arise not from anger but from deliberation, and to be ruled by reason rather than by appetite."[28] Instead of heroes, society had 'great men' and people knew that they too could grow to greatness by studying past heroes.

Conclusion

Godfrey of Bouillon did not fit the Renaissance concept of hero. He was a war leader rather than a scholar, fighting first in the emperor's wars against the Saxons and later in the Crusade. But at the time Jacques de Longuyon composed his poem, Godfrey was the ideal. Many individuals took Godfrey as their own personal example. In the twelfth century, a partisan of Matilda during the English Civil War chose "the worthy deed of our famous ancestors" as an example of the kind of men he admired:

When I look back at those men who obeyed the command of the pope, who left so many and so much and who, as loyal knights [*boni milites*] captured

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[26]R. R. Bogar, "Hero or Anti-Hero? The Genesis and Development of the *Miles Christianus*," in Burns and Reagan, *Concepts of the Hero*, 128.

[27]Petrarch, *De Viris illustribus*, as quoted in *Prose*, ed. Guido Martellotti, et. al., (Milan: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1955), 234.

[28]Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, tr. Charles S. Singleton, illus Edgar de N. Mayhew, (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1959), 108. *See also*, Wardropper, in Burns and Reagan, *Concepts of the Hero*, 202-03.

Jerusalem by arms and assault and there established Godfrey, a good and legitimate king … I do not fear.[29]

And in the fourteenth century, Bertrand du Guesclin, the so-called tenth worthy, admired Godfrey, upholding him as a fine example of the chivalric ideal because "he took no account of pomp and trappings, and for him it was enough that he should be mounted and armed reasonably."[30]

The legends which developed around him and his family after his death provided Godfrey with a clear right to his place among the nine. His family was tied to the Grail legends through the story of the Swan-Knight, and to the Grail keepers, including Joseph of Arimathea, the Fisher King, Perceval, and Galahad.[31] The Grail became a very important symbol in medieval poetry. Sandwiched between the romance of *Lancelot* and the Death of Arthur in the Vulgate Cycle of the Arthurian romances, the Grail legend infused chivalric history with Christian principles in a way most other romances did not.[32] Even more than his ties to the Grail legend, Godfrey's place among the Nine Worthies was important because he symbolized how chivalry was still in the process of evolving, that it had not yet been completed. His inclusion meant that a hero need not be ancient to be of considerable worth as an example of the chivalric ideal.

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[29]Christopher Tyreman, *England and the Crusades: 1095-1588*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 261.

[30]From a MS in the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. MS 11407 fo. 73. Quoted in Keen, 153.

[31]The legend of the Swan-Knight and Godfrey's ties to it will be more fully explained in a later chapter. For information on the legend and the lineage of the Grail keepers, see Keen, *Chivalry*, 122-23.

[32]Most romances concerned themselves with courtly love and chivalric actions. While the *Quest of the Holy Grail* also dealt with these subjects, the poem moved to a higher place of understanding. Instead of the flawed Lancelot, the pure Galahad became the ideal; so, instead of the earthly struggles and benefits common in earlier romances, the *Grail* represented the pursuit toward Christ's promised salvation. *See* Fanni Boydanow, *The Romance of the Grail: A Study of the Structure and Genesis of a Thirteenth-century Arthurian Prose Romance*, (New York: Burnes and Noble, Inc., 1966).

CHAPTER 2

ART AND LITERATURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Not all lies, nor all true, all foolishness, nor all sense; so much have the storytellers told, and so much have the makers of fables fabled to embellish their stories that they have made all seem fable.[1]

C. S. Lewis wrote, "The characteristic activity of the medieval ... author is precisely 'touching up' something that was already there."[2] The same thing could be applied to the medieval artist, since both took examples, subjects, themes, and ideas readily available and transformed them into original works. Borrowing from one source or another—either using quotations and images or allusions to the other source—was not considered plagiarism. Instead, it illustrated the far-ranging knowledge of the artist or writer, who read widely in various subjects or knew about techniques and works created by others. The audience often knew or knew of the original, just as today we know when we hear lines from Shakespeare, Homer, or the like without being able to "quote chapter and verse" or even definitely say where the line is from.

A majority of medieval literature concerned the heroic ideal—the warrior, chieftain, or saint—and the position of that ideal in society's material and spiritual culture. The personae of the heroes in these stories generated images which dominated the individuals,

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[1]Wace, *Roman de Brut*, 1.10038 ff., from *Arthurian Chronicles Represented by Wace and Layamon*, intro. Lucy Allen Paton, (New York: Everyman's Library, 1912), x.
[2]C. S. Lewis, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, Collected by Walter Hooper, (Cambridge: University Press, 1966), 37.

reducing and replacing their historical value with mythical ones. In medieval literature romances, epics, chronicles, prose and poetry—the heroes earned fame through their martial deeds, their position in society, and their noble spirit. The men and women portrayed in the lives of the saints were treated in the same way as were those in the secular stories; the only difference, for the most part, was who or what the individuals battled. Celtic monks fought the immaterial—temptation, sin, and the devil—while Beowulf and his companions fought the material—Grendel. Both groups, however, were heroes.

Medieval art is essentially Christian art, developing around and building upon the heroic and Christian virtues often present in medieval prose and poetry. The three characteristics of medieval iconography are art as a script preserving ancient symbolism, as a calculus of the mystical numbers, and as a symbolic code whereby the artist "must imitate God who under the letter of Scripture hid profound meaning, and who willed that nature too should hold lessons for man."[3] Literature often provided subjects for the artist. The Bible and holy writings easily lent themselves to narrative decoration because they often taught in the form of a story. The epics of the secular world were treated in the same manner, especially after they acquired a veneer of Christianity. The use of Roland, from the *Chanson de Roland,* as a decorative devise illustrates this. He appeared in numerous art works, including the stained-glass windows depicting the story of the *Chanson de Roland* at the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Chartres; the stone sculptures on an interior wall of Rheims Cathedral; and the metalwork on the *Karlsreliquiar* at Aachen Cathedral.[4]

The crusades were also a popular subject for medieval art and literature, especially the First Crusade. Legends and tales developed around the crusaders and their activities,

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[3]Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century,* tr. Dora Nussey, (New York: Harper & Row, 1972),14. Information on the three characteristics taken from Mâle, Introduction.
[4]*See* Douglas David Roy Owen, *The Legend of Roland: A Pageant of the Middle Ages*, (New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1973), 18-22, 57, 133, and 171.

starting with stories brought back to the West by soldiers and non-combatants, letters sent

home by those in the east, and chronicles recording the lives of the crusaders while on the

journey. Regardless of the fact that many of the participants could not write themselves,

not even the upper classes, most of the crusaders sent back word to their families and

friends telling of their adventures on the journey, the exotic people, places, and things they

encountered, and their reactions to their foreign experiences.[5] They often sent open letters

home rather than personal ones since the news was intended to be shared with a wide

audience. These letters were like the instructional letters from bishops to their

congregations and were meant to be shared from the pulpit and passed by word of mouth to

neighboring towns and villages. One letter meant to be shared in this manner came from a

large group of signers and was addressed to "the primates, archbishops, bishops, and other

rectors, and to all the faithful of the lands of Christ anywhere."[6] Stephen of Blois wrote

his wife news of the crusaders' activities, often addressing his letters to "Adele, his

sweetest and most amiable wife, to his dear children, and to all his vassals of all ranks."[7]

From this, he obviously meant his tidings to be shared not only with his family but with his

retainers as well, which amounted to nearly everyone in the surrounding countryside.

Letters like these sparked an interest in and a need for further information about the crusade

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[5]For a partial listing of the more important letters from the period, *see* Runciman, Appendix I, 333. For examples of specific letters, *see* "The News Spreads: The Letter of Manasses II, Archbishop of Reims," "The News Spreads: The Letter of Pope Paschal II," "Anselme of Ribemont to Manasses II, Archbishop of Reims (Antioch, about February 10, 1098)," "Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, to his Wife, Adele (Antioch, March 29, 1098)," "Anselme of Ribemont to Manasses II, Archbishop of Reims (Antioch, July, 1098)," "The People of Lucca on Crusade to all Faithful Christians (Antioch, October, 1098)," and "Godfrey, Raymond, and Daimbert to the Pope (Laodicea, September, 1099)" in *The First Crusade: the Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 218-20, 222-27, 229-37.

[6]"The People of Lucca on Crusade to All Faithful Christians (Antioch, October, 1098)," in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials,* ed. and intro. Edward Peters, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 232 The letter just relates the news of this group up to that time in the crusade, how Bruno went by ship to Antioch and what took place during the siege of that city.

[7]"Stephen, Count of Blois and Chartres, to his wife, Adele (Antioch, March 29,1098)," in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, 225.

and the crusaders as people hoped to hear from their family members or lords to hear from their vassals.

The different tales told by the crusaders gradually blended with the chroniclers' histories, creating source material for romances and poetry. The crusade influenced later works with their exotic locales and people; inspiring men to sing the praises of hero saints, men-at-arms, and others who participated in the great journey.[8] It focused society's religious enthusiasms and opened the West to new experiences and ideas. Instead of searching for heroes in saints' cloistered cells—men contemplating heavenly armies of angels in paintings—medieval society looked at men in the thick of battle— knights who, assisted by God, defeated the enemy.

Godfrey of Bouillon, a pious, honorable knight, gained his position as Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre and *de facto* ruler of the reconquered Jerusalem because of the warrior skills he displayed during the First Crusade and the Christian virtues he embodied which his chroniclers related. But Godfrey joined many other worthy individuals in the crusade, ones with the same skills, position, virtues, nobility, and chroniclers of their own. Raymond of Aguilers and Anna Comnena described Raymond of St. Gilles in glowing terms, relating the "courage and wisdom the Count displayed ... [while] fighting constantly at the rear and ever defending his people,"[9] and his "superior intellect, his untarnished reputation, the purity of his life ... [and how] he honoured truth above all else."[10] Anna in particular thought Raymond of St. Gilles was a truly honorable man, even for a Latin. "In fact, Saint-Gilles outshone all Latins in every quality, as the sun is brighter than the

[8]Heinrich von Sybel, *History and Literature of the Crusades,* tr. Lady Duff Gordon, (London: George Rutledge and Sons, Ltd., n.d.), 99.
[9]Raymond of Aguilers, in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Material,* tr. and notes Martha E. McGinty, ed. Edward Peters, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971),119.
[10]Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad,* tr. E. R A. Sewter, (New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1987), 330.

stars."[11] She disliked most of the crusaders, seeing them a barbarians. She had the least amount of good things to say of Bohemond in fact, calling him, among other things, "the supreme mischief-maker."[12] The author of the *Gesta Francorum* described Bohemond as a mighty and honorable man, and always tried to present him in the best possible light. The author referred to him as the great warrior and the most excellent lord.[13] William of Tyre related many stories about Raymond, Tancred, Baldwin, and Godfrey, but he emphasized the duke's role in the expedition. Anna Comnena did not care much for Godfrey, probably stemming from the misunderstandings between the duke and her father, the emperor Alexius, when the Lorrainers first reached Constantinople. The best she has to say of him is that he was rich, and "proud of his noble birth, his own courage and the glory of his family," but she thought he was just like all the other crusaders in his desire "to surpass his fellows."[14]

Jacques de Longuyon's choice of Godfrey to fill out his list of the most worthy knights rather than one of these others depended almost as much on Godfrey's legendary persona as on his historical person. As the last of the nine worthies of Longuyon's *Les Voeux de paon*, Godfrey of Bouillon was upheld since his death as a guiding light for western Christianity with legends illustrating his life written, sung, and depicted in art since the time of his death until the nineteenth century. The artists and authors of the works were interested in preserving the ideal as much as preserving the actual history surrounding Godfrey and the other heroes.

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[11]Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 330.
[12]Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 329.
[13]*Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum (The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem)* ed. Rosalind Hill, (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962), 8. Steven Runciman, in his *History of the Crusades, vol. 1 The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951) says Bohemond regarded the chronicle as his *apologia* and himself hawked it round northern France, 330.
[14]Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, 329.

Literature in the Middle Ages

Early literature and art dealt with religious stories or settings in one form or another, and while these were never completely replaced by the stories of knights and romance, they were displaced as the central interest. Lives of the saints written in Latin became the source material for the earliest vernacular studies. English versions of saint's lives, like Bede's prose *Life of St. Cuthbert* (8th c.) and an earlier anonymous verse *Life* which he closely followed are examples in the vernacular. The anonymous *Life of Cuthbert (c.* 699) was one of the first examples of this type of writing in English.[15] It followed some of the same principles found in the Latin *Vitae* of the same subject. The oldest surviving hagiographic text in French, the *Cantilene de Sainte Eulalie* (*Song of St. Eulalie*), dates from about 880.[16]

Early lives of the saints included information on the heroic dimension of their activities but instead of earthly battles, they fought spiritual ones and were victorious over their enemies through prayer, fasting, and solitude rather than through any skill in the passage of arms. One example of this kind of hero was the Celtic monk who went on pilgrimage or made a journey as a form of exile both spiritual and physical removal from their home environment. In doing this, the monk sought to free himself from earthly bonds and to come to a closer understanding of God. On the journeys, the monk encountered adventures where he had to prove himself time and again; he may not have fought a pitched battle with swords against a knight but he did fight spiritual battles for converts, for his own soul, or for his beliefs. For wandering monks such as this "the heroic ideal of glory

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[15]*The Age of Bede*, tr. J. F. Webb, ed. D. H. Farmer, (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), 16.
[16]John Fox, *A Literary History of France,* Vol. 1, *The Middle Ages*, (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1974), 20.

in battle [was] translated into Christian terms; the enemy [was] no longer visible like Beowulf's Grendel but [was] the flesh, the world, and the devil."[17]

Many of these early *Lives,* whether written in Latin or a vernacular, exhibited similarities in style and in words and phrases used to describe set actions, which probably indicated the existence of writer's manuals or at least known works defining types and models to use in particular instances. The *Lives* generally followed a basic narrative pattern: description of the saint's marvelous infancy and early vocation, struggles and trials for his or her faith, an account of the many gifts, prophecies, and miracles performed by the saint, a description of the approaching death and a touching farewell, and finally, the death and subsequent miracles at the tomb. This pattern as well as the wholesale "borrowing" from other works which took place as a matter of course led to a sameness for all but the most outstanding examples. The French version of the *Life of St. Brendan (c.* 1121) was a free rendering of an earlier Latin prose work from the tenth century (c. 950) and was more interesting then the average *Life* from the same period. *Brendan* dealt with seven years out of the saint's life and differs from most works of this kind, whose authors lack inventiveness and often stick to set patterns rather than venturing out on their own.

In the *Life of Cuthbert* (716) and *The Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow (c.* 715), Bede emphasized the spiritual side of his subjects in order to show his readers how far they had fallen from the high standards achieved prior to their own sinful days.[18] In the first work, Bede followed the traditional style of writing saints' *Lives,* probably in deference to his subject but also because the monks of Lindesfarne commissioned the work.[19] Cuthbert was known to the world outside his monastery

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[17]J. F. Webb, *Lives of the Saints,* (New York, Penguin Books, Inc.), 19.

[18]*The Age of Bede*, Introduction, 17.

[19]The earliest *Life* of *Cuthbert* was written soon after the discovery of the saint's still incorrupt body. D. H. Farmer, in his introduction to *The Age of Bede* argues that the reason the monks wanted Bede to write another *Life* of their abbot was because of "a real need for some additional account of Cuthbert for posterity." (17) Bede's prose *Life* reworked most of the information in the earlier text but added a great deal

because of his part in the Synod of Whitby (c. 664). Cuthbert, though trained in the Irish Church, nevertheless upheld the Synod's decision to try to make the common practices more uniform, using the Roman model.

Many times, authors used the same subjects and individuals but changed or expanded the earlier source, letting loose their imagination to flesh out, enhance, or otherwise fix an old passage or story in order to make it better, or at least different. Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* followed the earlier anonymous verse *Life* also at Lindesfarne for much of his information about the saint. While the earlier work recited the facts or legends most commonly known by the monks, Bede's version expanded on each story making it clearer, more exciting, or richer in character, and provided much more information about the saint than was offered in the earlier version. Bede often dramatized an incident in Cuthbert's life by letting the saint himself tell the story rather than Bede as author, integrating the incident into the overall plot of the *Life*. Cuthbert, after experiencing a vision, exhorting his brothers in God:

What wretches we are, given up to sleep and sloth so that we never see the glory of those who watch with Christ unceasingly! After so short a vigil what marvels have I seen! The gate of Heaven opened and a band of angels led in the spirit of some holy man. While we are still in the deepest darkness, he has the happiness of looking forever on the halls of heaven and their King. I think he must have been some holy bishop or layman of great distinction since he was led in with such splendour and light by retinues of angels.[20]

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of new material he garnered form the monks themselves. *See also*, Webb's introduction to the *Life of Cuthbert* in *Lives of the Saints*.

[20]Bede, *Life of Cuthbert*, in Webb, 77. *See also*, Bede, *Life of Cuthbert*, in *The Age of Bede*, 48.

Bede's *Lives of the Abbots* vastly differed from other Lives of the period, perhaps because it documented the histories of several abbots— Benedict Biscop, Ceolfrith, Eosterwine, Sigfrid, and Hwaetberht—over a long period of time or because he wrote as a historian, describing events he had witnessed or had learned from eyewitness accounts. It provided information on local history, details of the monks' daily lives, their numbers, land,buildings, libraries, and works of art and served as a biography and history of the monastery and the abbots connected with it.[21] Bede's history became the source and model for monastic chroniclers who came later not only because of the way in which he wrote it and the subjects he discussed but also because of his purpose, which was to illustrate the achievements possible for his contemporaries and those who followed if they would only attend to their duty as Christians.

Other examples of *Lives* from the early Middle Ages include Eddius Stephanus' *Life of Wilfrid* (c. 710-20) which provides details of Church history in northern England and descriptions of the cultural life of the Golden Age of Northumbria which encompassed Bede's life span (673-735); an anonymous *Life of Gregory;* the anonymous *Life of Cuthbert* already mentioned, and only a little later, *The Voyage of Brendan* (c. 9th c.)[22] The earliest French work has already been mentioned, the *Cantilene de Sainte Eulalie* (c. 880) but many other French works followed. The *Vie de Saint Alexis,* the *Vie de Saint Brendan,* and the *Vie de Saint Thomas* were stylistically much like the English *Lives,* but they shared many of their characteristics with later works, especially the *Chansons de geste* and the romances from the later period of the Middle Ages.[23]

The men in the saints' lives were the heroes of their age and of the ages that followed until the re-emergence in the later period of a secular hero, one who glorified in

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[21]*The Age of Bede*, 28.
[22]*The Age of Bede*, Introduction, *passim*.
[23]Fox, chapter 2, "Variations on Hagiographic Themes," *passim*.

battle and arms. An Anglo-Saxon poem, *The Seafarer,* (c. 970), described a hero in Christian terms:

> The best epitaph a man can gain is to have accomplished daring deeds of valour against the enmity of the fiends during his lifetime, so that when he is dead the children of men may praise him and his fame live on with the angels for ever and ever.[24]

The poet's description illustrated the way in which medieval writers fulfilled their audiences' desire for tales of rigorous deeds and actions along heroic and physical lines while maintaining the necessary regard for Christianity and its teachings.

Secular literature after the First Crusade tended towards the more worldly. Instead of saints' lives, stories revolved around the emerging chivalric society of the courts and the knights. Romance took the place of sanctity; the tales were as popular as saint's lives but the former gradually became the favored literature for relaxing, even in monasteries, convents, and abbeys.[25] Medieval society wanted to listen to tales of enchanters, knights and fair ladies, love stories and mighty battles rather than the spiritual tales common earlier.[26] The chansons, epics, and romances of the later period returned to the idea of a visible enemy such as Beowulf's Grendel. Instead of invisible concepts—man against

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[24]Webb, 19. *The Seafarer,* ed. I. L. Gordon (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1964),1172-80a. The poet follows a familiar idea in Old English and Old Norse poetry: since death is inevitable, fame after death is best and in that way, he can live on in the memory of the people forever. Gordon's translation differs slightly but the meaning is the same.

[25]Lewis, 114

[26]Charles Homer Haskins discusses twelfth century literature and its antecedents, including chronicles, annals, lives of the saints, ecclesiastical histories, and biography in his *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1964), 224-75. John Fox, in his *The Middle Ages,* vol. 1 of *A Literary History of France,* (New York, Barnes and Noble Books, 1974), discusses French literary forms from the middle of the ninth century to the end of the fifteenth.

evil, the devil, and sin—the heroes in the new literature fought real enemies for real rewards—land, money, power, and obedience.

The crusades brought to the forefront the world of the knight. Not only was it the culture of the society but it was the subject of that society's literature. Chivalry—everything having to do with a knight—became not just a doctrine against which the knights measured their heroic acts but an entire code of behavior conventionalizing their attitudes about love, honor, prowess, and duty.[27] The heroes of the stories followed the path of warriors, kings, and statesmen—men who gained their strengths and skills from God but who may not have devoted their lives to Him in the same manner as did the saints. Godfrey of Bouillon was known and admired for his reverence but his skill and temperament as a knight earned him greater fame. When the crusaders were trying to decide on who they should elect to lead them after the fall of Jerusalem, Godfrey's staff was questioned. The only fault the questioners heard was that "when [Godfrey] once entered a church he could not be induced to leave" often making his followers late to their meals, which they would then have to eat overdone and tasteless.[28] More stories, however, deal with his prowess in combat and his position at a knight.

The chronicles, songs, and stories as the record of the crusade became transposed into heroic poems in which knights and crusaders performed wondrous deeds in exotic settings. Instead of the *Gesta Francorum* author's rather bland but factual account of the crusade, which both an abbot and an archbishop called "very rustic and unpolished in style,"[29] later authors enlivened their works to include every miraculous event, heroic

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[27]William J. Entwhistle, *The Arthurian Legend in the Literatures of the Spanish Peninsula,* (New York: E. P. Dutton & co., 1925), 225.

[28]William, Archbishop of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea,* tr. Emily Atwater Babcock, and A. C. Krey, vol. 1, (New York: Octagon Books, 1976), 382.

[29]The abbot of Rheims asked Robert, a monk of that house, to re-write a history he thought was too rough and Bandri, later archbishop of Doi, felt compelled to rewrite an anonymous work he thought too rustic and unpolished in its style. Hill, Introduction, ix.

encounter, or exotic description of the people and locales of the crusades they could find. Even William of Tyre, who used his legal training to a great extent while writing his histories—drawing upon interviews, earlier accounts, and oral traditions to base his own understanding of the events he discussed—related unbelievable stories in his history of the First Crusade, including ones about Godfrey and his brothers and their mother's prophecies, although he did refuse to relate the story of the Swan Knight because "it seems to be without foundation."[30] Even in religious houses, the prevalency of these kinds of works grew to large proportions. So much so that, as early as the Carolingian period, laws proscribed against particular kinds of works read or written by religious.[31]

Authors wrote secular literature both in Latin and in the vernacular of their region and some works may have earned large followings because of the accessibility of the language in which they were written. Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin *History of the Kings of Britain* (c. 1136) was more accessible to a large extent because of the universality of Latin during that period rather than the constriction of a single vernacular language.[32] Older Latin traditions of accent and rhyme influenced the new poetry written in the emerging Romance languages, and they in turn then influenced the new Latin poetry. Latin continued to hold its own as a written against the onslaught of the vernacular until several centuries after the latter's rise but it gradually fell out of use except for theological or philosophical writings. Dante wrote in his youthful *Vita Nuova* that a poet may have written in the vernacular "by the wish to make himself understood of a certain lady unto whom Latin poetry was difficult" but this does not necessarily give an accurate picture.[33]

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[30]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 388.

[31]Nuns were forbidden from writing love stories in a capitulary of Charlemagne but many still did it. F. Brittain, *The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300,* (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969), 94.

[32]Entwhistle, 18. Though many people read works in the original languages, the works were sometimes more widely read if translated or if in Latin, at least until Latin fell out of general usage.

[33]Cesare Foligno, "Vernacular Literature," in *The Legacy of the Middle Ages,* ed. C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press), 178.

The "Gesta Romanorum," (13th century) written in both Latin and English, was famous throughout Europe and greatly influenced later works including Boccaccio's *Two Friends,* Lydgate's *Tale of Two Merchants,* and Gower and Chaucer's *History of Constance.* The work was stronger in moral teachings than in history but "ther be many of us that woll rathir put her lyf and trust in to the help of the world than to the help of god, the which is not oonly myghti but almighty."[34] Whether it was the lack of understanding by "a certain lady" or by the majority of society, the vernacular of each region gradually took the preeminent place in secular literature.

The poets used models from the Latin tradition when there were any, but they also followed other traditions. The ancient Romans did not write epic poems of heroic actions or people; roads or buildings became their monuments to great achievements rather then poems. They left writing to their historians, however impartial or not they may have been. The Germanic people, in contrast, composed epic poetry and songs even before they developed an alphabet.[35] The poems originally blended hero-worship with their own northern mythology but when the poems were written down and modified at a much later time, Christianity influenced them. Even after this, though, they retained enough of their originality and own peculiarities to influence European literature developing epics of war like *Beowulf,* epics based on Germanic myths like the *Edda* or the 12th c. *Nibelungenlied,* and epics connected with conflicts between Christians and Moslems like the *Chanson de Roland.*

The *Edda* and the *Nibelungenlied* influenced the way in which the French epics emerged, just as much as did the Breton *lais.* These verse works emphasized the stories of Arthur and the knights of the Round Table which came to be the center of the new literature

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[34]Claude Jenkins, "Some Aspects of Medieval Latin Literature," Crump, 159.
[35]Foligno, in Crump, 183.

emphasizing the chivalric society of the later medieval period. French epics like the *Chanson de Roland* and others gradually emerged into the three divisions or cycles of the *chansons de geste* based on the three greatest families of France, enumerated by an early thirteenth-century poem:

> There were only three families of warriors in France, that land rich in heroes: that of the king of France was the finest as regards splendour and chivalry. The next (very right that I should say it) is that of the hoary bearded Doon of Mayence who had such courage. In his lineage were men proud and bold who would have had dominion over all France had they not been full of such felony. ... The third family deserved great praise, that of the proud Garin de Montglane. In his lineage, I can well testify, there was no coward or faint heart, no traitor, no deceitful flatterer.[36]

A fourth cycle revolved around the crusades, including those about Godfrey of Bouillon in the series of *Le Chevalier au Cygne*.[37] The tales in the series are separately titled *Antioche*, *La Conquete de Jérusalem*, *Les Chetifs*, *Hélias*, *Les Enfances Godefroy*, *Boudouin de Sebourc*, and *Bastart de Bouillon*. The oldest and perhaps the finest in this series, the *Chanson d'Antioche* (c. 1200), was probably the work of Greindor de Douai, a reworking of an older poem by Richard the Pilgrim.[38]

In French literature, three types represented the peak literary era—the northern *chansons de gestes*, love poetry of the troubadours, and the romances of the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. Each type was rooted in the social fabric of the time and area in which they were popular, commenting on the social conditions then present in an

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[36]Fox, 60
[37]See below, chapter 4, for a fuller explanation of this cycle and its relationship to Godfrey.
[38]Runciman, 332.

attempt to establish the idea that a better way was possible. The *chansons* described the warrior's paradise achieved by strict adherence to Christian duties, the purer love poetry replace the earlier erotic imagery in the south, and the romances investigated the relationships between the sexes, the individuals and their ego.[39]

The Spanish did not develop their own poetry until a very late date, basing their literature to a large extent on the French examples of the *chansons* and romances. Only with the development of the *Amadis de Gaula,* of unknown date and authorship, did they create something original to their nation. And even then, Amadis was bracketed with Tristan and Lancelot in as far as the type of hero he was.[40] The English used the French examples as well, especially after the Norman Conquest of the eleventh century. The Anglo-Saxon tradition was based for the most part on an oral tradition, reflecting the hard struggle of their life because of primitive living conditions, hostile foes, and intemperate climate.[41] The Anglo-Norman poets continued to follow that tradition but gradually blended in more of the Norman-French traditions. The best English literature, as most people understand it, developed in the thirteenth century with the works of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate.[42]

Imagination affected the accuracy of chronicles and the effectiveness of their history, along with the subjects and plots of poetry from the same era. Because medieval authors were less concerned with accuracy and research than with telling a good story, they blended myth and legend with history; so much so that differentiating between historical

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[39]Fox, 352-53.
[40]Entwistle, Introduction.
[41]*See* George K. Anderson, *The Literature of the Anglo-Saxons,* (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962).
[42]*English Verse 1300-1500,* ed. John Burrow, *Longman Annotated Anthologies of English Verse,* gen. ed., Alastair Fowler, vol. I., (New York: Longman, 1977), Introduction.

fact and legend became all the more unreasonable. By the time oral tradition became written, history had gone through years, sometimes centuries, of being infused with legend so that it is only with great difficulty that the two could be separated. One example of this is the Arthurian tales which developed a minor hero, who may or may not have lived at the time of the Roman domination of Britain, into Arthur, one of the greatest kings of English legend, whose reign provided an unprecedented and unique period of peace and prosperity.

Medieval Art

Gregory the Great wrote, in a letter to the bishop of Marseille (c. 600), "Indeed, what writing is for those who know how to read, painting is for the illiterate who look at it, because those who do not know letters can read in it, for which [reason] painting serves principally as a lesson for the people."[43] John Ruskin, the nineteenth century art historian and author, wrote:

> Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts—the book of their deeds, the book of their words, and the book of their art. Not one of these books can be understood unless we read the two others; but of the three, the only trustworthy one is the last. ... Art is always instinctive ... the evidence, therefore, of the third book is the most vital to our knowledge of any nation's life.[44]

Although nearly thirteen hundred years separate them, both men reflect the attitude of the intellectual toward art, its purpose for the masses, and its relationship to literature. Ruskin

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[43]Quoted in Enrico Castelnuovo, "The Artist," in *Medieval Callings,* ed. Jacques Le Goff, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 213.
[44]*Ruskin Today,* ed. Kenneth Clark, (NY: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964),196.

implied that art was the only trustworthy documentary evidence for a society because it reflected the society in a way that writing or actions could not. It was less biased than the other two forms. Whether or not art was an accurate reflection of history, without knowing something about and trying to come to some understanding of a culture's art, artists, and audience those following cannot completely appreciate that earlier society's history.

The medieval artist served as an educator, spiritual guide, and beautifier of both the church and the castle. Even with these qualities the artist was not held in high esteem for his skill and received little recognition for his product until much later in the medieval period and the beginning of the Renaissance. Artists in the early centuries of the Middle Ages were considered of a lower status than writers because their skill lay in their ability to use their hands rather than to use their minds; art was thought of as a manual skill rather than an intellectual one. The classical world's emphasis on learning through the seven liberal arts—the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy)—continued into the Middle Ages, as did the bias for an intellectual above a manual worker.

Before the thirteenth century, no separate word existed for artists; instead, they shared the terms *artifex* with other craftsmen and artisans since they were all technicians.[45] In the beginning of the century, the term *artista* indicated a person who studied or practiced the liberal arts, either as a scholar or teacher, or in the government. Gradually the term included other artists—architects, illuminators, masons, sculptors, goldsmiths and other metal workers. A ranking, developed from the classical tradition of classifying learning to fit into one part of another of the *trivium* or *quadrivium,* emerged by the end of the century,

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[45]The artist was supposed to follow a set way of making a work of art, either from the directions of the church or whatever council commissioned the work in the first place or from following the directions outlined in one of the numerous technical treatises available. Art was to be at the service of religion so the artists were regulated by those with religious authority and knowledge. *See*, Mâle, Introduction.

regulating the relative importance and prestige among the various artisans, from the architect or master-mason to the goldsmith, metal worker, manuscript illuminator, and others.

Art taught its audiences in many ways since the end product often stood was read on various levels: on one level the works were particular things—a chalice, wall-covering, stain-glass window—but on another level, they represented something more—a holy, sacred vessel used in the Mass along with all the symbolism tied in with those traditions and dogmas; a means of telling stories or explaining historic events without the written word, or a way of instructing the unlettered in the ways of Truth and Righteousness. Emile Mâle wrote that to the medieval mind, the world was a symbol: "in each being is hidden a divine thought ... charged with meaning."[46] Adam of St. Victor places this idea into words meant to be understood even by the unlettered.

> What is a nut if not the image of Jesus Christ? The green and fleshy sheath is His flesh, His humanity. The wood of the shell is the wood of the Cross on which that flesh suffered. But the kernel of the nut form which men gain nourishment is His hidden divinity.[47]

Abbot Suger, writing a treatise on the building of the Abbey of St.-Denis in the twelfth century, expounded on his belief that the ornaments in the church represented more than a material presence or beauty. He argued that the ornament should have some purpose besides just being lovely to look at because so many of those attending services could not read or study the Scriptures. Unlike the House of God St. Bernard of Clairvaux

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[46]Mâle, 29.
[47]Adam of St. Victor, *Sequentiae. Patrol,* quoted in Mâle, 30.

recommended, where "no secular person has access" and where "silence and a perpetual remoteness from all secular turmoil compel the mind to meditate on celestial things," Suger's unfinished church was rebuilt in order to hold as many as possible for celebrations.[48] The ornamentation of the art served as the lesson and the education for a majority of the people. Suger explained this idea when discussing the importance of using golden vessels in the Mass which showed more reverence for the Eucharist than plain ones.

We had heard wonderful and almost incredible reports about the superiority of Hagia Sophia's and other churches' ornaments for the celebration of mass. If this is so ... then such inestimable and incomparable treasures ought to be exposed to the judgement of the many. ... [I believe] that every costlier or costliest thing should serve, first and foremost, for the administration of the Holy Eucharist.[49]

Bernard of Clairvaux, while against the excessive splendor of much of the monastic art of his time, recognized the educational role of the Church in this way. He disagreed, however, with the excessive use of art in areas of religious houses viewed only by members of that house, since they were supposedly able to read and study the Scriptures rather than being dependent on art to teach them. Bernard disliked the Cluniac style, with its sharp cuttings, swirling draperies, twisting lines, and bright primary colors, and fluently criticized it in his *Apologia ad Willelmum Abbatem Sancti Theodorici:*

And in the cloisters, under the eyes of the brethren engaged in reading, what business have those ridiculous monstrosities, that mis-shapen shapeliness and

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[48]*Abbot Suger, De Administratione,* in *On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures,* ed. and tr. Erwin Panofsky, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 67.
[49]*Abbot Suger, De Administratione,* Panofsky, 65.

shapely mis-shapenness? Those unclean monkeys, those fierce lions, those monstrous centaurs, those semihuman beings. Here you see a quadruped with the tail of a serpent, there a fish with the head of a goat. In short there appears on all sides so rich and amazing a variety of forms that it is more delightful to read the marble than the manuscripts and to spend the whole day in admiring these things, piece by piece, rather than in meditating on the Divine Law.[50]

William Durand wrote somewhat the same thing in the thirteenth-century about the use of art as educator: "Pictures and ornaments in churches are the lessons and the scriptures of the laity" who, being generally unlettered at this time, needed this kind of assistance in learning about their faith.[51]

One fallacy concerning medieval art which lasted at least until the nineteenth century and still holds its own in the twentieth century was the belief in the anonymity of medieval artists because of their Christian humility; since they were working for the Church, they had no wish to earn earthly fame or status but only spiritual benefit. Adolophe Napoléon Didron, a nineteenth century art historian, conducted a study which refutes this belief. He examined a variety of sources in which he discovered over three thousand names of artists from various genres of art.[52] Such a large number of extent names implied that artists were known and earned fame during their lifetimes. Many of the workers, afterall, either were

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[50]Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Willelmum,* Panofsky, 25. For full letter *see* "Cistercians and Cluniacs: St. Bernard's Apologia to Abbot William, intro. Jean Leclercq, tr. Michael Casey in *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux,* vol. 1, *Treatises 1,* Cistercian Fathers Series: #1, (Shannon, Ireland: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 1970), 3-69.

[51]William Durand, *Rational of the Divine Offices,* Book I, in *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments,* tr. J. M. Neale and s. Webb, Ist ed., (Leeds, 1843), 53-69; reprinted in *A Documentary History of Art,* vol. 1: *The Middle Ages and the Renaissance,* ed. Elizabeth G. Holt, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957),121.

[52]*Documents sur les artistes du moyen-âge,"* Annales Archeologiques, par Didron, I (July, 1844), 77-82, quoted in Henry Kraus, *The Living Theatre of Medieval Art,* foreword Harry Bober, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967), 184.

artists or craftsmen as a secondary occupation; first being clerics or servants trained by their masters in specific arts for their master's benefit. Though bills of sale, contracts, church records, and other official documents all listed who was paid for what work, the records may not have been kept as carefully or may have been destroyed at any time since they were created.

The idea that artists were unknown or remained obscure during the Middle Ages resulted from a variety of reasons. Some works because of their very nature were not conducive to having an artist's signature on them as such, even if the artist could write, including tapestries, carpentry, buildings, and sculpture. Even this hardship, however, was overcome on more than one occasion. In the twelfth century, the architect of the cathedral at Autun prominently displayed his name under the feet of Christ in the middle of the tympanum of the main portal of the Cathedral with the phrase *Gislebertus hoc fecit*.[53] Many architects, sculptors, or other artisans attached self-portraits or mason marks to their works rather than signing their name, especially in the case of a cathedral or some other public building. And even more ephemeral works, such as tapestries which may be destroyed or split during frequent moving about or jewelry which might be melted down for other uses, often had some telling devise to signify the artist or at least the patron. The *Nine Heroes Tapestry* now in the Cloisters Museum in New York has Jean de Berry's coat of arms on many of the architectural structures and the setting is remarkably similar to Berry's Sainte Chapelle at Bourges.[54] And even if the particular artist did not leave his or

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[53]Castelnuovo, 231; Whitney S. Stoddard, *Art and Architecture in Medieval France: Medieval Architecture, Sculpture, Stained Glass, Manuscripts, The Art of the Church Treasuries*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), 238-39; and Kraus, 188-194.

[54]James Rorimer and Margaret Freeman, "The Nine Worthies Tapestries," *Metropolitan Bulletin* VII (May, 1949)9: 243-58. The stained glass windows at Sainte Chapelle, possible designed by Andre Beauneveu (died c. 1403), and the design and colors in the Nine Heroes tapestries are remarkably similar, according to Rorimer. The duke of Berry had many statues and other items using the Nine Heroes motifs and there is a record in an inventory of a tapestry made for the duke at the same time Sainte Chapelle was under construction, Rorimer, 255.

her mark on a piece of art, if the work remained in a household, whether religious or secular, it often appeared on the household records, as did Berry's tapestries, jewelry, robes, drinking cups, and other pieces. In this way, the artist may be inferred because of similarity in style, manner, or design with other works known to be that artist's.

Numerous sources mention specific artists during the entire period of the Middle Ages, including monastic and episcopal chronicles, records from the abbeys and cathedrals, both secular and religious household records, and letters from various church officials or landed gentry. Gervase of Canterbury (1141-1210) wrote a chronicle concerning the rebuilding of the cathedral and the master-masons charged with directing the work. After a fire destroyed the church in 1174, William of Sens, "a workman most skillful both in wood and stone," took charge of the reconstruction. ... And, to him and to the providence of God was the execution of the work committed."[55] After a fall which severely injured him, another man, "a certain ingenious and industrious monk, who was the overseer of the masons," and was also called William took over. Other mentions of specific artists included Matthew of Paris, Richard the Painter, Godefroid de Claire of Huy (c. twelfth century), the monk Eadwin— an illuminator who has his name, a full-page portrait and a self-description as a "prince of scribes" in the *Canterbury Psalter*— Gerlachus, a twelfth century stained-glass window painter, Jean Pucelle, the Limbourgs, the Master of the *Paremont de Narboune,* Jacquetmart de Hasdin, Giovanni dei Grassi, Belbello da Pavia, and a female illuminator named Anastaise working in Paris.[56] Since the clerics kept the records for the most part, especially concerning work done for any of the

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[55]Gervase of Canterbury, "History of the Burning and Repair of the Church of Canterbury," R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral,* (London, 1845); quoted in Holt, 55.

[56]For information on Eadwin, see *The Canterbury Psalter,* intro. M. R. James, (London: Percy, Lynd, Humphries and Co., 1935), quoted in Castelnuovo, 221. *See also,* Kraus, 185. For more information on the others mentioned, *see* Castelnuovo, 211-41. Marcel Thomas, in his *The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duke of Berry,* (New York: George Braziller, 1979), mentions Christine de Pisan's listing of Anastaise as a female illustrator, 13.

churches or religious houses, they controlled a great deal of the information which became the official record regarding the planning, execution, and participants in the work. If they felt it was more expedient to keep the names of the artisans out of the records, either to build up the prestige of the particular house or patron as the only worthy participant or whatever, they did so.

Many authors wrote technical handbooks about the artists or for their use, treatises on technical aspects of painting and sculpture, as well as biographies and letters. Some of these were assembled during the building or renovating of many of the churches after the turn of the millennium, even though "the greater number were already well established and not the least in need. ... It was as if the whole earth, having cast off the old by shaking itself, were clothing itself everywhere in the white robe of the church."[57] One autobiography, *De diversis artibus,* written under the pseudonym of Theophilus by an artist monk named Roger in the twelfth century, was actually a handbook or manual for artists to follow.[58] His text consisted of three parts: one having to do with painting and its techniques and materials, one on glass working and its uses, and one on working with metals and precious stones, in which he described in great detail the "inventions" and methods artists used:

> Take Greek parchment ... and ... rule it on both sides with a red color ... and
>
> polish it with a beaver's tooth.... Then cut up this parchment ... make a purse of
>
> vellum parchment ... take pure gold and make it very thin with a hammer ... and cut

[57]Raul Glaber, known as Rudolf the Bald, wrote this passage concerning the building of churches throughout the world, Holt, 18.

[58]Theophilus, "God's Artist," *Life in the Middle Ages,* tr. G. G. Coulton, *The Cambridge Anthologies,* gen. ed. J. Dover Wilson, vol. IV, (New York: MacMillan Company, 1933),193-96. See also *An Essay upon Various Arts, in Three Books, by Theophilus, called also Rugerus, Priest and Monk, Forming an Encyclopaedia of Christian Art of the Eleventh Century,* tr. Robert Hendrie, (London, 1847); Castelnuovo, 222-23 and Holt, 1-8.

it. ... Then place in this purse one piece of reddened parchment, and upon it one piece of gold in the midst ... and do this until you have filled up the purse. [Strike the purse with a brass mallet] This is the fashioning of gold leaf.[59]

Theophilus included other examples like this, detailing the exact techniques and procedures to use for any given project. He also included anecdotes about his own projects and those of his contemporaries.

Two master masons, the first from the thirteenth and the second from the fifteenth centuries, also wrote manuals as instructions for others who followed them. Villard de Honnecourt's work gave detailed instructions for the execution of certain objects and subjects, among them the figures of the twelve Apostles, a clock-house, a lectern, a chair, and the art of drawing "as the discipline of geometry teaches it so explained as to make the work easy."[60] In his sketches, he attempted to approximate nature while retaining much of the stylization common in the Middle Ages. It was Nature reduced to geometric forms. His sketches were noticeably hurried and demonstrated the quickness he used to get down on paper a scene unfolding before him. Another manual was that of Mathias Roriczar (died 1492), one of many written during the construction of a particular building project for the use of future restorers remained at the site, a common practice. His handbook included designs, sketches of moldings and scaffolding, and other information useful to masons and construction workers not just for this church but for other buildings using the same basic plans.

Although many of the biographies or manuals were written about or by men who were not artists by profession or as a primary occupation, the information in these works

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[59]Theophilus, *An Essay upon Various Arts*, Book I, chap. XXIV, "Of Gold Leaf," Holt, 3-4.
[60]Villard de Honnecourt, *The Sketch Book, Facsimile of the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort*, tr. and ed. R. Willis, (London: 1859), Holt, 89-91.

detailed some of the fame attained by artists. The seventh century life of St. Eloi, a goldsmith and a prelate, was the first medieval biography of an artist; however, it illustrated the life of a saint who was also an artist among other occupations rather than just the life of an artist. More than likely, Eloi was primarily important for his position as a bishop and an advisor to King Dagobert at the Merovingian court and only secondarily for his skill in metal working. Other examples of men who were artists only as a secondary occupation include two from the tenth century: Adelelmus, a cleric of noble origin who worked as a goldsmith, was "highly skilled in working in stone and in gold ... and whose ability no artist of the past had equaled"; and the archbishop of Canterbury, St. Dunstan, who earned fame as a monk, a statesman, a singer and harpist, and a sculptor, goldsmith, painter, and calligrapher among other arts.[61]

More artists whose primary occupation was their art became known in later centuries. The fourteenth-century book illuminator Jean Pucelle earned fame for his skill in this art and as the head of a large workshop in Paris. His name and the names of his assistants and even the cost of the manuscript were written in the margin of his Breviary of Belleville, a Dominican breviary in two volumes executed for Jeanne de Belleville.[62] Eventually, more artists received recognition in their own right and their names and works remain known to modern audiences. Several artists listed in literature took their places alongside contemporary writers and literary figures. Dante mentioned four artists— Oderisi, Franco, Cimabue, and Giotto—along with several men of letters in a passage of his *Purgatorio*. In the 11th Canto, Dante saw Oderisi, a miniaturist languishing in Purgatory because of his jealousy of his rival Franco's skill. Oderisi lamented the transitory nature of worldly glory saying, "Earthly fame is naught but a breath of wind

[61]Information for both St. Eloi and Adelelmus from Castelnuovo, 216-217.
[62]For information on Jean Pucelle, see Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke,* (New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1969).

which now cometh hence and now thence, and changes name because it changes direction."[63] Following Oderisi's theme of the transitory nature of fame, Dante wrote a little later in the Canto, "Cimabue thought to hold the field in painting, and now Giotto hath the cry, so that the fame of the other is obscured."[64] Another example of the artist in literature was Boccaccio's use of Giotto in one of his stories in the *Decameron*. The author described Giotto as "so extraordinary a genius, that there was nothing Nature, the mother of all things, displays to us by the eternal revolution of the heavens, that he could not recreate with pencil, pen or brush so faithfully, that it hardly seemed a copy, but rather the thing itself. ... He might well be called one of the luminaries of Florence's glory" because of his skill in bringing intellectual satisfaction and not just visual delight.[65]

Medieval artists traditionally were thought to have little, if any, freedom in deciding on the theme or means of execution for a particular work; they were instead under the direct control and supervision of either the patron or a committee or council, especially if the work was performed for a religious house.[66] In September of 1434, William Horwood, a free mason, contracted with the duke of York to build a new nave of a church to join the choir at the college of Fotheringhay "of the same height and breadth that the said choir is; and in length eighty feet from the said choir," and was given further instructions on the exact execution of the building.[67] This type of detailed instruction was common during

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[63]Dante, *The Divine Comedy: Purgatorio,* Canto XI, (Modern Library College Edition, 1950), 255. According to Vasari's *Lives of the Artists,* Oderisi and Franco of Bologna illuminated manuscripts in the Papal Library for Boniface VII, (1295), *Purgatorio,* 256, n. 3.

[64]*Purgatorio,* 255. Cimabue (c. 1240-c. 1302) was a Florentine painter who advanced art away from the stiffness of the Byzantine school. His pupil, Giotto (1266-1336) drew his inspiration from Nature and is known as the "father of modern painting.," 256, n. 5. Giotto was a friend of Dante's, which may account in part for his name in Dante's work.

[65]Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron,* tr. Frances Winwar, (The Modern Library, 1955),365-66.

[66]*See,* Mâle's *The Gothic Image* for more information on this aspect of medieval art.

[67]"Contract for Building the Nave of Fotheringhay church, 22nd September, 1434," Holt, 114-20. Text in D. Knoop and G. Jones, *The Mediaeval Mason,* (London, 1933); H. F. Bonney, *Historical Notes in Reference to Fotheringhay,* (London, 1821); John H. Harvey, *Gothic England,* London, 1948; L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to 1540,* (Oxford, 1952); Holt, 115-16, n. 1.

this period and many of the artists chafed under these restrictions. Artists represented

particular scenes or images in traditional ways—the four stances of the adult Jesus, the four

stances of the child Jesus, the expressions of the Virgin Mary in a depiction of the

Annunciation—but these restrictions did not keep them from a certain amount of freedom

of expression in their work. Some artists used the conventions and restrictions to assist an

uncertain hand or an inadequacy of technique.[68] The nineteenth century art historian,

Emile Mâle, said these traditions were probably codified and passed from studio to studio

either through a written manual or by model drawings.[69] Some of the limitations of

freedom of artistic expression occurred because the works were used in or held special

meaning in the service, such as chalices, robes, and icons. The council of Nicaea, 787,

commented on these restrictions, especially those concerning icons.

> The composition of religious imagery is not left to the initiative of artists, but is
>
> formed upon principles laid down by the Catholic Church and by religious
>
> tradition....The execution alone belongs to the painter, the selection and the
>
> arrangement of subject belong to the Fathers.[70]

Arguments raged about the amount of freedom the artist should be allowed in choosing

subjects and manner of execution and depiction of the scenes. Although he argued against

the artist's right to make their own choices, Bishop Luke of Tuy quoted supporters of

artistic freedom in a sermon on the aim of religious art. He wished to make a point of the

ineligibility of artists to decide on these matters but really did not succeed.

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[68]See Mâle, 3. He comments, "It was obviously easier to draw a cruciform nimbus round the head of the Christ than to show in His face the stamp of divinity." Mâle lists some of the traditional poses and subjects medieval artists worked with, 394.
[69]Mâle, 394.
[70]Quoted form the Council's papers, in Mâle, 392.

The artist must have liberty to compose his works, so as to assure to them the greatest effectiveness. ... In order to avoid the dullness of accustomed formulas, the artist needs freedom to devise unusual motifs and to invent new ideas ... [which] serve to deepen love for Christ through the emotions they arouse.[71]

But, though he may have agreed with the purpose for the art, "to deepen love for Christ through the emotions" aroused by the art, the Bishop argued that the artists should not have complete control because they might not do what was best. Theophilus contended that the purpose of art was to bring man closer to God.

If perchance a faithful mind should behold a representation of our Lord's passion expressed in drawing, it is penetrated with compunction; if it beholds how many sufferings the saints have bodily supported, and how many rewards of eternal life they have received, it quickly induces the observance of a better life; if it regards how much rejoicing is in heaven, and how much suffering in the flames of hell, it is animated by hope for its good actions, and is struck with fear by the consideration of its sins.[72]

Cennino Cennini's *The Craftsman's Handbook (Libro dell 'arte,* 14th century) recognized the place of artistic fantasy in a work, which enabled the artist to represent reality or nature as he saw it and served as a bridge between the medieval and the modern

[71]Rudolf Berliner, "The Freedom of Medieval Art," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts (July,* 1945), 278, quoted in Kraus, 187.
[72]Theophilus, "An Essay upon Various Arts," Book III *Preface,* Holt, 8; *see also* translation in Coulton, vol. IV, 195.

periods, since he was the first to recognize the extent imagination played on artistic output even when the subjects and themes were familiar. In the same way, Plotinus in the *Enneads,* wrote that art is genuinely creative and some spiritual values are seen only in art. The artist has more freedom than is possible to mechanical skill or to outward action. Art, therefore, is a mode of contemplation, which creates because it must."[73]

Patronage

In the early centuries of the medieval period, patronage consisted of donations— either small objects like books or cloth given to a religious house or money to pay for altars, stonework, or sometimes entire buildings.[74] Donations did not necessarily have to be large, sometimes a person donated time or skills to the Church since they could not or did not want to donate money or goods. Matthew Paris donated numerous books to the monastery which he wrote and illustrated, contributing to the Abbey's library not only through his own chronicles, especially the *Chronica Majora,* but also by giving manuscripts from his own possession to the Abbey. These donations made him one of the major patrons of the Abbey of St. Albans. Many people gave to the Church in the same way but they could not really be considered patrons of art and literature in the same sense as were abbot Suger of St. Denis and Jean de Berry.

In the early centuries, churchmen acted as patrons of the arts, requesting service from masons, carpenters, and other artisans for building, remodeling, or rebuilding the

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[73]William Ralph Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus,* vol. II, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 216.
[74]In the *Book of Benefactors of St. Albans,* Matthew Paris is noted as a donor. He received a number of gifts from his friends and various correspondents, including some silk material from Henry III which Matthew made into a set of vestments; some cloth given him by Queen Eleanor which he made into a choir-cope, an orphrey from king Haakon or Norway, two silver basins, a pendent reliquary of gold, a number of manuscripts from his own hand, and a silver cup he made himself. A short list of his gifts has survived at the end of a short tract included in his *Liber Additamentorum.* Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris,* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1958), 18-19.

churches and religious houses. Men like Suger, abbot of St.-Denis, and others contributed
to the wealth of art and literature of this period. Many of the abbots and other clergy were
responsible for the artistic works in the churches and religious houses of their orders
because they saw the artwork as a means of furthering the reach of the Church into
different aspects of medieval life—not in just religious circumstances (mass, burials,
religious holidays, theology and philosophy) but as social and economic influences. If an
employer gives work and pay to individuals, they have some power aver them for future
employment. The Church as an employer asserted their control over many aspects of
medieval society which would not ordinarily be considered part of the religious life of the
community. Many of these same men found time from their pastoral cares to write, create
art of their own, and to encourage others in arts and letters, benefitting society in general
and enhancing their own churches or monasteries.

A great patron of the arts, Suger of St. Denis was one of only a handful of patrons
who wrote their own account of their intentions and accomplishments.[75] Most patrons left
it to their court officials or biographers to explain their reasons for and acts of patronage.
Suger, on the other hand, followed the advice of his monks "to save for posterity, in pen
and ink, ... our tale about the construction of the buildings and the increase of the treasures
with the body of the church."[76] In the *De Consecratione,* Suger wrote:

We have endeavored to commit to writing, for the attention of our successors, the
glorious and worthy consecration of this church sacred to God. ... We have put
down why, in what order, how solemnly and also by what persons this was
performed, in order to give thanks as worthy as we can to Divine grace for so great

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[75]*Abbot Suger*, Panofsky, Introduction, 1.
[76]*Abbot Suger*, *De Administratione*, Panofsky, 41.

a gift, and to obtain, both for the care expended on so great an enterprise and for the description of so great a celebration, the favorable intercession of our Holy Protectors with God.[77]

Suger, born 1081 and abbot from 1122 until his death in 1151, began reorganizing the Abbey and overseeing the construction of the first Gothic Church. He was successful in reinstating "the purpose of the holy Order in peaceable fashion, without upheaval and disturbance of the brethren though they had not been accustomed to it,"[78] but his rebuilding project was never fully completed.

Part of his reforms involved enlarging the church in order to accommodate as large a crowd as possible during religious ceremonies without undue disturbances and making it more comfortable for the monks and the parishioners. He found the state of the church and other buildings disgraceful at the time he became abbot, but he never openly blamed his predecessor, Adam, for the disrepair. The changes Suger accomplished went against much of the thinking of the time, expounded in St. Bernard's *Apologia* and the *Exordium*. Suger wanted to decorate the church with golden vessels and candelabra, gem-encrusted altar panels, sculpture and stained glass, mosaic and enamel work, and lustrous vestments and tapestries. He wanted St. Denis to sparkle and rival even the Hagia Sophia in brilliance rather than reflect the strictures of the Cistercians for a plain church with no figural painting or sculpture except for the cruxifiction, linen or fustian vestments, iron candlesticks and censers, and no ornamentation or precious metals anywhere except for chalices of silver or silver-gilt.[79] Suger wanted to bring up the treasures of the Abbey and put them on display as a symbol of the wealth of the church in material things—gold and precious stones—as

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[77]*Abbot Suger, De Consecratione,* Panofsky, 85.
[78]*Abbot Suger,* Panofsky, Introduction, 12.
[79]Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Willelmum,* Holt, *19-22. See also,* "Cistercians and Cluniacs: St. Bernard's s Apologia to Abbot William,~ 3-69.

well as in those immaterial—faith, people, and holiness. As Suger understood it, the purpose of the treasures was to serve God. Since golden vessels increased the worth of the collected "blood of goats or calves or the red heifer [in ancient ceremonies]: how much more must golden vessels, precious stones, and whatever is most valued among all created things, be laid out, with continual reverence and full devotion, for the reception of the blood of Christ!"[80]

As a patron, Suger was more like the early, amateur architects than the Renaissance or High Gothic patrons who were satisfied to leave most matters, especially technical matters like acquiring the necessary materials, to their hired architects and artists. Instead of letting the architect and his underlings handle all the day to day details of the rebuilding, Suger took pleasure in participating in all aspects of the work. He wrote how he went "through all the forests of these parts" to find trees of the proper size to repair the capitals. In spite of being told that no trees were anywhere in the area, Suger went ahead with his quest and "by the ninth hour or sooner" had found twelve timbers.[81] A contemporary of the abbot's, Peter the Venerable, stated: "This man [Suger] puts us all to shame; he builds, not for himself, as we do, but only for God."[82] A patron was more than just an avid collector. Rather than gathering a certain category of objects, whether manuscripts, tapestries, precious metals, or the like, the patron directly influenced the production of such work, especially since the art was conceived and executed specifically to please the patron.[83] Suger, in his writings and his personal interest in every aspect of the rebuilding, exemplified the idea of a medieval patron.

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[80]*Abbot Suger, De Administratione*, Panofsky, 65.
[81]*Abbot Suger, De Consecratione*, 96-97.
[82]*Abbot Suger*, Panofsky, Introduction, 31.
[83]Thomas, *The Golden Age*, 6.

Symbolism

The medieval period, especially in the later centuries during the rise of the Gothic style, represented a time when the idea of seeing everything— whether artistic detail, writings, or even everyday rituals—as symbolic of something else emerged. Medieval society conceived of the symbol as the only way of understanding the world as it really was rather than as it appeared. They did not trust their senses to inform them of what was really there rather than just what appeared to be there.[84] The symbols taught the unlettered about their religion and provided a simple method of communicating difficult ideas.

The people of the Middle Ages loved allegory and symbolism and employed it for nearly every facet of life. Each object and event had a spiritual implication or explanation. But as Durrand wrote in his book on the church's meaning and the symbolic significance of its parts, "We worship not images, nor account them to be gods, nor put any hope of salvation in them; for that were idolatry. Yet we adore them for the memory and remembrance of things done long ago."[85] Symbols provided a visual parable or expression for direct communication with a simple and largely illiterate people. Most symbols were part of a long cultural heritage from ancient times and continued through the Middle Ages on into the Renaissance. Unfortunately, much of the significance was lost for the modern audience because society no longer recognizes or understands the symbolism of the art object. For example, when viewing a medieval work one can generally perceive if a representative figure was a saint because of the aureole around the person's head and may even be able to tell which saint was meant through the interpretation of particular

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[84]Otto von Simson interpreted the Gothic Cathedral as a symbol, saying, "For us the symbol is an image that invests physical reality with poetical meaning. For medieval man, the physical world as one understand it has no reality except as a symbol.... We find it necessary to suppress the symbolic instinct if we seek to understand the world as it is rather than as it seems. Medieval man conceived the symbolic instinct as the only reliable guide to such an understanding," xix.
[85]Durand, Holt, 121. 79

accoutrements—St. Cecilia and the organ, St. Catherine and the wheel, a martyr holding a
feather in one hand—if one has some knowledge; but, without special instruction or
research a viewer could not tell what scene is being depicted or all the layers of meaning
presented in one work, whether in art or literature.[86]

And symbols were not just tangible objects, like paintings or buildings. Abbot
Suger's description of his church, St.-Denis, served as a description of the Gothic style in
general.

> [The new choir] cunningly provided that—through the upper columns and central
> arches which were to be placed upon the lower ones built in the crypt— the central
> nave of the new addition should be made the same width ... as the central nave of
> the old [Carolingian] church; and, likewise, that the dimensions of the new side-
> aisles should be the same as the dimensions of the old side-aisles, except for ... a
> circular string of chapels, by virtue of which the whole [church] would shine with
> the wonderful and uninterrupted light of most luminous windows, pervading the
> interior beauty.[87]

The whole idea of light acted as a symbol of the striving toward heaven and as such, was
extremely important to medieval art and thought. It developed from the Platonic idea that
Good was the supreme source of light, "of which everything good, true, and beautiful in

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[86]One example is the *swastika*—an ancient symbol for the cycle of life. Now, instead of the wheel of life it
has become a symbol of death. Since the rise of Hitler and the Third Reich, the swastica is the rallying
point for genocide, hatred, fear, anti-semitism, tyranny, and all forms of bigotry. One could not use the
swastika in the 1990s without generating strong emotions based on what it meant in the 1930-40s. Before
the early twentieth century, however, it would not have generated those emotions nor conveyed the same
meaning it now has as a symbol. The way we read it as a symbol may not be the same as people will 300-
400 years from now. It will have lost or changed some of its meaning just as medieval symbols have lost
their immediacy to twentieth century audiences.

[87]*Abbot Suger*, *De Consecratione*, Panofsky, 101.

the world is the reflexion."[88] During the first centuries of the medieval period, people admired the quality of the material in the art rather than than the object itself, partly because the bright colors and rich textures were a reflection of the light. The Pseudo-Areopagite discussed the role of light as a symbol in his major work, the *De Caelesti Hierarchia:*

> Every creature, visible or invisible, is a light brought into being by the Father of the lights. ... As I perceive ... things in this stove they become lights to me, that is to say, they enlighten me *(me illuminant)*. For I begin to think whence the stove is invested with such properties ...; and soon, under the guidance of reason, I am led through all things to that cause of all things which endows them with place and order, with number, species and kind, with goodness and beauty and essence, and with all other grants and gifts.[89]

In this way, anything, whether man-made or natural, could conceivably become a symbol of something else, something easily identified with the senses; in other words, the human mind ascends from the material to the immaterial, "abandoning itself to the 'harmony and radiance' *(bene compactio et claritas)* ... which is God."[90]

Suger professed this same interest in making a journey, from the material world of the earth to the immaterial world of heaven, and explained his understanding of how this could be accomplished in the description of the main altar St. Denis. The precious stones and decorations surrounding the main altar and elsewhere in the church aptly illustrated that the ornamentation provided those looking upon it a means of focusing their concentration from the material toward the spiritual:

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[88]Inge, 126

[89]*Pseudo-Areopagite, De Caelesti Hierarchi*, quoted in *Abbot Suger*, Panofsky, Introduction, 20

[90]*Abbot Suger*, Panofsky, Introduction, 20.

Thus when—out of my delight in the beauty of the house of God—the loveliness of the many-colored gems has called me away from external cares, and worthy meditation has induced me to reflect, transferring that which is material to that which is immaterial, on the diversity of the sacred virtues: then it seems to me that I see myself dwelling, as it were, in some strange region of the universe which neither exists entirely in the slime of the earth nor entirely in the purity of Heaven; and that, by the grace of God, I can be transported from this inferior to that higher world in an anagogical manner.[91]

He described a religious experience derived from a trancelike state induced by gazing at and contemplating the beauty of the altar. Suger went even farther with his understanding of the philosophy of the metaphysics of light . Suger wrote a set of inscriptions commemorating the consecration of the new choir.

Once the new rear part is joined

to the part in front,

The church shines with its middle part

brightened.

For bright is that which is brightly

coupled with the bright,

And bright is the noble edifice which is

pervaded by the new light.[92]

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[91]*Abbot Suger, De Administratione,* Panofsky, 63-65.
[92]*Abbot Suger,* Panofsky, Introduction, 22.

These lines can be understood on two levels: firstly, on the literal meaning of joining the old and new parts of the church while improving the lighting in the building as a whole, and secondly, the figurative meaning recalling the way in which Christ's coming was seen as bringing light into the world. The construction recalls the enlightenment of the New Testament in the teachings of Christ in contrast to the Jewish Law.[93]

Numbers also held meaning for medieval audiences. In her handbook for her son, Dhuoda devotes one chapter to interpreting numbers, in which the "elements of calculation is contained a great and perfect number."[94] She discusses the way in which numbers illustrate a relationship between the earthly world and paradise.

> For in one is represented he who is called God, since, as the Prophet says, *thou alone art the most high over all the earth.* In two are the two testaments or the two commandments, that is, love of God and love of neighbor. In three another perfect, threefold number is signified, for he who firmly believes in it will be saved.[95]

The idea she illustrates was derived from the Church Fathers and ancient philosophy. People believed that numbers held spiritual meanings and represented the idea of a definite plan existing in regards to the universe. Medieval people thought that if they could understand the relationship numbers had in the plan, they could then begin to understand

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[93]*Abbot Suger*, Panofsky, Introduction, 22

[94]Dhuoda, *A Handbook for William: A Carolingian Woman's Counsel for Her Son*, tr. Carol Neel, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1991),91-94. Dhuoda, in 841-43, wrote down information she thought would help her son when he came to take his place in noble society. She discusses what she considers the evidence "for the connection between heavenly and earthly existence and discusses the way in which prayer and reading of scriptural texts can fend off secular evils," xv.

[95]Dhuoda, 92. She gives the meanings for numbers one through ten, and the powers of ten.

their world and their place and position within it. If, as was written in the Bible, God "hast ordered all things in number and measure and weight,"[96] and number meant not amount but particular numbers, every figure was a potential metaphor and the way to understand the metaphor was to understand the language of numbers. The numbers three, five, seven and nine held special symbolism since they had philosophical and theological significance as well as mathematical.[97] The number three was a symbol of completeness of process or state; it represented the perfect number of the higher planes, in other words, the soul. The number five was seen as an appropriate representation for ideas concerned with the subjugation of the flesh because of its ties to the five senses and the five-fold universe (Father, Son, Holy Spirit, angels, and the lower creatures including humanity). In the twelfth and thirteenth-centuries seven became the number of humanity, made up of the number for the body, four, and the number of the soul, three. Seven expressed humanity's double nature in the combination of the body and the soul. The number nine, or three squared, referred to the attainment of perfection of the three lower planes of the universe. Nine was also part of the conventional significance of the number nine as representative of a miracle, or a demonstration of perfection from God. This perfection existed in both Plato's nine celestial spheres and the nine hierarchies of angels.

Plato's spheres were explained in a coda to the *Republic,* in the myth of Er the Pamphylian.[98] The three Fates spun the thread of destiny on the spindle of the universe, creating a harmony of one universe with one voice made up of nine elements. Eight of the

[96]Book of Wisdom, 11:20

[97]*See* G. A. Gaskell, *Dictionary of All Scriptures and Myths,* (New York: Julian Press, Inc., 1960); John MacQueen, *Numerology: Theory and Outline History of a Literary Model,* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985); *Meister Eckhardt: A Modern Translation,* Raymond Bernard Blakney, (New York: Harper and Row, 1941), Dante, *The Divine Comedia;* Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image;* and Augustine, *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans,* tr. Henry Bettenson, intro. David Knowles, (New York: Penguin Books, 1972) for information on the relevance and use of numbers in the medieval period.

[98]*The Portable Plato: Protagoras, Symposium, Phaedo, and the Republic,* ed. and intro. Scott Buchanan, (New York: The Viking Press, 1957), 687-696.

nine elements made up the universe but without the ninth element, the universe had no function; therefore, the number nine was the destiny of the universe. In the nine chapters of the *Somnium,* Cicero expanded on the Platonic idea of the universe, which "is comprised of nine circles, or rather spheres. The outermost of these is the celestial sphere, embracing all the rest. ... The other eight spheres ... produce seven different tones, this number being ... the key to the universe."[99] Augustine, in his City of *God,* was influenced by the Platonic and Neo-Platonic idea of the relevance of mathematical influence on man and the world. While Augustine's numbers had no scientific or mathematical basis in his writings, he found it easy to allegorize them in such a way as to explain his ideas to others.[100] Augustine wrote that twelve was significant "as being the number of the patriarchs and of the apostles, because it is the product of the two parts of seven—that is, three multiplied by four, or four multiplied by three, makes twelve."[101] Dante explained the alliance between Beatrice and the number nine in his *Via Nuova:* "According to Ptolemy (and also to the Christian verity), the revolving heavens are nine; and according to the common opinion among astrologers, these nine heavens together have influence over the earth."[102] He further noted that since three is the root of nine and God, and the Factor of Miracles, is three persons in one, then Beatrice was a miracle, "whose only root is the Holy Trinity."[103] Emile Mâle commented on the way in which Dante's *Divine Comedy* was built on numbers, "To the nine circles of hell correspond the nine terraces of the mount of Purgatory and the nine heavens of paradise. ... He seems to have wished that the pre-eminently mystic number should enter into the very texture of his poem ... [and] accepted

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[99]MacQueen, 42-43.
[100]MacQueen, 48.
[101]Augustine, *City of God,* 634. *See also,* Mâle, Introduction.
[102]MacQueen, 82.
[103]MacQueen, 82.

the law of numbers as a divine rhythm which the universe obeyed."[104] Suger used the symbolism apparent in numbers in various ways. The twelve columns supporting the high vaults in the new chevet represented the Twelve Apostles and the twelve columns in the ambulatory represented the twelve minor Prophets.[105]

The Church Fathers attempted to bring out into the open and dispel all the mysteries in the Bible and other Church writings. They hoped to do this by explaining everything in the Bible in terms understandable by their contemporaries. Saint Irenaeus condemned this practise, reminding his contemporaries that "God is not to be sought after by means of letters, syllables, and numbers."[106] Neither this injunction nor many others, however, stopped the search for meaning through numbers and symbols in order to make humanity's previous achievements and actions accessible to their contemporaries. Since specific numbers and their multiples played a symbolic role much of learning was reduced to knowing what numbers meant because of the easy association with complex ideas derived from them.

Conclusion

In medieval literature, the troubadours and trouvères from France, the scops from Anglo-Saxon England, and the minnesingers from Germany created fictional romances and stories of heroes participating in marvelous adventures like the crusades. The central figures took on important parts in the remarkable action or critical event of the story; they were models to the audience, whether they were actual people or just legendary figures.

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[104]Mâle, 13.
[105]*Abbot Suger*, Panofsky, Introduction, 21
[106]Honoré Bonet, *The Tree of Battles,* ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 41.

The mythical persona of the heroes generated an image which dominated the individuals, reducing and replacing their historical value with a mythical one. In both romances and chronicles the heroes of the later Middle Ages earned fame through their martial deeds, their position or way of life, and their noble spirit. Many medieval artists took the literary examples from the poetry and prose of the period and illustrated the same qualities in their works for the same reasons, to provide examples of the ideal of their age—a chivalric knight.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL GODFREY OF BOUILLON

He has his kindred, as we have seen, in the worlds both of fact and of imagination, but nothing that we know about them will tell us why it was in his story that the ... myth found its final and most perfect expression, and why his fame ... came in the end to eclipse that of all the others.[1]

In his poetry, Jacques de Longuyon incorporated numerical patterns which conveied precise significances much in the same way Dante and others did in their works. Longuyon's three sets of three men symbolized the three periods of history in the medieval world—Ancient, Old Testament, and New Testament. His use of the worthies as representatives from these periods contributed to their popularity because of this link and because of medieval society's ideas on the importance of numbers and symbols. They saw the world as the result of a creative act with humanity as the central figure; the world was created for humanity's use and control. Whether or not Godfrey of Bouillon belonged in this listing depended on his place in history as well as his place in legend.

The first of the ancients in Longuyon's poem was Hector, "powerful . . . in his flashing helmet."[2] In the *Iliad*, the Trojan prince nearly drove off the Greek invaders but

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[1]Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*, (New York: Dorset Press, 1987), 209. Keen is referring to Robin Hood and his legend as an outlaw, but, with only minor changes, the same comments can be made about Godfrey of Bouillon and his position as one of the Nine Worthies of Medieval art and literature.
[2]Homer, *The Iliad*, tr. Robert Fitzgerald, (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1974), Book 3. Hector's epithet was his flashing or shining helmet, as in

died at the hands of Achilles, who brutalized Hector after his death and only later repented his misconduct. Hector was one of the acknowledged leaders of the Trojans, capable of urging the soldiers in the field to do their best when standing with them. "Time passes, and I grow impatient now to lend a hand to Trojans in the field who feel a gap when I am gone."[3] He felt his place was among the frontline soldiers since "Long ago I learned how to be brave, how to go forward always and to contend for honor, Father's and mine."[4] The epic ends on the last day of an eleven day armistice; the city of Troy feared defeat since their bravest and most gallant champion was dead. Priam called Hector "a god to soldiers, and a god among them, seeming not a man's child, but a god's."[5] Hector was a hero in the Greek sense of semi-devine, although he was not actually born of a union between a mortal and a god or goddess. Because of his strengths, his skill in arms, and his ability as a military leader, the Trojans respected him. Even the Greeks held Hector in great esteem, which Homer's depiction of the Trojan in the poem illustrated.

Medieval people, especially in France, held the Trojans in a higher regard than they did the Greeks. They considered the Trojans the predecessors of the Romans and thus predecessors to their own history. Popular tradition long held that the Franks descended from Troy. Isidore of Seville and Gregory of Tours said nothing of any connection between the Franks and Troy but by the seventh century, the story emerged as historical fact. Honoré Bonet used these later stories for the basis of his examination on the origins

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Hektor turned away, under his shining helm,
his long shield slung behind him; nape and ankle
both were brushed by the darkened oxhide rim.
(*Iliad*, Book 6)

Homer also referred to Hector as "dear to Zeus." (*Iliad*, Book 6) Honoré Bonet refers to Hector in his *Tree of Battles*, (ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 113.) as "a valiant knight" from legends of old.
[3]*Iliad*, Book 6.
[4]*Iliad*, Book 6.
[5]*Iliad*, Book 24.

of the Franks and their eventual settlement in Gaul. He wrote, "If we examine the beginning of the kingdom of the Franks we shall find that the French came from Troy the Great."[6] So, as the foremost Trojan, Hector became the founding father of the medieval world. His greatness passed down through the ages, culminating in the greatness of Charlemagne and the accomplishments of the first crusaders.

A medieval poet, Jean Bodel (c. 1200), classified romances as dealing with one of three "matters," the Matter of Troy, the Matter of Great Britain, and the Matter of France. Hector's inclusion as one of the Nine Worthies probably stemmed from this tradition. In *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, the poet named Hector as "the first and oldest in time."[7] In the *Morte Arthure*, Hector, stronger and surer in arms than Alexander, was the second of the ancient worthies and was called "that chivalrous man" by Arthur in his dream.[8] The description of Hector in *The Parlement* is fuller than in either *Les Voeux du paon* or the *Morte Arthure*; the poet obviously followed more than one source and included everything he could remember about the Trojan, a common practise among poets and historians during the Middle Ages.

The second of the ancient worthies was Alexander. The son of Philip of Macedonia, he began his rule after the death of his father in 336 B.C. During the course of his thirteen-year career, Alexander widened his kingdom from Macedonia to Egypt, the Punjab, and north of the Hindu Kush, taking into his empire the Middle East, Persia, and

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[6]Honoré Bonet, *The Tree of Battles*, ed. and trans. G. W. Coopland, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), 176. As late as the eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries, Frenchmen were still arguing over the origins of France. In 1868, one author devoted two volumes to the early history of the Franks and insisted that the Trojan legend needed to be reexamined for veracity.

[7]*The Parlement of the Three Ages*, l. 300 in John Gardner, *The Alliterative Morte Arthure, The Owl and the Nightingale and Five Other Middle English Poems in a Modernized Version with Comments on the Poems and Notes*, (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), 141. *See also* M. Y. Offord's *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, Early English Text Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1959) for the original dialect and spellings.

[8] "Ector of Troye, the Cheualvous gume," in *Morte Arthur, or the Death of Arthur*, ed. Edmund Brock, Early English Text Society (London: Oxford University Press, 1871), l. 3408, 100.

Northern India. Legends developed around his character, telling of his fierce temper, his generous impulses to friends and foes, and his military exploits against various peoples. One view of his character presented Alexander as the model of all the chivalric virtues, including courage, liberality, magnanimity, and even chastity. The other view maintained that he had most of the vices, including cruelty, drunkenness, ambition, and pride. Whether one considers him the 'thunderbolt of war' or the deep politician who forged a new world order, Alexander possessed in both roles all the qualities of a great military leader and hero. Successive authors reworked the original subject matter of the legends from Pseudo-Callisthenes into French romances with Alexander as the epitome of a medieval knight and the father of chivalry—all-conquering, large-hearted, generous, and conciliatory to the vanquished.[9]

Alexander's name and exploits were quite familiar to people in the Middle Ages. He was particularly popular in Scotland, not least because of the legend that he gave Scotland to Gadifer, the first leader of the Scots. Chaucer wrote in the "Monk's Tale," "every wight that hath discretion hath heard somewhat or all of his fortune."[10] The poet of *The Parlement* told how after Hector, "Alexander won all the world, both the sea and the sand and the steady earth."[11] He related most of the worthy's major accomplishments, including among Alexander's exploits tales of Jason and the Golden Fleece, and the incident in Longuyon's poem where "Sir Porrus and his princes swore on the peacock."[12]

The third and last of the ancients was Julius Caesar, the new Alexander, a "man too fierce for thirty men to threaten,"[13] whom some may have admired because of "the great

[9]John Barbour, *The Buik of Alexander, or the Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conqueror Alexandr the Grit*, ed R. L. Graeme Ritchie, (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1925), vol. 1, xxx-xxxi.
[10]Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, trans. Nevill Coghill (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1967), 24. *Also see* Roger Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1938), 233.
[11]Gardner, *Parlement*, l. 332.
[12]Gardner, *Parlement*, l. 365.
[13]Gardner, *Morte Arthure*, l. 3294.

gifts and moral virtues that were in him, for he was valiant in arms, full of courtesy, and loved and feared by all."[14] Plutarch wrote of Alexander and Julius Caesar as if their lives were parallel, each a charismatic conqueror who died at the pinnacle of his powers, leaving behind a vast empire. Caesar conquered Gaul and organized it after the Roman style of government, gaining prestige and power among the Romans. By 48 B.C., Caesar controlled the state, increasing and retaining his power for four years until his murder. Bonet wrote that according to "the ancient and true histories" Julius Caesar was never called emperor but some may have thought of him as emperor after his death because of his greatness.[15] "Caesar was born to do great things," accomplishing much as consul, general, and statesman, because of his ambition and his inability to "set still and reap the fruit of his past labours … [raising] in him ideas of still greater actions, and a desire of new glory, as if the present were all spent."[16] Even though he pursued and gained an empire, he "reaped no other fruits from it than [an] empty name and invidious glory."[17] Caesar said to Arthur, "I was dreaded in my days in diverse realms, but now I am dead and damned, and my grief is the greater."[18] Caesar became a symbol of Roman politics from the first century onwards. He accomplished what most people could not: he changed the future of his world in his own life, affecting both his own age and the ages that followed.

The three Jews of the Old Testament were not as fully considered in most medieval works as the ancients or Christians but they were important for what they symbolized as the predecessors to the Christian world. The Jewish writings, especially those in the Old Testament, were examined and taken as forerunners to Christian thought in a way pagan

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[14]Bonet, 112.
[15]Bonet, 112.
[16]Plutarch, *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, trans. John Dryden (New York: The Modern Library, 1932), 887.
[17]Plutarch, 894.
[18]Gardner, *Morte Arthure*, ll 3297-9.

works could not be. *Les Voeux du paon* combined the Jewish heroes' claims to fame into forty lines of verse, with the most lines referring to Judas Maccabeus. The *Parlement* and the *Morte Arthure* offer little more, although the poets of these works included some information not found in *Les Voeux du paon*, especially regarding David's contribution of the Psalms and Joshua's role in leading the Israelites out of Egypt.

The first Hebrew worthy in *Les Voeux du paon* was Joshua, son of Nun, one of the leaders of the twelve tribes and the man who lead the Israelites into the Promised Land. Joshua usurped Moses' place among the nine because of the medieval allegorical interpretation of his name. In Hebrew, the word was the same as the Greek "Jesus;" signifying "God-Savior."[19] Joshua represented a predecessor of Jesus as the Leader of the Faithful.[20] He was portrayed in the Bible and in legends and poems as a religious devotee with the gift of a warrior, defeating his enemies in order for Israel to gain a new homeland. "No one could stand up to him; he was fighting a holy war for the Lord. … He was fighting as a devoted follower of the Lord."[21] The poets called him a "joyful man of arms," or one who took pleasure in his own abilities as a warrior while doing God's will.[22] They also credited him with conquering twelve great kings, rather than the biblical thirty-one, saying he was "sovereign and suzerain over sundry kingdoms."[23] The book of Joshua told how he made a covenant for his people, setting up laws and rules for them to follow after his death. Medieval people hearing of this and putting it together with their understanding of the actions of a good king following the chivalric code, upheld Joshua as an exemplary person who followed the practices of a knight of their own time. His

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[19]In Acts 7:45 and Hebrews 4:8 Joshua is called Jesus.
[20]Information on Joshua's being identified with Christ from Isaac Gollancz, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, (London: Nichols and Sons, Ltd., 1897), 58.
[21]Sirach 46: 3, 6.
[22]Gardner, *Morte*, l. 3413.
[23]Gardner, *Morte*, l. 3312.

apprenticeship under Moses, his joy and skill in battle, and the reasons behind his ferocity appealed to a medieval audience seeking confirmation of their own actions, reasonings, and emotions.

The second of the Jewish heroes was David, King of Israel, who according to Old Testament history was anointed by Samuel while Saul reigned as king. Legends and biblical stories developed around the persona of David, his defeat of Goliath while still a boy, his anointing as king of Judah and Israel, and his prowess as a soldier king against numerous enemies, including Saul's armies, the Philistines, and the Amalekites. Most of the stories in the Bible and in later romances and poems upheld David as a military and a religious leader. The author of the *Morte Arthur* claimed David as

One of the doughtiest men that was ever yet dubbed,

For he slew with only a sling and the speed of his hands,

Goliath the greatest of giants and grimmest on earth.

And he was the prince who composed the precious psalms

That are set forth in the Psalter, in peerless lyrics.[24]

The legends also related how he prayed to God for the strength to kill the Goliath "so that the nations should have respect for the power of his people," and that after his other acts of prowess, "the people honored him for killing his tens of thousands."[25] David possessed many faults, but he was a good ruler; impressing the Israelites so that when in distress they wished for a king who was a 'son of David,' to lead them out of their troubles.

The third Jewish hero, Judas Maccabeus, was "a most noble jouster, ... mighty in his strength."[26] His family was, according to legend, divinely chosen to save Israel from

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[24]Gardner, *Morte*, ll. 3416-20.
[25]Sirach 47:5-6.
[26]Gardner, *Morte*, l. 3411-12. The poet of the *Parlement* calls him "A worthy man in war, and wise in

the gentile kings, descendants of Alexander's generals, who claimed kingship over the territory upon Alexander's death. Judas took the place of his father, Mattathias, in 166 B.C, as the Jewish leader. Judas was considered a great warrior.

> [He] brought greater glory to his people in his armor, he was like a giant. He took up his weapons and went to war, with his own sword he defended his camp. … He advanced the cause of freedom by what he did. He spread to the ends of the earth, as he gathered together those who were threatened with death.[27]

The books of Maccabees in the Apocrypha told the stories of Judas' success as he lead the Israelites in defense of Jerusalem against the Syrians. Fiercely supportive of his faith, Judas won renown for his wisdom in the use of arms and military strategy as well as for his remaining true to God's laws. Judas and his family freed their country from a foreign oppressor in the same vein as Robert the Bruce and Douglas of Scotland, which may have added to Judas' popularity in Scotland. Like the other six worthies mentioned so far, he was admired as much for his prowess on the battlefield as for his devotion to God. The poet of *The Parlement of the Three Ages* remarked that "they called him conqueror, renowned with the best," the best being the others in the poem as well as the knights surrounding Arthur's court.[28]

Moving to the more recent heroes, from the law of the Old Testament to the New, we consider the three Christian worthies who followed the new dispensation. Ideas taken from the New Testament provided medieval society with a model of the chivalric knight. The three Christian worthies were the easiest to show as chivalrous knights because they were men who fought and lived in the same way as did medieval society.

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arms," Gardner, *Parlement*, l. 455.
[27] 1 Maccabees 3: 3, 6, 9.
[28] Gardner, *Parlement*, l. 458.

The first of the Christian worthies was Arthur of Britain. According to Geoffrey of Monmouth's own record, his work was a translation of a "certain very ancient book written in the British language," but the book he referred to may not have existed.[29] In the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c. 1136) Geoffrey blended fact and fiction in an attempt to provide ancestry to the kings of England, beginning with the story of the settlement of Britain by Brutus the Trojan and his section on Arthur, only one of the ninety-nine kings discussed took up one-fifth of the work. The historical Arthur has some precedence in the literature of the area. Nennius' *Historia Britonum* from the ninth century refers to a British victory at a site called Mount Badon, led by a man named Arthur.[30] And William of Malmesbury wrote of the warlike Arthur who aided Ambrosius, king after Vortimer, in quelling "the presumptuous barbarians."[31] The idea of a leader of such a victory inspired chroniclers and romancers to develop the richly elaborate Arthurian romances of later centuries. Alanus de Insulis, in his *Prophetia Anglicana Merlini Ambrosii Britanni* (c. 1175), wrote on the pervasiveness of Arthur's story:

> What place is there within the bounds of the empire of Christendom to which has not extended the winged praise of Arthur the Briton? Who is there, I ask, who does not speak of Arthur the Briton, since he is but little less known to the peoples of Asia than to the Britons, as we are informed by our palmers who return from the countries of the East? The Easterns speak of him, as do the Westerns, though separated by the breadth of the whole earth. Egypt speaks of him, and the Bosphorus is not silent. Rome, the Queen of cities, sings his deeds, and his wars

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[29]Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1984), 51.
[30]Robert Huntington Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles: Especially of Great Britain and France, Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. X (Boston, 1906), 8-30.
[31]William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle of the Kings of England: From the Earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen*, notes and illustrations J. A. Giles (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1968), and 11.

are not unknown to her former rival Carthage. Antioch, Armenia, and Palestine celebrate his acts.[32]

Wace, in his adaptation of Geoffrey's work into a verse poem, the *Roman de Brut* (1155), expanded Geoffrey's tales of Arthur, influencing later romances and legends. Both Geoffrey and Wace raised Arthur to the stature of Charlemagne and Alexander, although the later two were known historical figures and Arthur was more legendary than historical.[33] William of Malmesbury wrote that it was of the victorious "Arthur that the Britons fondly tell so many fables, even to the present day; a man worthy to be celebrated, not by idle fictions, but by authentic history. He long upheld the sinking state, and roused the broken spirit of his countrymen to war."[34] Whether or not Arthur actually lived or was a king in Britain who provided a period of relative peace, William of Malmesbury and the others felt he was worthy of being a historical figure and treated him as such.

Legends developed around Arthur's name because of his image from the chronicles as a strong and skillful man in the use of arms and in warfare. Jacques de Longuyon and the other's listing Arthur as one of the nine worthies continued the tradition of the earlier chroniclers. In Arthur's second dream in the *Morte*, Fortune reveals that she brought him to the forest "to fill out the number as ninth among the noblest men named upon earth" whose "work shall be read in romances by noble knights, and reckoned and revered by reveling kings."[35] The poet continued, saying clerks and kings would read or listen to

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[32]Alanus de Insulis, *Prophetia Anglicana Merlini Ambrosii Britanni*, 26, quoted in Roger Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1938), 8.

[33]For information on Arthur's historicity see bibliographic material provided in Fletcher and Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends*.

[34]William of Malmesbury, 11.

[35]Gardner, *Morte Arthure*, ll. 3457-3440. For a partial listing of the works in which Arthur plays a leading or a minor role, see John Edwin Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050-1400*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1930), Bibliographic Notes, Chapter 1 "Romances," section 2 "Arthurian Legends," 766-75.

Arthur's deeds in future centuries even though he would eventually fall from glory as did the other nine. Tennyson also wrote of how Arthur would be revered in later ages:

> ... so great bards of him will sing
>
> Hereafter; and dark wayings from of old
>
> Ranging and ringing thro' the minds of men,
>
> And echo'd by old folk beside their fires
>
> For comfort after their wage-work is due.[36]

Charlemagne, much like Arthur, was depicted in numerous romances and poems, including the *chansons de gestes* of the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. The Matter of France primarily dealt with Charlemagne as a hero, both in a major or in a minor role especially the *Cycle du Roi* which concerned his knights or himself in various adventures. A thirteenth century poem referred to the three main cycles of the *Chansons*, mentioning the three greatest families of warriors, which included Charlemagne's family, who "was the finest as regards splendour and chivalry," the rebel barons of the Doon of Mayence, and the family of Gavin de Montglane and William of Orange.[37] Charlemagne ruled for forty-six years as the king of France and was the Emperor of the Roman Empire for the last years of his life, from 800 to 814. Looking beyond the bounds of the kingdom he inherited, Charles built an empire out of Italy, Saxony, Bavaria, and other lands north of the Elbe River. Even as an emperor, though, he was essentially a barbarian war-leader. Like his predecessors, Charlemagne's power rested on his fighting abilities even more than on his political leadership. He relied first on his martial skills and only as a distant second on his managerial skills to broaden his hold on the conquered peoples. His reign began a

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[36]Alfred Lord Tennyson, "Idylls of the King," in *Poems*, The World's Popular Classics, (New York: Books, Inc., n.d.), 298.

[37]See above, chapter 2, page 30.

new period for the growth and development of laws and social institutions.

Of course, the poets primarily emphasized his martial skills rather than his role in the Carolingian revival. In the *Morte Arthure*, the poet described Charlemagne as "handsome and broad of forehead, the fairest man in figure that ever was formed," a man who coveted the highest honors given by fortune.[38] He was extolled as cruel, keen, and a conqueror, one who would "recover by conquests many a country" and the one who would "acquire the crown that Christ Himself once bore, and the splendid lance that once lept to his heart."[39] In some of the *chansons de geste*, from the *Song of Roland* to *The Journey of Charlemagne*, the king was portrayed as the worthiest of all his cohorts, a majestic leader. In the *chansons* about the rebel knights, Charlemagne was a mean, unforgiving king. But in both cycles, Charlemagne was never less than great; it was just that he was not always good.

The last of the nine heroes, a distant relative of Charlemagne, was Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, one of the leaders of the First Crusade and Protector of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Godfrey's parents were Eustace II, count of Boulogne, and Ida, daughter of Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Lorraine. Godfrey far exceeded his most optimistic expectations, especially considering his position as a second son. He claimed the right to the duchy of Lorraine after his maternal uncle's death in 1076 and became ruler in Jerusalem after its capture, both through a number of lucky chances. As a result of this, his fame spread far and wide. "No longer would the sober historical facts suffice for so lofty a character."[40] Instead, a cult grew around Godfrey, creating a legendary persona so intertwined with fact and fable that the separate elements were almost indistinguishable.

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[38]Gardner, *Morte Arthure*, ll. 3329-30.

[39]Gardner, *Morte Arthure*, ll. 3424-26. Empress Helena, Constantine's mother, searched Palestine and found most of the relics of the passion. When the area was overrun in later centuries many of the relics were again lost or were removed to safer areas.

[40]John C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington: Indiana University, n.d.), 5.

His historical position in the chronicles as one of many leaders in the First Crusade gradually changed in the romances and legends to one in which he played a major role in all decisions made in the East.[41]

Godfrey received Lorraine from his uncle, a relatively young man, who named Godfrey his heir only after suffering a wound which proved fatal. The emperor, Henry IV, did not acknowledge Godfrey's rights to the duchy until after 1087, when the emperor rewarded Godfrey for his loyal service during the emperor's wars against the Saxons. The skills he learned in these wars stood him in good stead during the Crusades; but, he was not admired just for his martial skills. According to *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, "Sir Godfrey of Bouillon had such grace of God that he overran and ransomed the Roman Empire."[42] The poet continued, calling Godfrey a king, the ruler over the Jews, and a man honored above any other on earth up to and following his death. He was the epitome of all that was good and virtuous during his life and for many centuries following it.

All three of the Christian worthies were described in the poem as "bold conquerors who captured mighty kingdoms" though technically only Charlemagne ruled over a kingdom.[43] Barbour's lines introducing the three Christians said, "Of thir three chriftin men

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[41]Godfrey's position as duke earned him a great deal of respect from medieval society because of the distinctions given to class and position. Since a duke possessed higher rank in the class structure than an earl or a knight, more weight was given to his opinions and ideas than to someone of lesser rank, even if they were more qualified to speak on a given subject. Raymond of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, led one of the four main companies participating in the Crusade and was accompanied by Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy, the papal legate. Raymond thought he would be in charge of the armies but the other leaders— including Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, Bohemond, and Godfrey—would not allow him sole leadership. Like the others, Godfrey brought a large group of fighting men from Lorraine to the East during the First Crusade, "an army of 10,000 horsemen and 70,000 infantry," so, he had to have some say in what the combined armies would do. Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, (New York: Penguin Classics, 1984), 318.

[42]Gardner, *Parlement*, ll. 513-13.

[43]Gardner, *Parlement*, l. 463. Arthur's authenticity is uncertain and Godfrey supposedly refused the title of king of the Holy Lands. J. G. Rowe pointed out in his article, "Pashal II and the relations between spiritual and temporal powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," (*Speculum* xxxii (1957) 474-75) that Godfrey's title "represents a full royal power shorn of its title by the piety of the crusaders" and little more. Jonathan Riley-Smith, in his article, "The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon," (*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52:125 (1979), 83-86) wrote that the evidence for Godfrey's use of the title *Advocatus* is slight. "Indeed there are grounds for supposing that he himself rarely if ever used it, and that, if he did use a

I can tell heir, that neuer na better in warld weir," Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey.[44]
These sentiments, that never were there better men in the world, applied to all nine of the
worthies discussed here; the figures of all nine slowly exceeded the known facts with the
growth of their legendary images.

Godfrey of Bouillon's Background

One must understand the historical background of Godfrey of Bouillon in order to
understand both the man himself and the image he portrayed during the First Crusade and
in the centuries that followed in historical writings and in legend. Gibbon said the
Crusades were "performed by strength and described by ignorance."[45] Godfrey, as one of
the performers, "aroused the popular admiration and ... [was] singled out from among his
peers to become the subject of tradition, legend and poetry."[46] Like many of the crusaders

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designation other than his European title of *dux*, it was *princeps*." Since the chroniclers present at the time
wrote that the crusaders met on July 17, 1099, in order to elect the ruler of a kingdom (*regum*) and referred
to a *regum* throughout Godfrey's term of control, Riley-Smith argues that Godfrey was in fact if not in title
King of Jerusalem. (*See* Riley-Smith, notes 3 and 4, for listing of chroniclers.) The only written evidence
for Godfrey's title as advocate is in a letter written when Godfrey was not present, probably by Raymond of
St. Gilles' own chronicler, Raymond of Aguilers. Riley-Smith questions the veracity of this evidence since
it occurred only the one time, when Godfrey was not able to decide his own form of address, and was written
under the direction of a political opponent. In defense of Godfrey's claim to be called *princeps*, Riley-Smith
refers to the chroniclers' use of it and similar titles; noting, however, that only the anonymous author of the
Gesta Francorum was present at the election. (Fulcher of Chartres visited Jerusalem during Godfrey's
yearlong reign but Albert of Aix never visited the East.) He also argued that later charters connected in
some way with Godfrey's rule serve as the most important evidence since they "all contain references to him
as prince; Tancred announced that he received Tiberias '*a duce Godefrido totius Orientis serenissimo principe
constituto.*'" Although the title *princeps* may have meant something different than what we now consider
king or prince, the use of it as his contemporaries applied it to Godfrey inferred some of the divine rights
of king. They considered Godfrey to have been elected by God, since those who elected him in 1098 acted
under divine inspiration. It was because of this that Godfrey was able to pass on his rights to his brother
Baldwin, rather than relying on an electorate to decide his successor.

[44]John Barbour, *The Buik of the most noble and vailzeand Conquerour Alexnder the Great*, (New York:
AMS Press Inc., Johnson Reprint Corp, 1971), 405. *See* my Appendix I for the line in context.
[45]Quoted in Beatrice White, "Saracens and Crusaders: from Fact to Allegory," *Medieval Literature and
Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, eds. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron, (London:
The Athlone Press, 1969), 170.
[46]William, Archbishop of Tyre, *Godeffroy of Bologne, or The Siege and Conqueste of Jerusalem, a
translation from the French by William Caxton (1481)*, ed. Mary Noyes Colvin, (London: Kegan Paul,

who left their homelands with high hopes and ambitions, Godfrey never returned home, but died in Jerusalem in 1100 and was buried near Christ's tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. While he sold many of his lands and possessions before setting out, Godfrey may have intended to return to Lorraine after he fulfilled his vow of going on the crusade. He negotiated with neighboring bishops to purchase some of his lands with the contingency that he would buy them back if he returned.[47] Many of those who vowed to journey to Jerusalem never expected to return and gave all their possessions to the Church.[48] Fulcher of Chartres did not mention whether or not the crusaders expected to return, but he did comment on the grief and sorrow felt by those who remained at home. "But however so many tears those remaining shed for those going, these were not swayed by such tears from leaving all that they possessed; without doubt believing that they would receive an hundredfold what the Lord promised to those loving him."[49]

Both sides of Godfrey's family claimed descent from Charlemagne and held important grants of land in the Low Countries. Boulogne, a fief along the English Channel, figured in history since the time of Julius Caesar; the land became part of the family's holdings around the eleventh century through marriage. Under Eustace I, Godfrey's grandfather, the county of Boulogne was of prominent interest to the Normans because of its location along the Channel. Eustace II, Godfrey's father, was the most

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Trench, Trubner & Co., 1893), xxix. For a modern translation of the archbishop's history see William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, ed. and trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols, (New York : Columbia University Press, 1943).

[47]Andressohn, 51. One source reported that the bishop of Liége gave 1,300 marks of silver and 3 of gold for the county of Bouillon and its castle with the condition that Godfrey or his brother Eustace could redeem it upon their return. Another source said the price was 1,500 pounds of silver and yet another stated not only Godfrey, but his three successors could repurchase it as well. Information quoted in Andressohn taken from *Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores*, VIII, XX.

[48]Steven Runciman, *A History of The Crusades*, vol. 1 *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 112.

[49]*The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, Book I*, tr. and notes Martha E. McGinty, ed. Edward Peters, *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Material*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 37.

Genealogical Table of the Counts of Boulogne

Charlemagne
|
Louis the Pious
|
Charles II, the Bald
|
Louis II, le Bègue, born 846, died 879
|
Charles the Simple
|
Louis IV, married Gerberga, daughter of Henry the Fowler
|
Charles, second son, duke of Lower Lorraine, died about 991
|
Gerberga, married Lambert of Louvain
|
Henry of Brussels
|
Lambert   Henry   Mathilde, married
                                          Eustace I of Boulogne

Eustace II,   Godfrey,   Lambert
count of Boulogne,   Bishop of Paris
married Ida of Lorraine

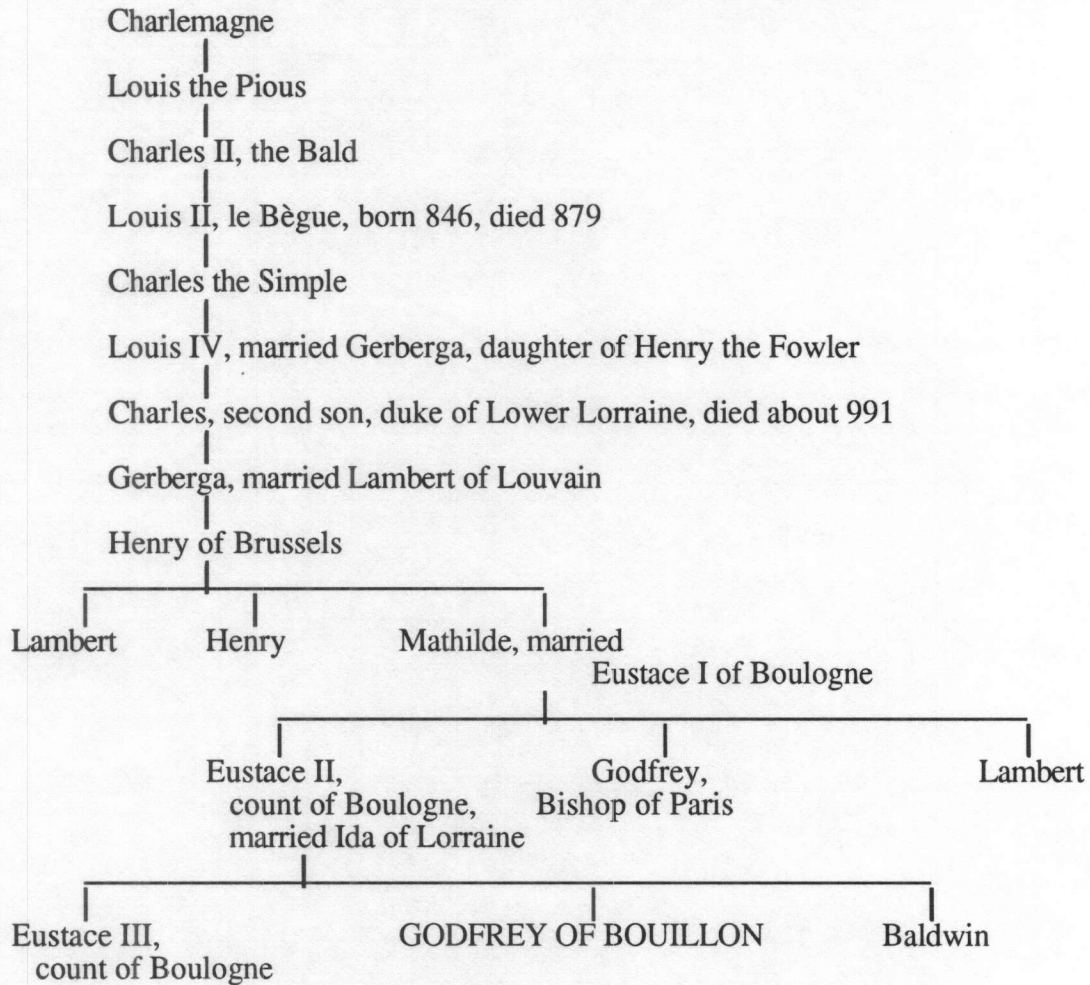Eustace III,   GODFREY OF BOUILLON   Baldwin
count of Boulogne

Fig. 1: Paternal kinship chart, reprinted, with permission, from John Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, (Bloomington, IN), 19

illustrious member of his family up to the last quarter of the eleventh century. The eldest of

three brothers, Eustace lived during a turbulent period of continual warfare, and fought

both on the continent and in England. His first wife, Goda (or Godgifu), was the sister of

the English king, Edward the Confessor. This marriage brought both English lands and a

hope of succession to the English throne to Eustace, which never came about primarily

because of the greater claims of Goda's sons by her first marriage.[50] The possibility of

Eustace's succession and the constant stream of French and Norman favorites gaining

interest in English lands caused difficulties between them and the Anglo-Saxon nobles.

The Saxon nobles resented the preferences given to the French and Normans by the

English kings. One instance of the bitterness between the Saxons and Eustace flared up in

1051 as a result of a bloody brawl between Eustace's men and some of the inhabitants of

Dover. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* related how Eustace's "men behaved foolishly when

looking for quarters ... with the result that there lay dead seven of his companions."[51] The

king requested Earl Godwin to punish the city after Eustace complained to the king, but

when the earl refused, a revolt ensued and Godwin and his sons were banished from

England.[52] During Godfrey's early years, Eustace II fought alongside William the

Conqueror and in fact was considered one of the leaders of the Norman Conquest.[53]

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[50]Goda was the daughter of King Æthered and Emma, the great-granddaughter of the first count of Normandy, Rolf or Rollo. She married Drogo, count of Mantes, and had three sons: Walter, Ralf, and Fulk. Frank Barlow, in his *Edward the Confessor*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), pointed out that Eustace may have gone to talk with Edward in September 1051 in order to promote the interests of his family. If Eustace and Goda had any children, they would stand with Goda's sons, Walter and Ralf, as possible heirs to the English throne. The third son was the bishop of Amiens and so not in line of the succession. Walter and Ralf died before Edward the Confessor and any lawful claim Eustace could make for the throne died with them. Barlow, however, argued that Goda and Eustace produced a daughter, who lived long enough to have a son who would have been of an appropriate age to accompany Eustace as a squire in 1067 and was seen by William the Conqueror as a threat. For more information on this see Barlow, Appendix C, "The descendants of Eustace of Boulogne and Godgifu," 307-08.

[51]*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, tr. and ed. G. N. Garmonsway, (London: Everyman's Library, 1984), 173-75.

[52]See *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 170 ff., and Andressohn, 20-21, for more information.

[53]William of Poitiers listed those present at the Battle of Hastings: Eustace, count of Boulogne; William, son of Richard, count of Evreux; Geoffrey, son of Rotrou, count of Mortagne; William fitz Osbern; Haimo, *vicomte* of Thouars; Walter Giffard; Hugh of Montfort-sur-Risle; Rodulf of Tosny; Hugh of Grantmesnil; and William of Warenne. *See* William of Poitiers, "The Deeds of William, duke of the Normans and king of the English," in *English Historical Documents 1042-1189*, eds. David C. Douglas, and George W. Greenaway, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), 227. William also called Eustace a coward. "With a harsh voice [William the Conqueror] called to Eustace of Boulogne, who with fifty knights was turning in flight, and was about to give the signal for retreat. This man came up to the duke and said in his ear that he ought to retire since he would court death if he went forward," 228-29. William of Poitiers continued, saying Eustace was injured at that moment and carried off the field but William the Conqueror went on to win the battle. William of Poitiers may have resented Eustace because of his earlier attempts to acquire the English throne through his stepsons.

Fig. 2: Eustace of Boulogne, reprinted, with permission, from Frank Stenton, et. al., *The Bayeux Tapestry*, (London, 1965), pl. 69

Eustace's prominence in William's court extended to his being represented next to William in the *Bayeux Tapestry*, holding a standard. This prominence, however, did not restrain him from coveting the English throne, especially considering his claim through his stepsons. In 1067, when the Kentish leaders offered him the crown in return for his aid against William, Eustace willing complied. Some indication previously existed that William feared Eustace, at least to the extent of demanding his eldest son as a hostage at the time of the invasion. Nothing came of the Kentish revolt, however, and after Eustace's defeat, the king took only mild steps against him. William of Poitiers commented:

Rightfully did this dishonor and loss come to Eustace. Truly, if I could set forth the motives which were involved in this quarrel, I could convincingly show that he well merited to lose the grace of the king and the fiefs which the king had already given him. Nor did the sentence imposed by the consent of the English and the French wrong him in convicting him of his grave offence. But we feel we must spare this in so many ways illustrious count, who now is reconciled with the king and is honored by being in his immediate circle.[54]

During Godfrey's early childhood, Eustace regained William's favor and, as recorded in *Domesday Book*, became the second greatest landholder in England, holding his lands in the most peaceful and prosperous sections of the country—in the counties of Surrey, Hertford, Cambridge, Essex, Berkshire, Buckingham, Northampton, Suffolk, Middlesex, Oxford, and Warwick. Part of his lands in England became known as the "Honor of Boulogne" and retained that title up to the time of *Magna Carta*, which mentioned the Honor of Boulogne as one of the four great escheated "honors" or groups of manors and their accompanying properties held by one lord or in this case baron.[55] While some historians contended that Eustace took part in the uprising against William Rufus in 1088, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* stated his eldest son, "Eustatius the junga," took part rather than himself.[56]

After Goda's death, Eustace married Ida of Lorraine, who brought enormous wealth and more lands to their marriage. Born around 1040, Ida was much older than her brother, Godfrey the Hunchback, but she long outlived him. Her family, descended from

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[54]Andressohn notes two modern historians dismissal of Eustace. In his *Norman Conquest*, Freeman berates Eustace for his cowardice and ignoble nature and in *William the Conqueror*, P. Russell refers to "the shifty Count Eustace." (*See* Andressohn, 23, n. 70) *See also* Douglas's *Historical Documents* regarding William the Conqueror and Eustace.

[55]Andressohn, 23-24.

[56]*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 224, and Andressohn, 52.

Genealogical Table of Godfrey's Maternal Ancestry

Charlemagne
|
Louis the Pious
|
Lothair I (died 855)
|
Louis II, king of Italy (died 875)
|
Irmingard, married Count Boso of
          Vienne, later king of Provence.
|
Kunigund, married Sigebert of Verdun.

Godfrey I, duke of
Lower Lorraine,
1012-1023

Gozelo, duke of Upper and Lower
          Lorraine, 1023-1044

Frederick,
  Pope Steven IX
  1057-

Godfrey II, married Doda
    duke of Upper
    Lorraine, 1044-1069

Gozelo II, duke of
          Lower Lorraine,
    1044-1046

Ida, married Eustace II
    of Boulogne

Godfrey III, the Hunchback,
    duke of Lower Lorraine,
        1069-1076

Eustace III,
count of Boulogne

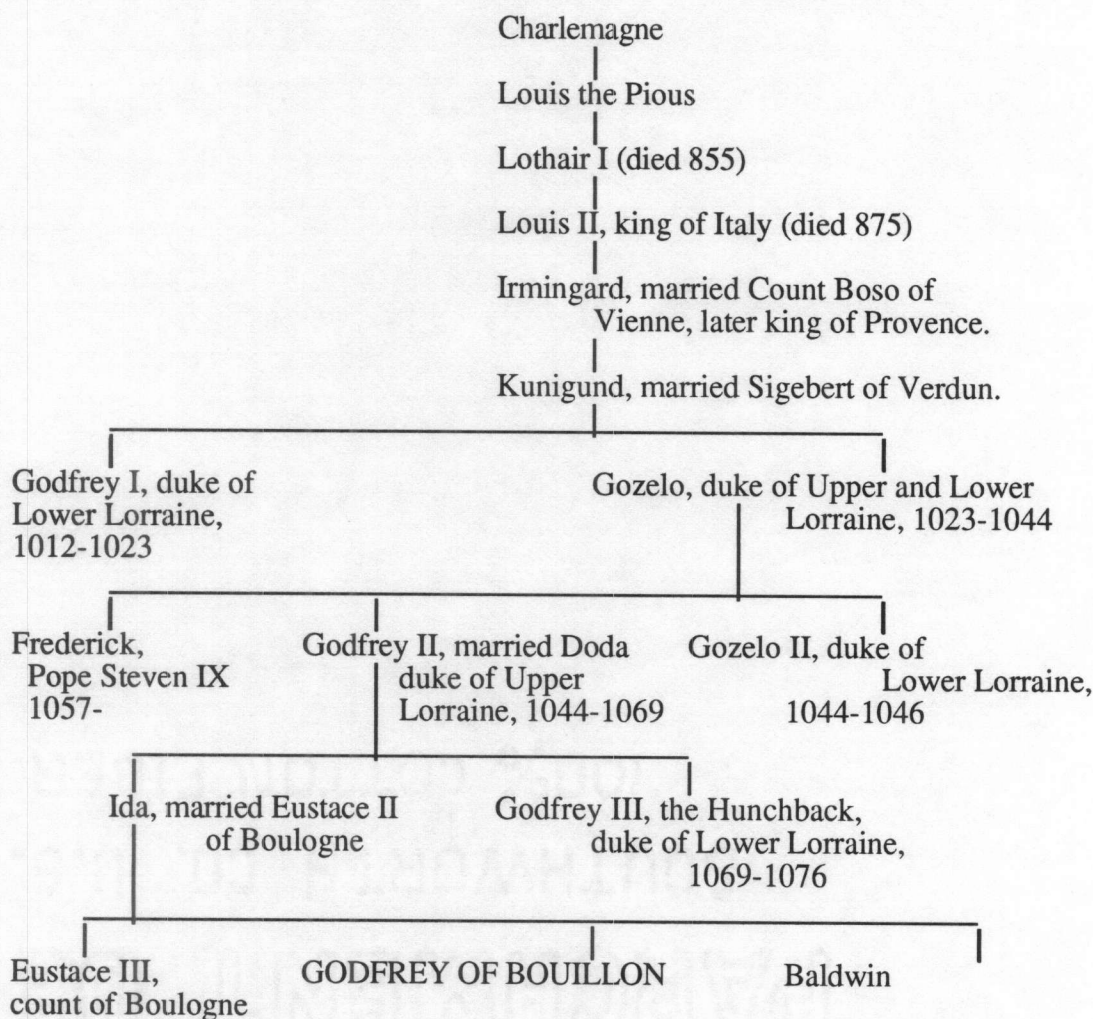**GODFREY OF BOUILLON**

Baldwin

Fig. 3: Maternal kinship chart, data from John Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, (Bloomington, IN), 10

Charlemagne, was generally devoted to the imperial cause, but played the papacy against

the empire when it was expedient for their own benefit.[57] The first duke, Godfrey I,

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[57]G. Barraclough, in his *The Origins of Modern Germany*, (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1947), wrote that Godfrey II rebelled against the emperor because of the spilt up of the duchy of Lorraine between he and his brother. Barraclough said Godfrey's own brother became pope, Stephen IX, in 1057, which formed a bond between Lorraine and the papacy, see page 92.

Count of Verdun, was invested by Emperor Henry II with the duchy of Lower Lorraine around 1012.[58] Godfrey's brother, Gozelo, added the duchy of Upper Lorraine to his holdings which were divided between his two sons upon his death in 1044. Gozelo's eldest son, Godfrey the Bearded (Godfrey II), received Upper Lorraine but was enraged over the division and launched numerous revolts against his brother and the emperor to try to regain both duchies. Godfrey II was forced to forfeit Upper Lorraine twice because of his revolts and was imprisoned more than once. He eventually regained his right to Upper Lorraine through the benevolence of Emperor Henry III. The other part of the region, Lower Lorraine, had since passed out of the family to Frederick of Luxemburg, but on the death of Duke Frederick in 1065, Godfrey II regained it, passing it to his own son upon his death in 1069.

Godfrey III (Godfrey the Hunchback), his father's son by his first wife, was duke of Lower Lorraine from 1069 to 1076. During this time, the Hunchback acquired territory to add to his already vast holdings. He married his step-sister, Mathilda (later Countess Mathilda of Tuscany) for political reasons as well as for the numerous lands she brought to his family. They soon separated, however, and Mathilda went to Italy while Godfrey III remained on his own lands. During the conflict between Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV, Godfrey III supported his king, earning special favor for that support. Henry IV in turn gained Godfrey's aid against the Saxons, who began rebelling against the emperor in 1073.[59] The *Bertholdi Annales* described the Hunchback during this period:

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[58]Andressohn, 9.

[59]During the years of reform of the papacy, begun with Leo IX who wanted to establish the independence of the clergy from the secular world, the position of the pope gradually gained independence from the empire as well as from lesser nobles and lords. At the election of Cardinal Hildebrand as Pope Gregory VII, the emperor Henry IV deferred to the cardinals' choice since he had his own problems at home with the Saxons. In 1074, Henry broke his agreement to acknowledge Gregory, who chose to stand firm and declared that the spiritual authority of the papacy was above all secular authority, even that of the emperor. In 1075, a synod met and agreed on stronger decrees regarding the investiture of ecclesiastics. During the years from 1076 to 1080, Henry was excommunicated twice, thus firmly establishing Gregory's reform—the superiority of the papacy. The pope used his *Dictatus Papae*, a series of articles on canonical authority of

His authority in this expedition was greatest; he was the pivot about whom all things turned, because although small of stature and deformed by a hunch, yet he by far surpassed all the other princes in his reputation for warlike ability and in the array of the choicest troops, as well as in the maturity of his wisdom and his speech.[60]

Godfrey III died unexpectedly while on his way to Frisia to aid Count William of Holland against Robert of Flanders. Most of the chroniclers believed Robert of Frisia hired assassins to kill Godfrey the Hunchback because of his previous interference in Frisia.[61] The Hunchback designated his nephew Godfrey of Bouillon as his heir, but in order for his nephew to inherit, the emperor would have to invest him with the title and property. The Hunchback may have thought the emperor would give his nephew Godfrey the lands since the Hunchback was such a strong supporter during the Investiture Conflict. Henry IV probably saw the Hunchback's death as a means of bringing lands and their revenues into his own hands during a period when he had a great demand for such resources. By conferring the duchy on his own young son, Henry IV retained both the lands and the revenues from it for his own uses while he could also hold it out as a possible reward to any noble, especially Godfrey of Bouillon, who helped him in his various conflicts.

Two biographical accounts of the Hunchback's sister Ida exist, one by a monk from the monastery of Wast which she endowed and where she was buried after her death in 1113.[62] According to her biographers, Ida was a paragon of piety and virtue, the perfect

the papacy, as the basis for his reform. It was only with the concordot of Wormes in 1122 that a solution was finally reached. See also, *The Alexiad*, 61-65.

[60]Andressohn, 17.

[61]*Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores*, vol. V *Lamberti Hersfeldensis Annales*, 243, quoted in Andressohn, 18, n. 47.

[62]The "Vita B. Idae Boloniensis" in *Acta Sanctorum*. April, Vol. II, 139-142, Paris and Rome, 1866. Quoted in Andressohn, 21. He says the monk of Wast was a contemporary of Ida though it is uncertain whether her life was written before or after the crusade.

mother for the future king of Jerusalem. The accounts give little real knowledge about the ordinary details of her life since they were more interested in her piety and miracles than in providing information about her daily routine. The chroniclers told their readers that she was endowed with "heavenly grace and divine piety, was assiduous in her attendance at church, worshiping with extreme and devout humility," and was also beautiful and rich.[63] The monk of Wast wrote that it was these virtues which led to Eustace's marrying her. After her marriage, she bore three sons: Eustace, Godfrey, and Baldwin.

Ida owned manors in both England and on the continent, and provided for many religious houses, including purchasing the abandoned monastery at Wast, repairing and endowing it for the Cluniac Order, and endowing another house in Boulogne for the Order of St. Augustine.[64] Besides these endowments, in 1098 she granted the lands and revenues of two of her properties, Ongyz and Berwold, to the monastery of St. Bertin "for the soul of her husband and her own, and for the safety of her sons, Godfrey and Baldwin, who were on the way to Jerusalem."[65] An account concerning the life of Godfrey's parents states that Ida was a widow "*post annum 1082*," which may mean Eustace lived past 1082.[66] He must have died, however, before 1088, since his eldest son was count of Boulogne by that year.

Godfrey of Bouillon's entitlement to the duchy of Lower Lorraine provided him with an importance he may not otherwise have had as a second son. His brother Eustace

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[63]Andressohn, 21.

[64]The five manors she held in England were three in Dorset, one in Surrey, and one in Somerset. *See* Andressohn, 25, for more information on her properties and her donations to the Church and various religious houses. Barlow implied that Eustace and Ida's marriage was incestuous and that they both founded monasteries and gave money to the Church in atonement for their sin, 308.

[65]Andressohn, 26, n. 88, states the information is from Wauters, *Table chronologique*, I, 611, which also mentions that it seems strange that Eustace III, who accompanied his brothers on the crusade, was not mentioned. Eustace III most likely travelled with the northern princes, arriving in Constantinople later than Godfrey and Baldwin. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that Eustace III travelled with Duke Robert of Normandy, 232.

[66]*See* Andressohn, 25-26 for information on the death date.

had already claimed Boulogne after their father's death and Ida retained control over many of her own lands which left little for the other sons. Godfrey of Bouillon did not easily gain the rights to his uncle's bequest. During this period, it was traditional in Germany to grant counties and marches to the designated heir of the deceased holder but the king claimed the right to invest the duchies to whomever he wanted, generally the heir but not always. Henry IV granted Godfrey the march of Antwerp instead of the duchy of Lorraine, which he conferred instead on his own two-year-old son Conrad. Besides this setback, however, Godfrey also had to contend with Mathilda's claims to her estranged husband's lands, especially the county of Verdun, the holdings of Stenay and Mosay and even Bouillon itself. Godfrey also had to defend himself against claims made by other contenders, including Albert of Namur (whose wife, Regelinda, was first married to Duke Frederick) and the bishop of Verdun. Godfrey had to leave these problems because of his involvement in the Investiture Conflict between Gregory VII and Henry IV and in the emperor's wars against the Saxons. Godfrey was in the middle of the Saxon campaign, 1078-80, because he was the margrave of Antwerp, and as such, the king's vassal. Another reason may have been because of his desire to prove himself worthy of the duchy of Lorraine if Henry would reconsider and grant him the lands and title.[67]

On Godfrey's return to Bouillon after this, hostilities increased between Godfrey and Albert of Namur for the control of Godfrey's holdings. The last and most severe

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[67]Helmhold wrote in the twelfth century that Henry collected an army to attack the Saxons and that Godfrey was one of many knights with him. Andressohn, 37. From *MGSS*. XXI, 33. This chronicler, whom Andressohn says is quite dependable although not contemporaneous to the events, may have named Godfrey because of his later role in Jerusalem and not just because of his position in Henry's army. Andressohn may be trying to refute modern historians' contention that Godfrey did not participate in the battle of Elster in order to prove the worth of Godfrey in later events. Andressohn refers to many chroniclers who name Godfrey as one of the leaders of the battle, including William of Tyre, Alberic, and William of Apulia, who mentions no names but says that Lotharingians (Lorrainers) took part. Andressohn wrote, "It is possible that all of these authors could have erred, but not probable." William of Tyre also mentions that Godfrey was a participant in Henry's wars against the Saxons. Godfrey's part in the battle against the Saxons is described in my chapter four while discussing his abilities as a knight and others' opinions of him.

struggles over his lands occurred in 1086, when Albert received the county of Verdun from Matilda of Tuscany, which she claimed because of her rights as Godfrey the Hunchback's widow, and began to besiege the castle of Bouillon itself. After rigorous fighting between the two forces, neither side gained a decisive victory. Godfrey called for help from his Germans at Antwerp and from his brothers, which caused the bishop of Verdun to lose any advantage he held previously and forced him to call for mediation by bishop Henry of Liége. Godfrey most probably regained control over Verdun, Mosay, and Stenay after this meeting because, by the time he set off for the crusades in 1096, he sold the rights to all three counties to the bishop of Verdun in order to get money to go on crusade. Eventually, Henry IV thought better of his investiture of his son to the duchy of Lower Lorraine and conferred it upon Godfrey. A chronicler of Liége wrote: "On May 10, 1087, Henry IV came to Aachen, and Godfrey, the margrave of Antwerp, was among those present at the gathering," where "Conrad, now thirteen years of age, who held the title of duke of Lower Lorraine was elevated to the kingship."[68] This chronicler, in his *Annales S. Jacobi*, said Godfrey was invested with the duchy at the same time "*Conradus puer, filius Heinrici imperatoris, Aquis sublimatur in regem, Marchio Godefridus in ducem.*"[69] From this period to the time he left on the crusade, Godfrey fulfilled his duties as Duke of Lorraine, assisted Bishop Henry in establishing the Peace of God in the diosese of Liége,[70] and was drawn more deeply into the conflict between the papacy and the empire over investiture of the clergy. Pope Urban II's call for a Christian force to free the east from its Moslem oppressors, however, interested Godfrey far more than the struggle between the emperor and the Church.

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[68]Andressohn, 41. Information taken from *MGSS* XVI, 639.
[69]Andressohn, 41, n. 63. Information taken from *MGSS*, XVI, 639.
[70]For information on Peace of God and Truce of God movements, see later in this chapter.

Preparations for the Crusade

The crusades developed out of an earlier tradition of pilgrimage to holy shrines as a

sign of respect for the humanity of Christ. The individual pilgrimage known as a

passagium parvum became, in the later centuries, the fully armed communal pilgrimage or

passagium generale.[71] Augustine and the Greek fathers did not think pilgrimages were

necessary to Christian practise,[72] but over the centuries, people began to make the journey

to a specific site as a penance and the belief grew that certain places possessed some kind of

spiritual virtue in of themselves. For example, pilgrims journeyed to the abbeys of Cluny

and Monte Casino, to the city of Rome, to the graves of the apostles and saints, and to

Palestine for the purpose of prayer and of acquiring spiritual merit by their actions. By the

third century, Christians visited the holy places of Christ's life—Bethlehem, the Mount of

Olives, the Garden of Gethsemene, the place of the Ascension, and Calvary. Visiting these

shrines for the benefit of one's spiritual life was already a part of Christian practise by the

Middle Ages. St. Jerome's letters referred to pilgrims and he himself lived in Palestine,

reasoning that he could better understand the scriptures while living in the area where they

took place.[73]

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[71]Azia S. Atiya, *Crusade, Commerce and Culture*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1962), 17.

[72]Information on Augustine and Jerome's opinions of the pilgrim and pilgrimage from Runciman, 38 ff, unless otherwise noted. *See also* James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader*, (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), chapter 1, "The Pilgrimage Tradition and the Holy War Before the First Crusade," 3-29. The Old Testament meanings of *peregrinus* and *peregrinatia* were "stranger," "alien," or "traveller," but did not include someone journeying to a sacred or holy place for religious purposes of devotion or in penance. In the New Testament, the idea of a traveller as a *peregrinatio* took on more religious overtones. Christ was described as homeless in this world, one who helped others as they travelled toward God. Augustine's *City of God* provided examples of earthly sojourn while striving towards God. Augustine called "the redeemed household of servants of the lord Christ—the pilgrim City of Christ the King," Augustine, *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans*, ed. Henry Bettenson, introduction David Knowles, (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1972), Book 1, chapter 35. He also continually referred to Christians' life as a 'pilgrimage by faith.'

[73]Also in his *De Viris Illustribus*, Jerome makes a record of the first named pilgrim: Fermilian, bishop of Capsarea in Asia Minor, Runciman, 39 and n. 1. Jerome's opinion of pilgrimage made for penance fluctuated. He encouraged a friend of his, Desiderius, to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem but he later

The understanding that a pilgrim visited certain sites for a penance grew into the practise of pilgrimage granting the pilgrim an indulgence—conferring grace and a remission of sins on the pilgrim. The term *crusade* did not appear until the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Before then, the participants in the later named First Crusade called their actions a pilgrimage, for which the Latin words *iter*, *expeditio*, or *peregrinatio* sufficed. The terms *crosata* and *croseria* were used to define the event in the later centuries.[74] Urban II's promise of indulgence to the crusaders at the Council of Clermont in 1095 was the first instance of a plenary or total indulgence, rather than a partial remission. He vowed that the "remission of sins will be granted for those going thither, if they end a shackled life either on land or in crossing the sea, or in struggling against the heathern."[75]

While war against Christian people was frowned upon, war against the infidel appeared as a viable and even worthy action for Western knights. Acceptance of the necessity of war grew over the centuries as early Christians, now part of an Empire synonymous with the Church, slowly accepted Augustine's justification of war. He wrote in the *City of God* about the misery of war, even when fought for just purposes.

> But the wise man, they say, will wage just wars. Surely if he remembers that he is a human being, he will rather lament the fact that he is faced with the necessity of waging just wars; for if they were not just, he would not have to engage in them, and consequently there would be no wars for a wise man. For it is the injustice of the opposing side that lays on the wise man the duty of waging wars.[76]

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disparaged the idea when writing to another fried, Paulinus of Nola, writing, "A man is no worse...for not having seen Jerusalem," Brundage, *Medieval Canon*, 7.

[74]Peters, xviii. *See also*, James Brundage, "Cruce signari: The Rite for Taking the Cross in England," *Traditio* 22 (1966), 289-310.

[75]Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 30. *See also* Robert the Monk, "Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont, November 27, 1095, the version of Robert the Monk," in Peters, 4 and Erule Bradford, *The Sword and the Scimitar: The Saga of the Crusades*, (New York: G. P. Punam's sons, 1974), 14.

[76]Augustine, *City of God*, Book XIX, chapter 7, 861-62.

In a later chapter, Augustine wrote,

> Just as there is no man who does not wish for joy, so there is no man who does not wish for peace. Indeed, even when men choose war, their only wish is for victory, which shows that their desire in fighting is for peace with glory.[77]

Although many western Christians took these sentiments to mean that they could wage war, including the holy wars sanctioned and declared by the popes and other high ecclesiastics, many western Christians not only did not accept justification for war but condemned it whole-heartedly.

The peace movements of the tenth and eleventh centuries stemmed from this condemnation. During these centuries, the Church faced a violent and anarchic society. In response, it took the popular movement seeking peace among the warring factions a step further, substituting the Church's strong sanctions and popular disapproval of violence for the kings' feeble efforts at control. The peace movement first began in southern France in the tenth century, declaring that the clergy and the poor were to be protected from violence. Bishops initiated the peace movement of the eleventh century in order to protect their lands and people. The bishops' movement consisted of the Peace of God, which protected the Church—its people and property—from violence at all times, and a second movement, the Truce of God, which declared that certain times of the year and certain days of the week were to be sacrosanct from violence of any kind.

> Namely, that from the first day of the Advent of our Lord through Epiphany, and from the beginning of Septuagesima to the eighth day after Pentecost and through that whole day, and throughout the year on every Sunday, Friday and Saturday,

[77]Augustine, *City of God*, Book XIX, chapter 12, 866.

and on the fast days of the four seasons, and on the eve and the day of all the apostles, and on all days canonically set apart—or which shall in the future be set apart—for fasts or feasts, this decree of peace shall be observed.[78]

The attempt to limit war was somewhat undermined by society's upholding the warrior, the chivalric knight, as the arbitrator of their society. The chivalric romances often illustrated the ideal warrior, but even here little attention was paid to limiting battles or adventures. One example of popular reaction to the Truce of God was found in Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval* (c. 1160-1185). In it the hero, who had forgotten God for five years continued "to pursue chivalry, and sought out strange and stern adventures and proved his mettle and undertook no exploit from which he did not emerge triumphant."[79] One day, as he journeyed through the forest fully armed, Perceval came across three knights and ten ladies walking barefoot as penitents. The group rebuked Perceval for "coming all armed and holding a lance and shield" during Lent, especially on Good Friday, when "no man who believes in God should bear arms on field or road."[80] But, even though many lords and knights swore to uphold the peace movements, they did not always abide by the strictures placed on them. William the Conqueror fought a pitched battle with Harold at Hastings (1066) on a Saturday and Godfrey of Bouillon and his army confronted emperor Alexius' troops during Holy Week.

In order for the Church to turn the faithful away from fighting with each other, many of the popes declared holy wars against the infidels in Spain and against excommunicants in the west.[81] It is debatable whether the participants gained more

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[78]"The Truce of God Proclaimed in the Diocese of Cologne, 1083," Peters, 19. The Latin text is in *Momumenta Germaniae Historia, Legum*, Vol. II (Hannover, 1837), 55-58.

[79]Chrétien de Troys, *Perceval*, eds. Roger Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Medieval Romances*, (New York: The Modern Library, 1957), 82.

[80]Chrétien de Troys, *Perceval*, 83.

[81]Brudage wrote in his *Medieval Canon*, "By the late eleventh century, Western Christendom had arrived at a concept of war, the Holy War, which was both novel and important. Although it was built upon the

spiritually or secularly from these wars. Alexander II granted not just absolution but a general remission of sins to those who fought in Spain in the campaign of 1064, but Gregory VII gave absolution only to those who died.[82] Gregory gave the same absolution to those who died fighting the excommunicated Henry IV in the 1170s. Because of the early examples of war the Church sanctioned, by the time of the First Crusade the precedent already existed for Urban's call for a holy war to assist the Eastern empire.

The First Crusade began a new period in Church sanctioned martial actions. Now, instead of fighting Moslems or heretics within the western empire, the knights were called by the pope to come to the aid of the eastern empire. A few years earlier, emperor Michael VII asked pope Gregory VII for help after the disastrous Battle of Manzikert (1071) in which the emperor's forces, without his Norman mercenaries, were severely defeated.[83] Gregory VII dreamt of gaining supremacy in the east after he asserted his superiority in the west and thought aiding the emperor would give him a foothold in the east. He wanted to extend the holy war in Spain to the east, hoping to lead the western forces personally. Gregory gave up the dream of personally leading the troops, however, because of the civil wars and unrest which lead to the Investiture Conflict between the papacy and the empire. The troops he gathered for his project dispersed after his death without accomplishing the pope's purpose. His gathering them at all, however, set a precedent for loaning western Europe's military power to the eastern empire for the purpose of controlling the Muslim threat.

Augustinian notion of the Just War, the Holy War went well beyond the positions which Augustine had set forth. Not only was the Holy War considered not offensive to God, but it was thought to be positively pleasing to Him. Participants were not merely held to be acting in a morally acceptable fashion, but their fighting in a blessed cause was believed to be a virtuous act which merited God's special favor, as embodied in the commutation of penance granted by papal proclamation," 29.

[82]For further explanation of growth of the concept of holy war in the west, *see* Runciman, chapter 1, 83-92. *See also*, Brundage, *Medieval Canon*, for papal decrees stating basic principles for the idea of crusade, 24-25.

[83]*See* Runciman 61-63 for fuller explanation of the battle and what preceded it. *See also*, Brundage, *Medieval Canon*, for information on Gregory's projected campaign, 26-28.

By the time Alexius made his request for help from the West in 1095, the Seljuk Turks had captured Mecca and Jerusalem. Pope Urban II had regained control over the west, becoming its spiritual master in fact as well as title, and was ready to confirm his mastery in a series of councils needed to restructure the Church after its period of relative disunion. Although not quite as energetic or full of grand ideas as Gregory VII, Urban II was acute and subtle. He held the same religious views, ambitions, and managerial skills as Gregory, and he had established himself as the single leader of the Church. He also wished to reassert Rome's superiority over the other sees, including those in the East. In 1095, Alexius requested soldiers from the west to further his own interests and regain lands previously part of the empire.[84] His request at this time, emphasizing the fact that if the west did not wish to see Christianity perish in the East they must assist the empire, served as a means for Urban to assert his control over the Christian west. The crusade thus called forth, a blending of the idea of holy war and of pilgrimage made for penitential reasons, became Urban's means for gaining control over the Church in the East.

Urban made the first announcement of a crusade to save the holy land and aid Alexius at the Council at Piacenza, the first great council of his pontificate, held in March 1095, after he had met with Alexius' ambassadors requesting mercenaries.[85] From Piacenza, Urban II journeyed across the Alps to the council of Clermont where he officially called his flock to the pilgrimage. At a gathering of the masses on the open fields at the

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[84]Alexius expected mercenaries rather than the religious pilgrims who came in such large numbers in response to Urban's call. *See* footnote below.

[85]Alexius' envoys addressed the assembly at Piacenza. Alexius needed new recruits to hold his far-reaching frontiers against the northern barbarians along the Danube, the Serbs and the Bulgarians in the northwest, the Normans in Italy, and the Arabs in Asia Minor. The Emperor was dependent for the most part on foreign mercenaries from all over—tribes from the steppes of Asia Minor, Anglo-Saxon exiles from Norman England, and other western adventurers. The envoys hoped for recruits of similar natures from their journey West, but, in attempting to downplay the small amount of remuneration from the emperor, they emphasized the difficulties Eastern Christians and pilgrims endured under the Moslems. Since they hoped for Church backing to encourage mercenaries to travel East, this emphasis on Christian duty rather than material gain was only to be expected. For more information on this topic, *see* Runciman 104-05.

council on 25 November 1095, Urban called for men to gain merit by fighting righteous wars rather than imperiling their souls by fighting at home.[86] Robert the Monk wrote in the first quarter of the twelfth century and, while he used the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* to some extent, he claimed to have been present at the council. According to Robert's chronicle, Urban requested his followers to set aside their petty rivalries and come to the assistance of the east.

> Let the deeds of your ancestors move you and incite your minds to manly achievements; [as did] the glory and greatness of king Charles the Great, and … of your other kings, who have destroyed the kingdoms of the pagans, and have extended in these lands the territory of the holy church. … Let therefore hatred depart from among you, let your quarrels end, let wars cease, and let all dissensions and controversies slumber. Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre; wrest that land from the wicked race, and subject it to yourselves. … Jerusalem … the navel of the world … is now held captive by His enemies … [and] desires to be liberated. … From you especially she asks succor, because, as we have already said, God has conferred upon you … great glory in arms.[87]

Urban marshalled the energies of a warrior society into a common goal and then allowed the natural ardor of his listeners to carry them forward to the culmination of the crusade. A letter from the patriarch of Jerusalem and the princes in the east to the Churches in the west read, "Come hither, ye faithful; come hither: wheresoever only two men are gathered together in one house, let one of the twain come to the Holy Sepulchre" and free the east.[88] In spite of this letter, the pope called on the west to aid him not in delivering

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[86]See Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 31, and Robert the Monk, in Peters, 9.

[87]Robert the Monk, in Peters, 3-4.

[88]"Letter from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Church in the West, Antioch, January 1098," in Peters,

eastern Christianity, but in delivering the Holy Sepulchre. Urban II emphasized the characteristics admired by his audience—piety, love of adventure, love of fighting, eagerness to better their lot—so it was small wonder that his listeners shouted what was to become the battle cry, *Deus Vult*, or 'God wills it,' and pressed forward to take up the cross which Urban declared was the banner of all those taking the oath.[89] At the end of his sermon and after the overwhelming acceptance of his plan, Urban said, according to Robert the Monk:

> Whoever, therefore, shall determine upon this holy pilgrimage and shall make his vow to God to that effect and shall offer himself as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead or on his breast. When, truly, having fulfilled his vow he wishes to return, let him place the cross on his back between his shoulders. Such, indeed, by the two-fold action will fulfill the precept of the Lord, as He commands in the Gospel, "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me."[90]

In the version of Guibert of Nogent, Urban concluded his oration by instituting the Cross, "the stigma of the Lord's Passion, [as] the emblem of the soldiery, or rather, of what was to be the soldiery of God."[91]

In his chronicle, Fulcher of Chartres called the fighting forces "God's soldiers" and "pilgrims." Writing of the departure of the forces from the west, Fulcher said, "In March of the year 1096 from the lord's Incarnation ... some people, earlier prepared than others,

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[89]Although the nucleus of the army consisted of fighting men, the greater numbers were non-combatants: women and children who entered into the expedition because of Urban's eloquence and the promise of salvation, and men who originally had no intention of fighting but were later pressed into service.
[90]Robert the Monk, in Peters, 5.
[91]Guibert of Nogent, "Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont, November 27, 1095, the version of Guibert of Nogent," Peters, 15.

hastened to begin the holy journey."[92] He continued by naming the leaders of the pilgrims, Hugh of Vermandois, the brother of King Philip of France, Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, Godfrey of Bouillon, Raymond of Saint Gilles, the count of Toulouse, accompanied by the papal legate Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy, Peter the Hermit of Amiens and Walter the Penniless of Perejo, Robert of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, along with Stephen of Blois and Robert of Flanders.[93]

As Fulcher of Chartres stated, Godfrey of Bouillon was one of many from northern Europe who took up the cross. He probably did not attend the Council at Clermont but he would have heard the pope's message when the priests read it to their congregations. Urban's plea found a warm reception in northern France and in Lorraine. In the *Chronicle of St. Hubert*, the author related the excitement people from every rank in Lorraine felt and related that Godfrey was one of the princes of the area intent on journeying to the East.[94] The stress authors placed on Godfrey's piety was of later origin than his life, probably emphasized because of his position in Jerusalem rather than any act or belief he held at the time. Like many other nobles during the confusion resulting from the conflict between the Church and the emperor, Godfrey profited at the expense of the Church, acquiring lands and money form nearby religious houses. In one instance, he dissolved the priory of St. Peter near Bouillon and took over its possessions.[95]

The chronicler of St. Hubert intimated that Godfrey followed the example of others from northern France, including Raymond, count of Toulouse, and Hugh, Count of Vermandois, rather than initiating the idea on his own. While many common folk from the

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[92]Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 35.

[93]Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 35-36. *See also*, William of Tyre for a fuller listing of the leaders, including the names of a number of lesser knights who brought along forces under their own command, Babcock, 95-96.

[94]*MGSS* VIII, 615, quoted in Andressohn, 48. Although the chronicle probably named the others from the area who planned on making the journey, Andressohn did not name the other princes who took the vow.

[95]*MGSS*, X, 236 ff., quoted in Andressohn, 48. Godfrey's mother Ida made him compensate the prior for this when he was preparing to go on the crusade. *See* Andressohn, 50 for information.

area of Lorraine and the Rhenish regions determined to go on the pilgrimage after hearing

the exhortations of Peter the Hermit and others like him, Godfrey's decision stimulated

many of the lesser nobles and knights to join him, including Baldwin of Burg (Godfrey's

kinsman), Werner of Grez, Count Raymond of Tol and his brother Peter, Dudo of Conz-

Saarburg, Henry of Ascha, Godfrey of Ascha, Baldwin of Stabelo, and Count Cuno of

Montaign.[96] Godfrey was well-known for his skill and honor in war already so these

knights and the other ranks trusted him to lead them safely. His younger brother Baldwin

also joined him, probably making his decision rather late since the bishop, after buying the

rights to the county of Verdun, conferred it upon Baldwin as *advocatus*, or lay

administrator.[97] Baldwin, as the youngest son, was destined for the Church but he

returned to the secular world after deciding his temperament was not conducive to the

religious life. He took service under Godfrey and fully participated in and agreed with the

Duke's decision to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Since he was the youngest son and

did not have any lands of his own or the prospect of any, Baldwin thought he might be able

to secure lands and titles in the east. He took his wife, Godvere of Tosni, and their small

children with him, obviously not intending to return to the west. Godfrey's elder brother,

count Eustace of Boulogne, may have accompanied the duke also, since many of the

chronicles place him with Godfrey; but, Albert of Aix wrote in his chronicle that Eustace

accompanied the group from northern France—the army of Robert of Normandy, Stephen

of Blois, and Robert of Flanders. No other contemporary source mentions him until the

northern French contingent appears.[98]

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[96]Listing is mentioned in Albert of Aix, *Rec. acc.* IV, 209 and quoted in Andressohn, 52-53. See also Runciman, Vol. I, 147 for listing of those who travelled with Godfrey.

[97]Runciman 146-47.

[98]Andressohn, 53, n. 42. The *Gesta* chronicle did not mention Eustace, just Godfrey and Baldwin. Henry of Huntingdon stated that Eustace arrived with the northern army. Fulcher of Chartres did not mention Eustace at all and he travelled with the northern forces. *See also* Runciman, vol. 1, 147, n. 1, who said Eustace probably reached Constantinople sometime after Godfrey and Baldwin. Runciman wrote that Eustace was a reluctant crusader, so he probably did not hurry to keep his vow to go to the aid of the east in

Godfrey's preparations for the journey began early in 1096. He needed to raise funds for his expenses along the way, including taking care of his army and the purchase of equipment and stores, so he sold or "alienated" his lands, transferring or selling his rights to his property to the highest bidder. The larger holdings were sold or pawned while many smaller parcels and items were donated to the Church for "eternal rewards" for the donor. One gift mentioned by a chronicle was a set of crystal dice given to the monastery of St. Hubert.[99] Godfrey negotiated with the neighboring bishops of Liége and Verdun to sell his rights to the county and castle of Bouillon, the county of Verdun, his possessions in Mosay and Stenay, and the castle of Falkenstein.[100] One further source of revenue may have come from a congregation of local Jews. A Jewish manuscript from 1140 asserted that Godfrey had threatened them with extermination, saying he would avenge Christ's death on them. The head of the congregation at Mainz complained to the emperor, who commanded the princes, bishops, and counts of his empire to protect the Jews. Godfrey of Bouillon swore an oath that he never intended to harm the Jews and promised to be their protector, for which the Jews of Cologne and Mainz gave him 1000 pieces of silver.[101]

The People's Crusades

The first group to undertake the journey to the Holy Land followed Peter the Hermit's preaching to set out as soon as possible to fulfill their vow. On March 8, 1096, Walter the Penniless, "a well-known soldier ... with a great company of Frankish foot-

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the first place. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* placed Eustace in the group who travelled with Robert of Normandy.

[99]*MGSS*, VIII, 615. Quoted in Andressohn, 50.

[100]See above, n. 42, for more information regarding the amounts of money involved. Most sources say that Ida rather than Godfrey took care of these arrangements. *See* Andressohn, 51-2 for information on these and other sales.

[101]*MGSS*, XX, 498. Quoted in Andressohn, 52. Runciman said it was outright blackmail that worked. *See* Runciman, vol. 1, 136-37.

soldiers and only about eight knights," gathered together and started on their journey, travelling through the German states and into Hungary.[102] Not long after, Peter lead a large contingent of

> bishops, abbots, clerics, and monks [who] set out [with him]; next most noble lay men, and princes of the different kingdoms; then, all the common people, the chaste as well as the sinful, adulterers, homicides, thieves, perjurers, and robbers; indeed, every class of the Christian profession, nay, also, women and those influenced by the spirit of penance—all joyfully entered upon this expedition.[103]

Peter's group passed through the same areas as had Walter's, entering Hungary with the permission of the king. Another man who led a large group before the August date set by the pope was a priest named Gottschalk, who assembled upwards of fifteen thousand people from various regions of Lorraine, eastern France, Bavaria, and Alemannia. This host, "having collected an inexpressible amount of money, together with other necessaries, are said to have continued on their way peacefully, even to the kingdom of Hungary."[104]

All three groups encountered difficulty in Hungary. Walter's army passed through peacefully for the most part, but some of his company stayed behind in Semlin, across the river from Belgrade. These men were harassed by the Hungarians, and were sent on their way, beaten and stripped of their possessions. Although the company sympathized with their companions' plight, they realized that it would be impossible to try and retaliate because they were so few and still had a long journey before reaching their destination.

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[102]Albert of Aix, "Peter the Hermit and the 'Popular Crusade' (March-October, 1096), the version of Albert of Aix," Peters, 94-95.

[103]Albert of Aix, Peters, 99. Peter was said to have gathered anywhere from 30,000 to 60,000 men, women, and children from France and the countries along his route through Germany. Tyre put the number that started out at 40,000, Babcock, 99.

[104]Albert, Peters, 99. Except for a side trip or two to kill Jews, the journey probably was calm until reaching Hungary in the wake of Walter and Peter's group. *See* Runciman, chap 2, "The German Crusade," 134-41 for information on Gottschalk.

They decided it was better to overlook the humiliation and continue on their journey. When Peter's group reached Semlin and heard of what happened to the others, however, "they were roused to righteous wrath" and captured the city.[105] After resting there for a number of days, Peter and his forces journeyed through Bulgaria where several disasters occurred, scattering his group. Eventually, however, Peter reunited most of his host and resumed their march to Constantinople. Gottschalk's host entered Hungary without any difficulty but did not act in kind to the generosity of the Hungarians. They "abused the abundance of food, and gave themselves over to idleness and drunkenness....They plundered, they laid violent hands on the wares offered for sale in the public markets, and they slew the people in utter disregard of the laws of hospitality."[106] The Hungarian king retaliated; first sending a letter to Gottschalk demanding that his force surrender and give up their arms and possessions, and then, when the main host agreed, falling upon the travellers in a "most inhuman slaughter. So thoroughly was this done that the whole place was polluted by the blood ... and scarcely a trace of that great multitude remained."[107]

Other bands of people assembled and travelled east, some under the nominal leadership of men of noble birth—one group followed Count Emicho of Leiningen—but they were less intent on freeing the Holy Land from Moslem domination than on exterminating the Jews in the west.[108] Ekkehard of Aura, a monk of Corvey, Albert of Aix, and William of Tyre wrote about the excesses of Emicho's followers. In the cities along the Rhine, the Main, and the Danube, Emicho's host "either utterly destroyed the execrable race of the Jews wherever they found them...or forced them into the bosom of

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[105]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 100.
[106]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 110. *See also*, Albert of Aix, in Peters, 99-100.
[107]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 112. *See also*, Albert of Aix, in Peters, 100.
[108]For information on Jewish colonies and an overview of the German forces under Emicho, *see* Runciman, vol. 1, 134-41.

the Church."[109] Albert of Aix wrote of Emicho's slaughter of the Jews in the city of

Mainz, who had sought the safety of the bishop of Mainz, Rothard.

> Emico [*sic.*] and the rest of his band ... attacked the Jews in the hall with arrows
>
> and lances. ... They killed the Jews, about seven hundred in number, who in vain
>
> resisted the force and attack of so many thousands. ... With very great spoils these
>
> people, Count Emico ... and all that intolerable company of men and women then
>
> continued on their way to Jerusalem.[110]

The host was denied entry to Hungary by the garrison at the border town of Wieselburg

and were eventually dispersed. William of Tyre related how Emicho and his forces

besieged the city and its surrounding countryside. After breaching the walls, however, a

sudden panic affected the forces and, "although they were apparently the victors and knew

of no reason for flight, ... they turned and fled."[111] The Hungarians pursued the fleeing

forces, killing many and dispersing the rest but Emicho managed to escape with the greater

part of his troops and returned to his own country.

The forces of Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit eventually reached

Constantinople, but with thousands of pilgrims less than they began.[112] The two groups

joined forces at Constantinople and made a combined camp, first outside the city and later

on the other side of the Hellespont after Peter's meeting with Alexius to determine their

reasons for making the journey and their needs while encamped. The emperor advised

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[109]Ekkehard of Aura, "Peter the Hermit and the 'Popular Crusade' (March-October, 1096), Emico: the version of Ekkehard of Aura," Peters, 101.

[110]Albert of Aix, in Peters, 103

[111]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 114-15. Tyre attributed their flight to guilt over their horrendous actions against the Jews.

[112]William of Tyre and Albert of Aix said Peter gathered 40,000 people at the beginning of his journey and 30,000 by the time they reached Constantinople. Anna Comnena reported Peter's following numbered 80,000 foot soldiers and 100,000 knights but these figures are highly unlikely, *Alexiad*, 311. *See also* Runciman, vol. 1, Appendix II, "The Numerical Strength of the Crusaders" for information on the likely strengths of each group during the period of the First Crusade.

them to wait for the knights coming later before setting out from Constantinople, but Peter decided to push on to Jerusalem. In October, as they travelled toward the Holy City, the Emir of Nicaea cut them to pieces near their camp at Civetot.[113] After this massacre, Peter
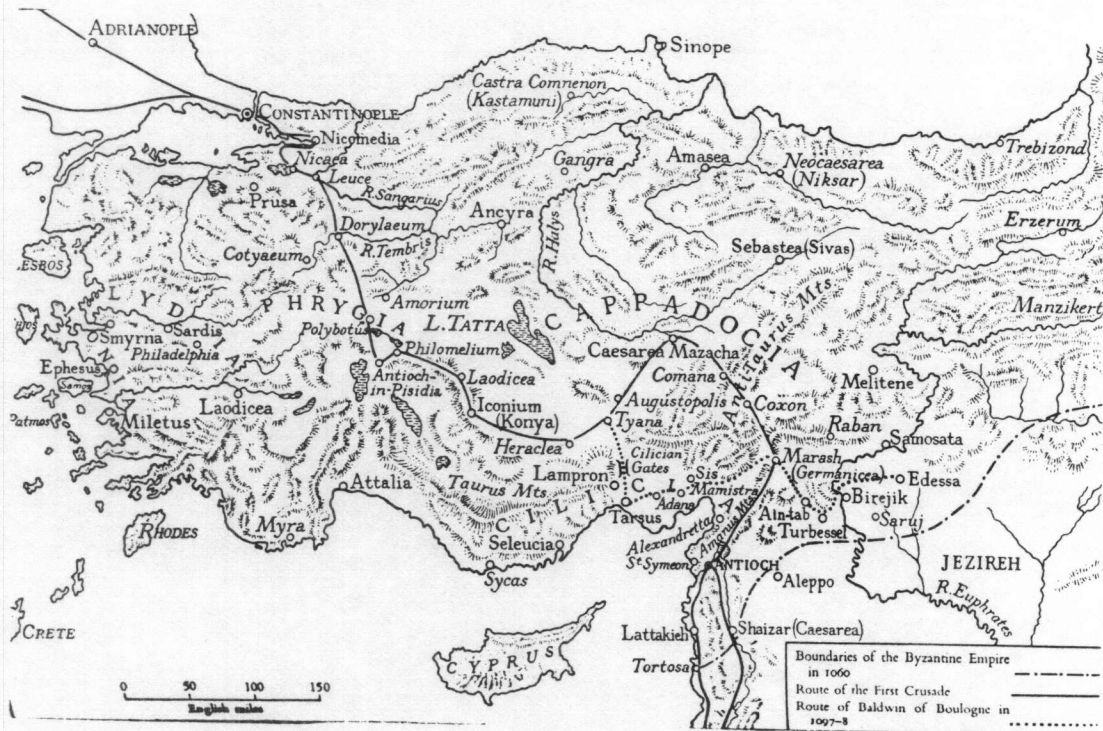

Fig. 4: Asia Minor at the time of the First Crusade, reprinted, with permission, from Steven Runciman, *The History of the Crusades*, (London, 1951), 176

[113]Albert of Aix, William of Tyre, and the author of the *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* all give accounts of what happened to Peter and his following. According to the *Gesta Francorum*, (The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem), ed. Rosalind Hill, (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), Alexius greeted and gave supplies to Peter the Hermit and the many others who either accompanied him to Constantinople or who had made their way there separately. Alexius said to them, "Do not cross the Hellespont until the great army of the Christians arrives for there are not enough of you to fight against the Turks." They did not follow this advice, however, and instead, started on their way to Jerusalem. Along the way, they separated into two main groups, the first occupying a castle just beyond the city of Nicaea. The Turks attacked them at the castle. After a siege of eight days, a group of Germans betrayed their comrades inside the castle in return for their own lives. "Of the remainder, those who would not renounce God were killed; others, whom the Turks captured alive, were divided among their captors like sheep, some were put up as targets and shot with arrows, others sold and given away as if they were brute beasts." After this, the Turks moved against the second group of Christians at Civetot (Kivotos), just beyond Nicaea. The Christians who survived the massacre returned to Constantinople, where Alexius "rejoiced gladly" at their defeat and disarmed them until the princely groups arrived. (*Gesta Francorum*, 3-4) *See also* Runciman, vol. 1, 128-33.

and the few others who survived returned to Constantinople to await the main forces and followed them through the many battles towards Jerusalem.

The Princes' Crusade

In the Autumn of 1096, the first of the "princely" groups arrived in Constantinople. Pope Urban II's letter of instruction, sent out to the churches and crusaders in December 1095, stated that his legate, Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy, would set out on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, August 15th, 1096, and those wanting to could accompany him.[114] According to Fulcher of Chartres' record, Hugh of Vermandois reached Constantinople first. Hugh, the brother of Philip, king of France, influenced the crusade to some extent since Philip, who was excommunicated and could not accompany the crusaders, may have sent Hugh in his place.[115] Prior to his making the journey, Hugh sent an arrogant letter to Alexius, asking that he be treated with all the pomp and ceremony due to the brother of a king.[116] After his arrival, he was treated royally by Alexius, but not allowed the amount of freedom of movement he may have wanted. Once Alexius realized the manner and number of knights and others who were coming, he hoped to forestall difficulties with the western leaders. He attempted to exact the oath of homage from them when they entered Constantinople. In return for this allegiance, Alexius swore to provide provisions and assistance for the crusader troops. At the time Hugh of Vermandois reached Constantinople he was nearly destitute, had few men, and was badly in need of

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[114]"Urban's Letter of Instruction to the Crusaders, December, 1095," in Peters, 15-16.

[115]*See* Runciman, vol. 1, 142-45 for a description of Hugh and his journey and the reasons he may have had to undertake it in the first place. His route began in Lyons and continued through Turin, Genoa, Rome, Bari, Durazzo, Orchida, Thessalonica, and on to Constantinople. Route from Peters, 35, n. 1. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* placed Hugh in the third army—after Peter the Hermit and Godfrey's hosts—along with Bohemond, Richard, count of Salerno (Bohemond,'s cousin), Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy, Everard of Puiset, and many others, 6.

[116]See *Alexiad*, 313-15 for Hugh's journey and the reception he received after his shipwreck.

support. Alexius easily "persuaded him by generous largess and every proof of friendship to become his liege-man and take the customary oath of the Latins," acknowledging the emperor as his overlord and sovereign and remained in the emperor's custody and care.[117] The oath Alexius demanded included the oath of fealty common in the West as well as one of filiation to the emperor, so that the leader acknowledged himself as the emperor's vassal.

Fulcher named Bohemond as the second of the chief pilgrims. The son of Robert of Guiscard, Bohemond previously encountered Alexius in various wars and battles over Byzantine territory. In spite of their disagreements, Bohemond requested that the emperor grant him the office of Domestic of the East, in effect the emperor's liaison with the western forces. Anna Comnena wrote,

> When [Bohemond] left his native land, he was a soured man, for he had no estates at all. Apparently he left to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, but in reality to win power for himself—or rather, if possible to seize the Roman Empire itself, as his father had suggested. He was prepared to go to any length, as they say, but a great deal of money was required.[118]

She described Bohemond as deceitful, treacherous, spiteful, and of a malevolent nature. "He far surpassed all the Latins who passed through Constantinople at that time in rascality and courage, but he was equally inferior in wealth and resources."[119] Alexius was aware of Bohemond's designs on the empire and was "afraid that once possessed of authority he might use it to subjugate all the other counts and there after convert them easily to any policy he chose."[120] At the same time, the emperor did not want to alienate Bohemond

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[117] Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 315.
[118] *Alexiad*, 329.
[119] *Alexiad*, 326-27.
[120] *Alexiad*, 329.

because of the assistance he could provide in recovering the emperor's lands then under Moslem control and the trouble he could cause if provoked. Alexius never granted Bohemond an exact title and demanded that he swear allegiance to the emperor but he never acted against the Norman in any future instances.

Fulcher's next listed Godfrey of Bouillon, who travelled through Hungary with a large following. Before starting, Godfrey secured the permission of the western emperor to leave the duchy, and made arrangements along his route for provisions and other needs. His host followed the route attributed to Charles the Great on his legendary pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as did Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit with their followers. He left Lorraine to march down the Rhine and up the Danube Valley, through Hungary to the Balkan peninsula, and then across to the emperor's city of Constantinople.[121] Because of rumors circulating about the cruelties inflicted on other crusaders travelling through Hungary, Godfrey stopped his host before entering the country and sent a delegation of knights to king Coloman requesting permission to cross through his lands. After several weeks of negotiations, Godfrey and Coloman reached an agreement which allowed safe passage through Hungary for the knights and their followers. They were met in early November 1096 by ambassadors from Constantinople and given supplies for themselves and their animals.

As Godfrey's host neared Constantinople, they heard rumors that Hugh of Vermandois was being held captive by the emperor. When Godfrey came to Constantinople he and his troops learned that Hugh was not captive but instead a willing retainer. When Hugh attempted to reason with Godfrey about the oath, the Duke rebuked Hugh for advising him to consent. Godfrey said, "You left your own country as a king ...

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[121]For a modern journey taken along the same route in the footsteps of Godfrey, see Tim Severin, "Retracing the First Crusade," photographs by Peter Essick, *National Geographic* 176 (September 1989) 3:326-65.

with all that wealth and a strong army; now from the heights you've brought yourself to the level of a slave. And then as if you had won some great success, you come here and tell me to do the same."[122] Alexius did not push the issue at that time but as other groups moved closer to the capital, the emperor began making stronger demands. Fighting broke out in April between the two groups, probably as a result of a misunderstanding about the delay in Godfrey's return to his camp from the emperor's palace. The fighting continued on both sides, even though it was Holy Week, until finally Godfrey's forces had to concede defeat.

> The emperor sent some of his best officers with their troops to advice [Godfrey] once more, even to compel him to cross the straits. No sooner were they in sight when the Latins … launched an attack and began to fight them. … As the Romans showed greater spirit the Latins gave way. Thus Godfrey not long after submitted; he came to the emperor and swore an oath as he was directed that whatever cities, counties or forts he might in future subdue, which had in the first place belonged to the Roman Empire, he would hand over to the officer appointed by the emperor for this very purpose.[123]

After giving this oath and receiving largess from Alexius, Godfrey and his forces crossed over to Pelekanum, pitched camp, and waited for the other western forces to reach Constantinople and join them.

Raymond of Saint Gilles, count of Toulouse, and the papal legate Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy, arrived soon after Godfrey. Raymond was described as the most powerful of

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[122]Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 322.
[123]*Alexiad*, 323. For another version of the same occurrence see, William of Tyre, in Babcock, 124-33 and Peters, Albert of Aix, 124-31.

the leaders, "as fanatical as a monk, [and] as land-greedy as a Norman."[124] Raymond was

the only great noble with whom Urban II personally discussed the project of the crusade

and he was the first to announce that he would undertake the journey.[125] Before starting

out, Raymond vowed to spend the rest of his life in the east, taking along his wife, Elvira

of Aragon, and his legitimate heir, Alfonso; but, rather than abdicating his rights to his

properties in the west, the count left them under the administration of his natural son,

Bertrand. Anna Comnena considered Raymond one of the best men among the Latins.

She commented that Alexius had a deep affection for the count because of his "superior

intellect, his untarnished reputation, the purity of his life ... [and because] Raymond valued

the truth: whatever the circumstances, he honoured truth above all else."[126] When he

reached Constantinople, the count did not want to swear an oath of allegiance to Alexius

but Godfrey, Bohemond, and the others persuaded him to change his mind. The author of

the *Gesta Francorum* and Raymond's own chronicler, Raymond of Aguilers, described the

event in similar terms:

> The count of St. Gilles was encamped outside the city in the suburbs, and his army
>
> had stayed behind, so the emperor ordered him to do homage and swear fealty as
>
> the others had done; but when the emperor sent him this message the count was
>
> planning how to revenge himself on the imperial army. Duke Godfrey and Robert,
>
> count of Flanders, and the other leaders, however, told him that it would be
>
> improper to fight against fellow Christians, and the valiant Bohemond said that if
>
> Count Raymond did any injustice to the emperor, or refused to swear fealty to him,

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[124]Dana C. Munro, *The Kingdom of the Crusaders*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1935), 37.

[125]*See* Runciman, vol. 1, 159-60 for more information on Raymond and his preparations and reasons for undertaking the journey.

[126]*Alexiad*, 330. Anna was somewhat biased of course by later events but no reason existed why Alexius may not have admired Raymond more than some of the other crusaders.

he himself would take the emperor's part. Therefore the count took the advice of his friends and swore that he would respect the life and honour of Alexius, and neither destroy them nor permit anyone else to do so; but when he was asked to do homage he said that he would not, even at the peril of his life.[127]

Raymond wished to be the overall leader of the forces but the pope wanted to avoid any conflicts between what he saw as the spiritual goals of the undertaking and what might be the temporal desires of the crusaders. Urban II named Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy, as the representative of the pope on the pilgrimage. In his letter of instruction to the crusaders Urban wrote: "And we have constituted our most beloved son, Adhémar, Bishop of Puy, leader of this expedition and undertaking in our stead."[128] Adhémar proved to be a wise choice because he exhibited a great personal influence on the crusaders from the respect he earned as the pope's representative and from his own character of selflessness and charity. Adhémar travelled with Raymond's forces and the two worked well together in general. Many other nobles made the journey as well, including those listed by William of Tyre in his chronicle: Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, Bishop William of Orange, Baldwin du Bourg, Hugh of Rethel, Garnier de Grey, Baldwin of Hainault, Isoard of Die, Rainbald of Orange, William of Forez, Stephen d'Aumal, Rotrou of Perc, Hugh of St. Pol, and Tancred.[129]

By the autumn of 1096, most of the crusading forces were assembled in Constantinople. William of Tyre, who took his figures from Fulcher of Chartres, reported

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[127]*Gesta Francorum*, 13. For information about Raymond of Aguilers, see *Gesta Francorum*, 13, n. 1. Latin original is on recto pages.

[128]"Urban's Letter of Instruction to the Crusaders, December, 1095," in Peters, 16. Adhémar had previously pilgrimaged to Jerusalem in 1086, so he had experience on making the journey as well as the support of the pope. He was a fine preacher and diplomat, broad-minded, calm and kindly, respected by most of the men under him in the crusade. For more information on Adhémar see Runciman, 252-53.

[129]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 95-96. William's listing is much fuller than either Albert of Aix or Fulcher of Chartres; he apparently intended to list the chief leaders at this point.

that the assembled legions numbered 600,000 people on foot, both men and women, and 100,000 armed knights.[130] Many more had started out but, due to various reasons—hardships encountered along the way that persuaded them to return home, or death by illness or by injury which prevented them from continuing—not all who left the West joined the crusaders on the campaign to Nicaea. Fulcher wrote, "You could see the many cemeteries where our pilgrims were buried along the footpaths, on the plains, and in the woods."[131] Anna Comnena described the people coming from the west as "a numberless heterogeneous host gathered together from almost all the Keltic lands with their leaders (kings and dukes and counts and even bishops). ... One might have compared them for number to the stars of heaven or the grains of sand poured out over the shore."[132]

Only as they assembled at Constantinople did the leaders have the chance to make plans for the conquest of the Holy Lands and their eventual entry into Jerusalem. The host's first action was the taking of the city of Nicaea because the city was the Seljuk capital and a great fortress. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* commented that Godfrey of Bouillon was the first to set off for Nicaea. His following was so large, however, that they could not follow the road and "he sent ahead three thousand men with axes and swords so that they could go on and hack open a route for our pilgrims."[133] The siege of Nicaea lasted from May to June, 1097, and the crusaders received provisions from Alexius' merchants. After several weeks of activity, the Turks negotiated a truce with the emperor and allowed his men to enter the city. The western leaders probably knew of the negotiations but the rank and file felt cheated after their hard work and the risk to their

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[130]*See* William of Tyre, in Babcock, 151, n. 36 for other numbers of crusaders. Fulcher wrote: "Then the many armies there were united into one, which those who were skilled in reckoning estimated at six hundred thousand strong for war. Of them, there were one hundred thousand full-armed with corselets and helmets, not counting the unarmed, that is, the clerics, monks, women, and little children," in Peters, 43. *See also* Runciman, vol. 1, Appendix II, "The Numerical Strength of the Crusaders."
[131]Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 43.
[132]*Alexiad*, 324.
[133]*Gesta Francorum*, 14.

lives. The author of the *Gesta Francorum* called the emperor a fool and a knave for allowing the Turks to surrender. "We besieged this city for seven weeks and three days, and many of our men suffered martyrdom there and gave up their blessed souls to God with joy and gladness, and many of the poor starved to death for the name of Christ."[134] Alexius compensated the crusaders with gifts of food to every soldier and gold and jewels to the leaders.

After leaving Nicaea, the crusading force divided into two main groups to ease supply problems and to move more swiftly. Bohemond led the first group with the Normans of Italy and northern France, Robert of Flanders, and Stephen of Blois; Raymond of Saint Gilles led the second group made up of the southern French, Godfrey and his Lorrainers, and Hugh of Vermandois and his men. The two groups planned on meeting at Dorylaeum, near the modern Eskishehir, but were attacked before they reached the city. After a hard-pressed battle between the Turks and the first crusader group, the second group—first the troops led by Godfrey and Hugh, quickly followed by those of Adhémar and Raymond—arrived and put the Turks to flight. The Arabs did not expect the crusaders to be divided nor did they expect the great numbers they encountered. The Moslems, under the Sultan Kilij Arslan, decided to take to the hills, stripping the towns and countryside in their wake so as to leave as little as possible for the crusaders following them. The rejoined western army travelled through the barren country during the heat of mid-summer, suffering from lack of sufficient water, oppressive heat, and meager supplies. On reaching Iconium, the forces again separated, with many nobles breaking off to seek and capture towns and villages along their route for their own advantages.

Tancred and Baldwin of Boulogne both broke off from the main group and

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[134]*Gesta Francorum*, 17. *See also*, Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 44-45, and Runciman, vol. 1, 181, for more information.

established private holdings despite their oath to Alexius to return all former possessions to the empire. Fulcher of Chartres wrote in his chronicle that Tancred captured the Cilician city of Tarsus but that Baldwin took it away from him.[135] Soon after, Baldwin left Cilicia and, after seeing his dying wife and getting the permission of the other leaders to go off on his own, he marched eastward to Edessa, an Armenian stronghold. In the last years of the eleventh century, the Armenians migrated southwest after the Turkish invasions made their homelands unsafe. They founded principalities in Asia Minor, some of which were still strong at the time of the First Crusade. The prince of the city of Edessa, Thoros, adopted Baldwin as his son and heir and shared the government of the city and its environs with him. In March of 1098, Baldwin gained complete control of Edessa after "the citizens of the city wickedly plotted to kill their prince, whom they hated, and to elevate Baldwin in his place to rule the land. It was said, and it was done."[136]

The main army continued their march from Nicaea through Dorylaeum to Antioch. Fulcher describe Antioch as "an extensive city, [which] has a strong wall, and is well situated for defense. It could never be captured by outside enemies if the inhabitants, supplied with bread, wished to defend it long enough."[137] Nonetheless, the crusaders needed to conquer Antioch, as much for the place it held in Christian history as for the need to keep the lines of communication open and protect the road from Constantinople to Jerusalem safe from Moslem incursions. The siege lasted from October 18, 1097 to June, 3, 1098, and the crusading forces were ill-prepared for such a long encounter. Though they were a large host—William of Tyre said the combat forces numbered three hundred

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[135]Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 50. Actually, Tancred arrived outside the city first with Baldwin arriving during the night. In the morning, the city's inhabitants fled, raising the question of who could then take possession. Because Baldwin's army was larger, Tancred withdrew his troops to the east towards Adana. *See* Runciman, vol. 1, 198.
[136]Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 50-51. *See also* Runciman, vol. 1, 204-05.
[137]Fulcher of Chartres, in Peters, 52.

thousand—they could not completely surround the city.[138] The crusaders took up positions on the northwest corner of the city walls. Bohemond's men guarded the section opposite the Gate of Saint Paul, Raymond's men watched the area opposite the Gate of the Dog, and Godfrey's troops held the position on Raymond's right near the entrance which came to be called the Gate of the Duke. The remaining troops stayed behind Bohemond, ready to move up where needed.[139]

The crusading forces were vulnerable during the long siege because they had to leave their positions in order to get food and fodder, exposing themselves to attacks by the citizens at those times. As the siege continued, food became harder to come by near the encampment. The crusaders were exhausted from their journey and the siege and their leaders fought among themselves, lowering the moral of the host even further. Many men deserted, not just leaving to go to Baldwin or others on their own lands but also leaving to go home. Many knights, including Drogo of Nesle, Rainald of Toul, and Gaston of Béarn, turned aside from the siege at Antioch and joined Baldwin or went out on their own to seek territory and wealth. Peter the Hermit and William the Carpenter fled west but were caught by Tancred, who brought them back and made them swear to stay with the crusaders until they reached Jerusalem.[140] Godfrey became seriously ill during the winter but recovered by the spring. In March, the Turks attempted to disperse the crusaders as part of the forces were returning from the coast with provisions. Godfrey, soon aided by Raymond and Bohemond's troops, pushed the Moslems back into the city. For the most part, however, the Turks avoided open battle with the crusaders, hoping to outlast the siege or survive until another Moslem force could come up and surround the besiegers.

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[138]William of Tyre, Babcock, 206.

[139]Runciman, vol. 1, 217.

[140]*Gesta Francorum*, 33-34. Bohemond upbraided William the Carpenter, asking him if he would betray the crusaders, "these knights and the Christian camp, just as you betrayed those others in Spain?" William had taken part in an expedition against the Moors in Spain and had deserted them as well.

Eventually, Bohemond proposed that he bribe someone in the city to open a gate to them, in exchange for his gaining possession of the city. After a great deal of debate among the leaders they refused him, saying, "This city shall not be granted to any one, but we will all share it alike; as we have had equal toil, so let us have equal honour."[141] Not long afterwards, however, the leaders agreed to let Bohemond try and, if he succeeded in taking the city, they would give it to him "on the condition that if the emperor come to our aid and fulfill all his obligations which he promised and vowed, we will return the city to him."[142] All but the citadel fell on June 6, 1098, after Bohemond's conspirator helped the crusading forces enter the city.

The crusaders became the besieged as Turks, under the leadership of Kerbogha, came from further east and surrounded Antioch's walls with the crusaders inside. The Latins were in despair and ready to give up until the religious fervor which had propelled them to begin their journey returned. Peter Bartholomew prophesied that the crusaders had only to dig in a certain place and they would find the lance which had pierced Christ's side as he hung on the cross. Although many of the leaders did not believe in the veracity of Peter's visions, including the papal legate Adhémar, when those who went to dig found a lance in the place Peter determined, the host in general became rejuvenated and redoubled their attacks against the besieging Turks. On June 28, the crusaders repulsed the Turks from outside the city walls and drove them off into the countryside.[143] Godfrey of Bouillon led the second of six divisions, which consisted of both knights and foot soldiers. Albert of Aix wrote that Godfrey's command at this encounter consisted of "Germans, Swabians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Lotharingians ... all stalwart warriors."[144] On the

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[141]*Gesta Francorum*, 45.
[142]*Gesta Francorum*, 45. *See also* William of Tyre, in Babcock, 242-50 and Raymond of Aguilers, in Peters, 166-68 for further information.
[143]See *Gesta Francorum*, 71 for more details. For another version see William of Tyre, in Babcock, 295.
[144]Quoted in Andressohn, 84.

same day, Ahmed ibu-Merwan surrendered the citadel to Bohemond.

Raymond of Toulouse and others quarrelled over Bohemond's right to the city even though they had previously agreed to give it to him if he was successful in opening the city gates. Raymond argued that Bohemond needed to uphold his pledge to Alexius to return all conquered lands to the emperor but Bohemund wanted the lands for himself. Raymond and Adhémar, who died that August, were both too ill to do much against Bohemond, especially since he gained the aid of the newly arrived Genoese.[145] Many of the crusaders were eager for Raymond and Bohemond to reach some agreement so that they could continue on to Jerusalem. The two reached a truce and the forces agreed to wait out the heat of the summer, meeting again in November of 1098 to decide on their next course of action.

Most of the major leaders left Antioch, except for Bohemond and Raymond. Godfrey went to his brother Baldwin at Edessa, from whom he received Ravandel and Tell-Bashir, establishing some of his forces there and engaging in minor battles with various Turkish leaders. In September, the leaders sent a report of their progress to Urban II and the order in which their names appeared indicated the relative importance of each of them at this time in the campaign: Bohemond, Raymond, Godfrey, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, and Eustace of Boulogne.[146] From November 5th to the 18th, the

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[145]Bohemond gave them a charter which allowed them a church, a market, and thirty houses. *See* Runciman, 251. After Urban's call at Clermont, he sent two legates to the republic of Genoa to ask for its assistance in the crusade. The republic agreed to help, guaranteeing to send twelve galleys and a transport ship, but delayed their sailing until July 1097 in order to decide if the crusade was a serious movement or not. Many of the Geonese took the cross on their own and did not wait for the ships. After the defeat of the Moslems at Antioch, many Geonese journeyed to Antioch in anticipation of the trading possibilities available. On July 14, Bohemond gave them a charter in exchange for their support and their assistance in communicating with Italy. In the event of any trouble between he and Raymond of St. Gilles, however, they would remain neutral. The Genoese continued to bring supplies to the crusaders as they journeyed towards Jerusalem.

[146]From Andressohn, 86. *See also*, the individual accounts of Raymond of Aguilers, Albert of Aix, and other chronicles for more information on the standing of each of the leaders as perceived by their contemporaries and chroniclers.

leaders gathered to prepare for a start to Jerusalem after reaching a truce between the arguing factions over the dispursement of the city and its treasures. Raymond agreed to abide by the council's decision about Antioch, regardless of the outcome, as long as Bohemond agreed to accompany the western host to Jerusalem and not try to harm the crusade to suit his own ambitions.

After the meeting of the princes, Raymond of Toulouse and Robert of Flanders advanced across Syria, reaching Maarat al-Numan (Marra) in late November and besieging it. Bohemond and Godfrey followed Raymond, assisting in the siege, but soon the animosity again flared up between Bohemond and Raymond. Godfrey may have returned to Antioch soon after this but the chronicles provide little information about his part during this time.[147] In January, 1099, the people rebelled against the leaders whom they thought were more concerned with gathering treasure, land, and power, than in completing their vow to free the Holy Sepulchre. The crusaders at Marra became so enraged with the delay to continue that they destroyed the city, crying: "Quarrels about Antioch, quarrels about Marra! ... Forsooth there shall be no further dissension about this city."[148] This unrest among the majority of crusaders forced the leaders into reaching some kind of decision about the continuation of the crusade.

In February, the leaders met and all but Bohemond agreed to start for Jerusalem in March. Travelling in various groups, they made their way to the Holy City, taking lands, town, and castles along the route. Raymond still hoped to establish his own territory and

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[147]Andressohn related several records of Godfrey's activities during November and December 1098, but the sources contradict one another or overlap, placing Godfrey in more than one place at a specific time. According to Albert of Aix's chronicle, Godfrey may have taken part in Raymond of St. Gilles' attack of Marra since he accompanied Bohemond to Marra and remained there two weeks before returning with Bohemond to Antioch. But, most sources reported that Bohemond was at Marra for at least six weeks, was present at the city's fall on December 11, 1098, and did not leave the area until December 29th. Raymond of Aguillers wrote that Godfrey was absent from Marra, at least during Christmas week, but he may have been there prior to the end of December. For further explanation of Godfrey's activities at the time, *see* Andressohn, 88-89.

[148]Raymond of Aguilers, quoted in Andressohn, 70.

wanted to use Godfrey, Tancred, and some of the others to attain his goal, even offering them payment for following him. Godfrey, Tancred, Robert of Flanders, and many of the other leaders, however, were tired of Raymond's ambitions so did not agree to Raymond's terms but continued at their own pace to Jerusalem, stopping along the way to take other cities and fortifications or to force the people of the area to give them supplies. Almost as an anti-climax to all the activity that had gone before, the Holy City fell on July 15, 1099. Anna Comnena wrote, "The walls were encircled and repeatedly attacked, and after a siege of one lunar month it fell."[149]

The Fall of Jerusalem

The Muslim world was in disarray during the period of the First Crusade. The Seljuk Turks came into the area from further east, displacing the residents, both Moslem and Christian. The Fatimids of Egypt were just recovering from these onslaughts at the end of the century and hoped to use the crusaders to strengthen their recovery. The Egyptians attempted to reach some kind of agreement with the crusaders at Antioch rather than having them march down to Jerusalem, but the Westerners preferred to continue on their journey in fulfillment of their vows. Still hoping to come to some agreement with the Christians, Al-Afdal, the ruler of Egypt, invaded Palestine in 1098 and 1099 because he knew the Turks would not be able to organize against him to any high degree. After a brief siege at Jerusalem which lasted forty days, Al-Afdal's troops forced the defenders to capitulate. The Egyptians then occupied all of Palestine and began repairing the Holy City's defenses. While this was going on, the crusading forces marched from Maarat al-Numan south through Syria and along the coast, attacking and capturing fortresses along

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[149]*Alexiad*, 352.

the way, or making agreements with the tenants for food, goods, or money. Raymond led the main forces, and other groups, including those of Godfrey, Bohemond, and Robert of Flanders, soon followed; although with the arrival of the first two after Bohemond turned back to Antioch, Raymond's position as leader of the Crusade was no longer as secure. Al-Afdal again tried to reach an agreement with the crusaders, offering western pilgrims free and easy access to Palestine and the holy places if the crusaders would abandon their march to Jerusalem. The crusaders refused and continued on their way to the Holy City.

Although Jerusalem was one of the greatest fortresses of the medieval world the breach made just a few weeks earlier severely weakened the city's defenses even though the Egyptians repaired most of the damage. The Egyptians defending the city took the precaution of poisoning the wells outside the city gates, driving the flocks and herds to safety, and moving the city's Christians outside the walls. The crusaders placed their limited numbers at the areas near the walls they could reach rather than spreading themselves too thin and gathered wood and built siege machines.[150] After many repulses, they finally succeeded in capturing first part of the city wall and then in penetrating deep into the city streets. Raymond of Aguilers, one of the clergy travelling with Raymond of Toulouse and an eye-witness to the capture of Jerusalem wrote:

Among the first to enter was Tancred and the Duke of Lothringia (Godfrey), who on that day shed quantities of blood almost beyond belief. After them the host mounted the walls, and now the Saracens suffered. Yet although the city was all but in the hands of the Franks, the Saracens resisted the party of Count Raymond as if they were never going to be taken. But then wonderful things were to be seen. Numbers of the Saracens were beheaded—which was the easiest for them; others

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[150]The crusading numbers had been dwindling due to desertions, leaving garrisons of small groups behind at the conquered city's and areas, illness, and death.

were shot with arrows, or forced to jump from the towers; others were slowly tortured and were burned in flames. In the streets and open places of the town were seen piles of heads and hands and feet. One rode about everywhere amid the corpses of men and horses. But these were small matters! Let us go to Solomon's temple, where they were wont to chant their rites and solemnities. What had been done there? If we speak the truth we exceed belief: let this suffice. In the temple and porch of Solomon one rode in blood up to the knees and even to the horses' bridles by the just and marvellous Judgment of God, in order that the same place which so long endured their blasphemies against Him should receive their blood....

When the city was taken it was worth the whole long labour to witness the devotion of the pilgrims to the sepulchre of the Lord, how they clapped their hands, exulted, and sang a new song unto the Lord. For their hearts presented to God, victor and triumphant, vows of praise which they were unable to explain. A new day, new joy and exultation, new and perpetual gladness, the consummation of toil and devotion drew forth from all new words, new songs. This day, I say, glorious in every age to come, turned all our griefs and toils into joy and exultation.[151]

Eight days of intoxication over the victory followed. The actions of the crusaders during this siege colored the way the Moslems perceived the Christians. It affected the relationships between the peoples of the two religions to such an extent that the Moslems no longer made any attempt to coexist with the Latins as they had for the most part with other religions, including Orthodox Christians and Jews.

After reaching Jerusalem and taking it, the leaders of the crusade, afraid that the

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[151]Raymond of Aguilers, *Hist. Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem*, cap. 38-9, (Migne 155, col. 659), quoted and translated in Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages*, (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1938), vol. 1, 552.

same disunity that occurred in Antioch would happen in this city, gathered to chose a leader. The clergy did not want a lay leader, saying "no king ought to rule where our Lord suffered and was crowned," so they suggested naming an advocate for the city, as was common for monasteries and other Church lands, rather than a king.[152] The military leaders decided to elect a leader, regardless of his title, who "should collect the tributes of the region, to whom the peasants of the land could turn, and who would see to it that the land was not further devastated."[153] Raymond of Toulouse, their first choice, refused the honor but consented to allow the gathering to elect someone else. He refused because he did not think the vast majority of the crusaders would support him and he did not want to be left in the east with a security force inadequate for the region. His benediction provided the others surer ground for their decision so they reportedly proposed other candidates, even Robert of Normandy, before choosing Godfrey. Runciman, who denigrated Godfrey throughout his history of the crusades, wrote: after Raymond refused, "the electors then turned with relief to Godfrey, who was known to be favoured by Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy."[154] William of Tyre, who upheld Godfrey throughout his chronicle, wrote that "after carefully considering all aspects of the matter, the electors unanimously agreed upon the duke [Godfrey] as their choice"; William did not mention considering Raymond at all.[155] A week after the capture of Jerusalem, Godfrey was chosen as the head of Jerusalem and took the title *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*, "Defender [Advocate] of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre," although he was mostly called "Duke" by the chroniclers, including Albert of Aix, William of Tyre, and the author of the *Gesta*

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[152]Munro, 58-9.

[153]Raymond of Aguillers, in *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye-witnesses and Participants*, ed. August C. Krey, (Glouster, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), 262.

[154]Runciman, vol. 1, 292.

[155]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 382.

Francorum, even after this elevation because of his prior fame.[156] Manasses, archbishop

of Rheims, in a letter to Lambert, bishop of Arras, told of Jerusalem's recovery by the

crusaders and asked Lambert to have all his parish churches pray for the continued safety

and victory of the Crusaders. Also in the letter, the archbishop called Godfrey "king,"

saying "the army of Christ by divine direction elevated [Godfrey] as King."[157]

Godfrey of Bouillon's role in the territory after Jerusalem was captured was to act

"as head of the city to fight the pagans and guard the Christians."[158] Most probably his

position was lower than that of the new papal legate, Daimbert (or Dagobert), Archbishop

of Pisa.[159] Duke Godfrey was unwilling to become the patriarch's vassal but he had little

choice because of the archbishop's position and his prior relationship with Urban II.[160] It

was more difficult for Godfrey than for Bohemond or most of the other knights who

gained large territories in the east, because Daimbert was in Jerusalem with the duke where

Godfrey had to deal with him on a daily basis. Daimbert made Godfrey and the other

crusaders very much aware of his position. When the crusaders wrote a letter to the pope,

it came from "the archbishop of Pisa, duke Godfrey, now, by the grace of God, defender

of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, Raymond, count of St. Gilles, and the whole army of

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[156]He was officially styled *Godefridus dux gratia Dei ecclesiae S. Sepulcri nunc advocatus*. In Krey, 262. Jonathan Riley-Smith's article, "The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon," argued that the assumption that Godfrey was an advocate and not a king was false. *See* above, n. 41.

[157]Letter from Manasses, in Krey, 265.

[158]*Gesta Francorum*, 92-93.

[159]Daimbert was chosen by Urban to replace Adhémar, bishop of Le Puy after his death in 1098. Daimbert left Italy in the summer of 1099, accompanied by a fleet equipped by the city of Pisa. Daimbert hoped to use this fleet in establishing his own position while they in turn hoped to gain concessions from the legate for their own gain. *See* Runciman, 299-300. The new legate was later named Patriarch of Jerusalem over the man the crusaders elected, Arnulf of Rohes. Damibert's position as Patriarch caused problems for Godfrey because the legate was a much stronger personality than Arnulf and wanted more power to make decisions than had the other Patriarch. See following chapter for further information on relationship between Godfrey and the Patriarch.

[160]Urban entrusted Daimbert with several commissions to various provinces during the Archbishop's incumbency in Pisa, including sending him to the court of Alfonso VI of Castile in 1098 to help organize the Church properties acquired during the wars against the Moors.

God, which is in the land of Israel."[161] In medieval usage, this order placed Godfrey

lower in rank than the archbishop. According to a letter from Daimbert to Bohemond,

Godfrey was obliged, at Easter, 1100, to swear a new oath to Daimbert in which he

promised to give up to the patriarch the entire city of Jerusalem including its citadel, the

Tower of David, which Godfrey had wrested from Raymond of Toulouse, and all of Jaffa,

the city's seaport. Godfrey was allowed to reserve the administration and revenues of

these cities until he had obtained other conquests.[162] Godfrey also, according to this letter,

promised to let all the revenues from these cities revert to the patriarch if the Duke died

without an heir. The truth of the statements made in the letter was in doubt since by the

time it was sent and received, Godfrey was already dead and the patriarch was just stating

what he wanted.[163]

Godfrey of Bouillon in the First Crusade

Some critics said Godfrey contributed little to the success of the crusade and

accomplished less during his reign as advocate. Two of his accomplishments revolved

around possible trading interests for the territory. He rebuilt Jaffa, Jerusalem's seaport,

and attempted a siege of Arsuf, another port. In an attempt to secure the area from future

insurrections by the Moslems, Godfrey led the crusaders in defeating the Egyptians near

Ascalon, as well as participating in a battle at Acre. The city of Ascalon was not captured

[161]"Godfrey, Raymond, and Daimbert to the Pope (Laodicea, September, 1099), in Peters, 234. English translation from Munro, Letters, 8-11, Latin text in Hagenmeyer, 167-174.

[162]Raymond was disappointed that the others had elected a secular ruler, even though he had refused it. He had captured the tower during the battle in the city and refused to give it up, saying he would live there until he returned to his lands in the west after Easter. He handed the citadel over to Bishop of Albara to await a general council decision but the Bishop gave it to Godfrey of Bouillon almost immediately. Raymond's men wanted to return home and may have persuaded the bishop in his actions, hoping Raymond would then decide to return to the west. *See also*, Runciman, 293-94.

[163]Probably, an oath was made at Easter, since the Pisans following the archbishop were still in the city and Godfrey had few of his own followers left. Information regarding Daimbert's letter from Munro, 64.

because Godfrey and Raymond of Toulouse argued over who would receive it as a possession, but the battle against the sultan of Egypt's armies near the city was decisive. After Ascalon, Godfrey and Tancred were left with 200 knights and 2000 men at arms to defend the kingdom of Jerusalem.[164] A few other crusaders remained at various cities including Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa.

Godfrey died on July 18, 1100, and was buried in the Holy Sepulchre near the place of Christ's tomb. He probably died of weakness caused by typhoid, which he had suffered from for five weeks, but some contemporaries believed him to have been poisoned by the Muslims.[165] Ibn al-Athir, an Arabic chronicler of the twelfth century, wrote:

> In this year (493/1100) Godfrey, the Frankish King of Syria and ruler of Jerusalem, marched on the coastal city of Acre and besieged it, but was killed by an arrow. Before his death he had fortified the city of Jaffa and handed it over to a Frankish Count named Tancred. At Godfrey's death his brother Baldwin marched on Jerusalem with 500 cavalry and infantry.[166]

On his deathbed, Godfrey asked that his brother Baldwin inherit his property and title despite Daimbert's belief and desire for his property to return to the Church and thus to the patriarch. Baldwin took Godfrey's place and on St. Martin's Day, November 11, 1100, took the title of King of Jerusalem as well.

Godfrey's chief asset as advocate was his sincere piety, which, while corresponding to that of the average crusader, may have been the reason for his election. None of the other leaders wanted the position, either because they did not feel that a secular

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[164]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 408.

[165]Matthew of Edessa said Godfrey was poisoned by the Emir at Caesarea, Runciman, 312, n. 2.

[166]Francesco Gabrielei, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, tr. E. J. Costello. (New York: Dorset Press, 1989), 13-14. Most Arab sources say Godfrey died in battle. For further information on this *see* Costello, 13, n. 1.

leader should control the Holy City or because they wished to return home after fulfilling their vow to journey to the Holy Lands. Godfrey, according to his chroniclers, never ceased believing that the Church should be the ultimate ruler of the Holy Land and his position as advocate was to keep temporal order for the spiritual leaders. He appeared in legends as the perfect Christian knight, the "peerless hero of the whole Crusading epic."[167] Although his rule accomplished little beyond keeping Jerusalem out of Arab hands, he was an example for Christians to strive toward.

According to Arabic sources, the battles between the Latins and the Arabs never stopped. The western crusades merely continued the older battles, bringing in fresh troops to fight but not achieving very much. After taking Jerusalem, Godfrey led numerous forces against the Muslims and, after his death, his heir Baldwin continued the battle. Arabic sources contend that it was the discord among the Muslim princes that had allowed the conquest of Palestine by the Latins in the first place. Perhaps if the power of the Seljuk Turks had not been broken and decayed with quarrelling among the various provinces and the Sultan prohibiting any chance of organization of the Muslim forces to form against their common enemy, the crusaders could not have been so successful.

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[167]Runciman, vol. 1, 145.

CHAPTER 4

GODFREY OF BOUILLON IN ART AND LEGEND

Let the celebration of the poets then give way; nor let ancient fiction extol her

earliest heroes. No age hath produced aught comparable to the fame of these men.

For, if the ancients had any merit, it vanished after death with the smoke of their

funeral pile; because it had been spent, rather on the vapour of earthly reputation,

than in the acquisition of substantial good. But the utility of these men's valour will

be felt, and its dignity acknowledged, as long as the world shall continue to

revolve, or pure Christianity to flourish.[1]

During the First Crusade, from the gathering of the various groups of crusaders at

Constantinople in 1097, until the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, people wrote many songs

and stories praising all the major leaders and participants in the expedition, including

Robert of Normandy, Raymond of Toulouse, Godfrey of Bouillon, Bohemond, and

others. Each of these men brought along or acquired their own chroniclers. Raymond of

Aguiliers, who accompanied Adhémar of Le Puy on the Crusade became Raymond of St.

Gille's personal chaplain. Most of his chronicle concentrates on the count but Anna

Comnena's comments in her *Alexiad* often portray Raymond of St. Gilles in a better light.

Fulcher of Chartre was devoted to Baldwin, which is aptly apparent in his chronicle, but

manages to remain objective for the most part. The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* was

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[1]William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle of the Kings of England: From the Earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen*, notes and illustrations J. A. Giles. (New York: AMS Press, 1968), 392.

probably written by one of Bohemond's followers and was a strong admirer of the Norman. Bohemond regarded the work as his *apologia*, explaining and defending his actions in the East.[2] And Albert of Aix's *Liber Christianae* was a panegyric to Godfrey of Bouillon. Immediately after the recapture of Jerusalem, however, Europe fixed its artistic and literary attention almost exclusively upon the ruler of Palestine and the Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, Godfrey of Bouillon.[3] Why did this occur? Why was Godfrey chosen as not only the hero of the First Crusade but as the medieval hero, the last of the three great Christian worthies in Jacques de Longuyon's poem, *Les Voeux du paon*? Perhaps Godfrey of Bouillon's fame grew "because his heart was pure, and because among the knights he represented most perfectly the religious impulse of this crusade which fought its way through blood."[4] His fame, however, could not come from his religious convictions alone but needed also his skill and prowess as a knight, his rank as duke of a major province, his loyalty to the emperor, and a myriad of other things. Understanding why Godfrey rather than anyone else was chosen means first understanding what it meant to be a knight during this period and then understanding what kind of people were upheld as heroic examples and if Godfrey fit that mold.

The Chivalric Manuals

Many medieval authors, including chroniclers and the troubadours and other romancers, defined the qualities inherent in a good knight as prowess in arms, loyalty to one's men and one's lord, largesse, courtsey, and franchise, "the free and frank bearing

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[2] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 330.

[3] Heinrich von Sybel, *History and Literature of the Crusades*, trans. Lady Duff Gordon, (London: George Rutledge & Sones, Ltd., n.d.), 47.

[4] Henry Osborn Taylor, *The Medieval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1938), 553.

that is a visible testimony to the combination of good birth and virtue."[5] Geoffrey de

Charney, a thirteenth-century author and knight who first saw service in 1337 and died

while guarding the king's standard at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, wrote three books on

chivalry: *Questions*, *Livre*, and *Livre de chevalerie*. His guiding principle in explaining the

position and duties of a knight was "he who achieves more, is the more worthy"; the only

differences separating the knights were their actions or deeds, and their reasons for

performing those deeds.[6] The best knights were those who advanced from honor to

honor, gaining prestige and experience as they went along; first listening to tales of great

men then participating in jousts, tourneys, and finally, in wars. Geoffrey wrote that

knights gained the most honor in war as it was "a graver business and more honourable

'and passes all other manner of arms,'" including jousts (single combat) and tourneys.[7]

The motive for the knight's actions, however, was more important than the actual

achievements; and, those actively seeking worldly fame were not as worthy as those who

had fame thrust upon them. Godfrey was more worthy because he did not choose his

position as Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre. In fact, most of the chroniclers commented on

his reluctance in accepting a crown of gold in the city where Christ wore a crown of

thorns.[8] Bohemond, on the other hand, set out on the crusade in order to gain lands and

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[5]Maurice H. Keen, *Chivalry*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 2.

[6]Keen, 12.

[7]Keen, 13. Charney believed that wars fought in a knight's own homeland were less honorable than those fought in distant lands, but that a knight earned more honor in any kind of a war than he did in competing in a joust or a tourney.

[8]Most of the chroniclers including Albert of Aix, William of Tyre, and the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* make some comment about Godfrey's reluctance to accept the title of King of Jerusalem. Godfrey's title has been more fully discussed above in chapter 3. *See*, Jonathan Riley-Smith. *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52:125(1979):83-86 for further information on this subject. It has also been discussed in John Barbour, *The Buik of Alexander or the Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conquerour Alexander the Grit*, ed. R. L. Graeme Ritchie, (London: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1927), ccxvii n. 16, Barbour maintained that one of the original Scottish Stewarts, Sir Alan Stewart, was "in the Crusade with Godefroi de Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, at the capture of Antioch (1098)." In the poem, Godfrey is called King of Jerusalem after he killed the former king. (*Vows*, 10,008-10,009 in Ritchie, vol. IV, 406).

prestige in the East, in the same way he and his father, Robert Guiscard, had been trying for years. His determination to claim Antioch as his fief illustrated this desire, since, even if his claims split the effectiveness of the crusaders against their common enemy, he wished to hold the city in his own right. During the siege of the city, Bohemond struck a deal with a merchant inside Antioch to open a passage for the crusaders to enter.

> Bohemond ... came coolly, looking pleased with himself, to the council of leaders, and said to them jokingly, 'Most gallant knights, you see that we are all, both great and less, in dire poverty and misery, and we do not know whence better fortune will come to us. If, therefore, you think it a good and proper plan, let one of us set himself above the others, on condition that if he can capture the city or engineer its downfall by any means, by himself or by others, we will all agree to give it to him.'[9]

When the other leaders denied his request, he withdrew his troops from the city until they agreed, risking a greater defeat. Eventually because of their inability to hold the siege much longer, the leaders agreed to give Bohemond the city, saying they could always take it back and give it to the emperor if Alexius in turn ever fulfilled his promises to come to the crusaders' aid.

Another example of the knight's handbook comes from Ramond Lull, a companion of the future king of Majorca and a Spanish Dominican, who wrote perhaps the most famous formalization of the chivalric code in the thirteenth-century, *Libre del ordre de cavalayria*. In this work, Lull listed the duties and obligations of a knight: to maintain and defend the church and the faith; to defend and maintain his natural lord or king "for the

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[9] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, (*The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*), ed. Rosalind Hill, (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), 44.

knights are indebted to maintain and defend justice"; to be well-ridden, to join in tournaments and jousts, to hunt and hawk, "and all such honourable pleasaunces"; to maintain, govern, and defend the king and ones' own lands and policy, holding a strong place in the governance of the country and the king's ways; to maintain and defend widows, maidens, orphans, and to help the weak against the strong or the poor against the rich; to accuse traitors against his prince "and to appel [challenge] them of battle and fight with them"; to hold his arms and horse in readiness for battle, "for knight in wars but [without] horse and harness is little prized"; to not break the oath of marriage with inordinate lechery; to be meek and full of clemency, "and not pridey na presumptuous na orguillous [arrogant]," but though meek, clement, and humble among his own people, the knight, should "in his enemies' presence be as lion-rampant. … For knighthood should defend all injuries and wrongs, all pilleries, wrong wars, and tribulations, and should hold the people in all justice, equity, verity, and loyalty, peace and debonairty."[10] Lull stated that knighthood needed to be closely bound to secular government. His knight was not only a nobly born warrior but also a lord of men, and much of his duty went under the general heading of maintaining law and justice.[11]

Though there is no clear evidence to this, both of these men could have been thinking of Godfrey as an example of the best kind of knight. Lull's definition, requiring a man who was both a great warrior and a great lord with ample opportunity and ability to head a government, applied to Godfrey of Bouillon. He was not only a noble knight, the duke of Lower Lorraine and in the emperor's service, but was also the elected ruler of Palestine, Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre and some said king of Jerusalem. His position

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[10]Raymond Lull, "Book of the Order of Knighthood," quoted by Gilbert Hay in William Matthews' translation, "Political Philosophers: Sir Gilbert Hay, 'The Book of the Order of Knighthood,' *Later Medieval English Prose*, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963), 168-73.
[11]Keen, 11.

as the son of Eustace of Boulogne, as margrave of Antwerp, and as duke of Lower

Lorraine necessitated his learning something of the medieval institutions for ruling lands

expediently if not well. The fact that so many men chose to follow him from Lorraine to

the Holy Land meant they had faith in him as a military leader and as one who could

provide for them on their journey and on their way home after victory. Anna Comnena

wrote: "Count Godfrey made the crossing with some other counts and an army of 10,000

horsemen and 70,000 infantry."[12] Other chroniclers commented more fully on the men

who followed him and on their reasons. "His high position, his zeal, his military skill, and

the evidence of piety in devoting to this expedition all his resources" secured these men to

his army.[13] Some historians, both modern and medieval, say his worth as duke did not

amount to very much, that his activities revolved primarily around the castle of Bouillon

and the bishopric of Liége, which considering the difficulty he endured to secure his hold

on this area, would not have been unusual. Perhaps the ducal authority was at low ebb

after the death of Godfrey's uncle, Godfrey the Hunchback, but the emperor thought

enough of the title and the lands that went with it to give Lorraine first to his son and only

later to the Hunchback's designated heir.[14] The position of duke in Lorraine must have

been relatively ornamental by the time Godfrey acquired it since he retained the title during

the four years he was in the east and it fell out of use after his death. In his favor,

however, was Albert of Aix's account relating Godfrey's supposed negotiations with the

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[12]Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, trans. E. R. A. Sewter (New York: Penguin Inc., 1987), 318.

[13]MGSS, XX, 498, found in John C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon*, Social Sciences Series No. 5, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, n.d.), 52. See also, Mary Noyes Colvin, *William, Archbishop of Tyre's Godeffroy of Bologne, or The Siege and Conquest of Jerusalem*, Early English Text Society, (London: Kegan Paul, Trech, Truber & Co., 1893), 64-65; and, William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, tr. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, (Columbia University Press, 1943), 116.

[14]Information from Pireene, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 81 as quoted in Andressohn, 47. Andressohn says "In the judgment of a leading modern scholar, the last imperial governor of Lower Lorraine disappeared with Godfrey the Hunchback; while the ducal title was maintained, it henceforth sank to an empty dignity."

king of Hungary some years before the crusade.[15] Whether or not this actually took place,

Godfrey's position as one of the leaders in the crusade was due in a large part to his

position as Duke of Lorraine; because of it and the number of men he brought on crusade

he held a high position in the war councils and the decisions of the time. Godfrey was

described as "a man of great power and of famous name" and the chroniclers routinely

referred to him as the duke, even after his election as leader of Palestine in 1099.[16] Thus,

his position and title meant something to his followers and the other crusaders with him.

Very little information remained in existence concerning Godfrey's administration

of the Latin territory in the East. He granted the fief of Galilee to Tancred and promised

Haifa in the eventuality of its capture to Waldemar Carpenel.[17] The duke probably granted

other lands in fief to a number of the lords remaining in the east as well as acknowledging

previous possession of lands to others, such as his brother Baldwin's rights in Edessa.

Also, he yielded a great deal of power to the Church, partly out of a genuine piety but also

as a result of an inherent weakness in his power to rule over the territory due to the small

army left to him after Jerusalem's capture.[18] Arnulf Malecorne of Rohes, elected patriarch

of Jerusalem after its fall, mainly kept his activities concerned with ecclesiastical affairs—

attempting to subjugate the followers of the eastern rights, Orthodox Greeks and

Georgians, Armenians, Jocobites, and Copts, under the Latin church.[19] Daimbert,

archbishop of Pisa, came to the East as Urban's replacement for the original papal legate,

Adhémar, who died earlier. Daimbert, with Bohemond's assistance, declared Arnulf's

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[15]Information from Albert of Aix, *rec. occ. IV*, 300, quoted in Andressohn, 47. Andressohn, however, does not think much of Albert's reliability in this instance, or in most others, contending that Albert was writing a panegyric to Godfrey rather than an actual history or chronicle.

[16] *MGSS.* XX, 498, quoted in Andressohn, 47: "vir magnae potentiae et famosi nominis."

[17]Runciman, 316-17. Although Haifa was promised to Carpenel, after its fall in July, the leaders of the army conferred it on Tancred.

[18]From necessity, Godfrey had to submit to the papal legate's acknowledged supremacy and accede concessions to Daimbert not only because of his position as representative of the pope but also because the legate had a larger group of men to back up his authority than did Godfrey.

[19]Runciman, 295-95.

election invalid and had himself elected patriarch. Because of Godfrey's military weakness and the new patriarch's strength with his Pisan fleet, the duke acknowledged Daimbert's authority over the Holy Land in most matters.[20]

The papal legate's Pisan fleet expanded somewhat the fighting forces available to Godfrey. Few knights remained as vassals to the Advocate, only about three hundred settled permanently in the East along with two thousand Latin foot soldiers.[21] Another source of fighting power came from the pilgrims who journeyed to the Holy Land; some settled permanently in the east while others lent their assistance to the Latin states for a short period of time. Godfrey used the Pisans to rebuild the port of Jaffa, bringing about economic opportunities for his Palestinian territories through trade.

Little history remained concerning what laws existed in the Latin kingdom or what kind of courts enforced. While some authorities, including Albert of Aix, said Godfrey influenced the development of the Assizes of Jerusalem during his administration of the city and region around it, others, including Stephen Runciman and most modern historians, dismissed the Assizes as an invention of a later personage trying to gain precedent by invoking Godfrey's name.[22] Stubbs remarked much earlier that parts of it "may be looked upon as embodying Godfrey's policy."[23] It was unlikely, however, that Godfrey had the time to undertake the task of querying diverse groups about the customs and practices from their homelands and combining this information into a codified system of law. He ruled

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[20]Runciman, 305. *See also,* William of Tyre, in Babcock, 403.

[21]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 408.

[22]The Assizes of Jerusalem was a law code based on a series of customs and practices that developed in the Latin crusader kingdom of the twelfth century. It stood as one of the most complete monuments of feudal law during the Middle Ages. Also referred to as the *Letters of the Sepulcher* (*Lettres du Sepulchre*), because Godfrey, the Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, queried all the crusaders about the customs and practises from their lands and combined this information into a code for Jerusalem. According to legend, the *Letters* perished in 1187 during the capture of the city, so another compilation based on the early laws was made in the thirteenth century by a group of lawyers in Cyprus, the remaining stronghold of the Frankish Kingdom in the East.

[23]From Bishop Stubbs, *Introduction to Rolls Series*, 332, as quoted in Andressohn, 124.

for less than one year and he was occupied during that year with trying to maintain not only his own position as secular head under the increasingly difficult jurisdiction of the new patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert of Pisa, but also to retain the gains the crusading forces had made against the Turks.[24]

Even though many of the original crusaders left the east to return to Europe after the fall of Jerusalem and the establishment of a Latin government, Godfrey and the few who remained spent a great deal of time and energy attempting to hold on to what they had won from the Saracens. The Moslems did not seem anxious to renew the fight with the Crusaders immediately after the fall of Jerusalem, so the crusaders concerned themselves with establishing their hold on their own lands—building fortresses and taking towns to provide their upkeep. Godfrey aided Tancred in developing his position in Galilee and in forcing tribute from the Saracens who opposed the Latins. If it had not been for his premature death in 1100, Godfrey might have accomplished more. William of Tyre wrote: "The Kingdom in [Godfrey's] days grew more secure and well established. ... He refreshed the newly planted Kingdom and gave it protection against the molestations of attackers."[25] His success in these endeavors firmly established him in the minds of medieval society as a heroic individual.

According to Geoffrey de Charney's definitions and opinions requiring a knight to progress from spectator to participant in jousts, tourneys, and wars, Godfrey of Bouillon was rightfully chosen as the ninth worthy. He had already proven his prowess in arms and management of the knights under him by the time he began preparing for the journey to free the Holy Land from the Muslims.[26] In 1089, Godfrey received the duchy of Lorraine as a

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[24]Andressohn, 125. See also, Munro, Sybel and others.
[25]Brundage, 72. *See also*, William of Tyre, in Babcock, 385-86 and Colvin, 284-85.
[26]*See* previous chapters, especially regarding Godfrey's record as a vassal to the Henry IV, for more information on this subject.

reward for his loyal service to the Emperor Henry IV during the emperor's wars against his unruly vassals. The Saxons had shaken off the emperor's rule and elected Rudolph, duke of Swabia, as king over them (1077). During one battle between the Saxons and Henry's army, the emperor's knights chose Godfrey to hold the imperial standard and to be commander in chief of the vast army.

> On that day, while the armies on both sides were fighting gallantly and pressing each other hard with their swords, it happened that the duke, who was leading the emperor's forces with the eagle, moved against the lines led by the pseudo-king Rudolph, and thus directed the forces under the emperor's command thither. When Godfrey reached the king's lines, they broke up in utter confusion, and, before the very eyes of the emperor and some of his nobles, the duke plunged the standard which he was bearing into the heart of the king. Then throwing the lifeless body on the ground, Godfrey again raised aloft the imperial standard, all stained with the blood of the king.[27]

The faith the emperor's loyal knights placed in Godfrey at this time was more than repaid, as Godfrey "himself confirmed their judgement by such a remarkable deed and showed them by actual proof that their estimation of him was correct."[28] In this and other examples of his skill in arms as he progressed through Geoffrey de Charney's steps of knighthood (jousts, tourney, battles, and foreign battles), Godfrey of Bouillon became the example of an ideal knight. He achieved the most of any man of his time after reclaiming the Holy Land for the Christian west and his election as secular head of the Frankish kingdom of Jerusalem.

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[27]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 390-91.
[28]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 391.

Chivalry and Knighthood

Other examples of the flower of knighthood followed the tradition of Godfrey. Courtier poets sometimes added their masters' names to the roster of the nine as a tribute to their deeds. These additions included Pierre de Lusiguan, Bayard, Francis I, Henry IV of England, Henry VI and VII, Guy of Warwick, Robert the Bruce, and Bertrand du Guesclin. In England, Guy of Warwick was often called the tenth worthy or took the place of Godfrey as the ninth. France claimed Bertrand Du Guesclin as the tenth and the Scots gave the same honor to Robert the Bruce.

According to his life and his legends, Guy, the son of Siward of Wallingford, married the only daughter of a Saxon warrior and, after a life of adventuring as a knight errant, retired in his old age to live as a hermit until his death (c. 929). His story was a widely popular tale laid in the era before the Norman conquest and was associated with king Aethelstane. A thirteenth-century metrical romance doubtfully ascribed to a Franciscan, Walter of Exeter, came from the twelfth-century life of Guy, and is almost a comedic rendering of the popular concept of a hero.[29] A passage from the Middle English text of a fourteenth-century poem related how Guy was admired as a chivalric knight in the same tradition as the nine worthies, for his skill as a fighter:

> He smote to Guy with all his myzt,
>
> And he hym, as a noble knyzt
>
> Tho they forwghten rught faste there:

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[29]For more information of Guy of Warwick in legend, see John Edwin Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050-1400*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1930), "Guy of Warwick," 15-19 and his Bibliographic Notes, Section 1 "English and Germanic legends," 764-65.

Noter of hem wold other spare.

Thay fouwght with so grete Ire:

Oute of ther helmis sprange the gyre.

They breke hawberkis and shyldys:

The pecis flew in-to the fylds.[30]

In "Ane Ballet of the Nine Nobles" as well as other old English poems, the nine worthies were conspicuous figures. Robert the Bruce made a tenth worthy in the last stanza of the "Ballet," in which the poet emphasized the battles won and the men slain by the worthies.

Robert the Brois throu hard feichtyng

With few venkust the mychthy Kyng

Off Ingland, Edward, twyse in fycht,

At occupit his realme but rycht

At sum tyme wes set so hard,

At hat nocht sax till hym toward.[31]

Robert the Bruce also figured in a pageant during a royal visit made by Margaret, queen of James IV, and the ballad of the Nine Nobles may have been adapted from Barbour's *Buik of Alexander* for the same purpose.

Bertrand du Guesclin, the great constable of France, was also called a tenth worthy or was added to the list of nine along with others by various authors, especially by his own

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[30]From Caires, MS 8212, quoted in Ritchie, vol. 1, cxi.

[31]"Ane Ballet of the Nine Nobles," ll. 55-60, ed. David Laing, *Early Popular Poetry of Scotland and the Northern Border*, additions and a Glossary by W. Carew Hazlitt, vol. 1. (London: Reeves and Turner, 1895), 300-03.

chronicler, Cuvelier. Although Bertrand earned his reputation while in Spain in 1365-66, his companions were in fact not noble paladins of the same stamp as Charlemagne's but rather were mercenaries and bloodthirsty freebooters like John Hawkwood's from some years earlier. In Thomas of Saluzzo's *Chevalier Errant*, two captains occupied special seats in Fortune's Palace, Hawkwood and Bertrand du Guesclin.[32] The author of the *Chemin de vaillance* included Bertrand along with a series of ancient heroes—Hercules, Achilles, Jason, and Scipio—and some of the constable's contemporaries—Louis de Sancerre and Hugh Calverly of England.[33]

Other worthies courtier poets added to the roster of the nine of Jacques de Longuyon included Pierre de Lusignan, Bayard, Francis I, Henry IV of England, and Henry VI and VII,. All of these men and other people from various time periods, including Hercules, Scipio, and Joan of Arc, were associated with the Nine Worthies because of the position they held in reminding medieval and modern people of the great example of the past as well as the fact that chivalry continued to evolve even after its great flowering in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth-centuries. A fairly late series of nine full length portraits by Vaughan included Tamberlain, Mohamet, Solyman the magnificent, Charles V, Scanderbeg, Edward (the Black Prince), Henry IV of France, and William of Orange.[34] Each of these men were worthy individuals as military and political leaders. While they were not all Christians, the west recognized them as men who had greatly affected their world, changing it significantly for the generations that followed. Their lives became

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[32]Keen, 277.

[33] Keen, 123.

[34]"The Pourtraitures at Large of Nine Moderne Worthies of the World with a short relation of theire Lives and Deaths" is listed in *Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature*, ed. William Carew Hazlitt, Vol 1: 1867-1876 and Vol. 2: 1474-1700 of the Second Series, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1961). Described as being "elegantly engraven in copper," the works, in a folio of ten leaves, were to be sold at the Globe in Cornehill in 1622. They were either being sold by or for J. Juth, Esq. and were licensed to Henry Holland on the 20th of March, 1622. The series was originally to have included Sir Philip Sidney, although which of the nine he was to replace is uncertain.

examples for others to follow, in the same way Jacques de Longuyon's heroes acted as examples.

In a manner of speaking, the ideal of the nine worthies provided the medieval world with traditions to look at in order to lend order to their own lives. The traditions and practices of the worthies provided a unity between the medieval world and the past, and the concept of medieval chivalry was a means of linking the present with the past. Chivalry grew out of the concept of loyalty to one's lord or king, based on feudal law. In the feudal world, a knight owed allegiance as a vassal to a lord or suzerain who may or may not have been his king. Especially on the continent, a knight might become vassal to a number of different lords, each of whom was vassal to someone else. A knight had to gain permission from his liege lord to become someone else's vassal as well and degrees of loyalty were involved, but this did not always stop complications from occurring, as the lords themselves fought among themselves, forming and reforming alliances that were in their best interests. Even the church followed this practice of feudal obligation to some extent since the priests, monks, and lay brethren pledged their fidelity to the order they joined, promising loyalty to the abbot or bishop over them. The stylings and practices of the chivalric code presented a symmetry to the knights' world. In the emerging feudal world, contractual rather than fundamental ties were to lords and suzerains, and the idea and presentation of 'heroes' who transcended the limited virtues and obligation of the average knight became increasingly attractive. The imagery of Godfrey as a worthy gave the warrior society of the Middle Ages an ideal to imitate while also providing a pattern to live out their lives.

Often in the secular world, the individual who presented the accouterments of knighthood influenced the new knight in the way he lived his life, managed his property, and remained loyal to his liege lord. The association between the new knight and the older

one symbolized the passing on of tradition from one generation to the next, with the younger generation receiving some of the prestige and honor of the older. In the Old English poem *Beowulf*, the Danes who first met Beowulf and his followers when they come to offer their assistance against the monster Grendel asked the prince for his name and family because a man's personal fame and lineage identified him. Beowulf answered:

> We are Geats,
>
> Men who follow Higlac. My father
>
> Was a famous soldier, known far and wide
>
> As a leader of men. His name was Edgetho
>
> His life lasted many winters;
>
> wise men all over the earth surely
>
> Remember him still.[35]

Another example of the importance given to the person who presented a knight's arms appeared later in the poem, when Wiglaf debated whether or not to go to Beowulf's aid.

> Watching Beowulf, he could see
>
> How his king was suffering, burning. Remembering
>
> Everything his lord and cousin had given him,
>
> Armor and gold and the great estates
>
> Wexstan's family enjoyed, Wiglaf's
>
> Mind was made up.[36]

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[35]*Beowulf*, tr. Burton Raffel, Afterword, Robert P. Creed, (New York: New American Library, 1963), ll. 260-66.

[36]*Beowulf*, ll. 2605-09.

The poet continued, describing the sword Wiglaf carried which once belonged to his father, who won it from another great warrior. Joining the battle, Wiglaf remembered the boasts his prince's companions made when Beowulf gave them their swords and armor:

> all of us swore to repay him,
>
> When the time came, kindness for kindness
>
> —With our lives, if he needed them. He allowed us
>
> to join him,
>
> Chose us from all his great army, thinking
>
> Our boasting words had some weight, believing
>
> Our promises, trusting our swords.[37]

In the same way as did later lords, Beowulf bound his followers to him with his gifts and their promises, and, as his vassals, they owed him service. At the same time, his personal fame carried over to them. Wiglaf joined in the fight with the dragon both in order to repay his service to Beowulf and to share in his king's glory.

> Beloved Beowulf, remember how you boasted,
>
> Once, that nothing in the world would ever
>
> Destroy your fame: fight to keep it,
>
> Now, be strong and brave, my noble
>
> King, protecting life and fame
>
> Together. My sword will fight at your side![38]

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[37]*Beowulf*, ll. 2636-41.
[38]Beowulf, ll. 2663-68.

Milo von Sevelingen, a twelfth-century German poet, wrote on the concept of associative honor, whereby the knight received the honor of the personage who gave him his arms. If a most worthy knight gave the bachelor knight his arms—his right to be called a knight— the novice received not only his new title but a portion of his patron's prestige. Von Sevelingen said: "the worth of the worthy make one worthy."[39]

It was as much the reasons or perceived reasons behind the actions as the actions themselves that granted greatness to the individual. Robert Guiscard accomplished a great deal during his lifetime; but, he set out to carve a kingdom for himself and for his heirs. His motives would have lessened him in some minds so that while skillful and successful, he was not an ideal to hold up for others to follow. His greater achievements were countered by his greater vices—arrogance, ruthlessness, overwhelming and overweening pride among them. The medieval world perceived Godfrey in comparison as more virtuous even if his personal achievements did not amount to as much. Along with the other crusaders, he gained prestige in the successful battles in the Holy Lands, and he died before the one great success of the fall of Jerusalem could be overwhelmed by later failures in the succeeding battles against the Saracens. Not only did the subsequent generations not speak evil of the dead but they built up his fame out of all proportion to his actual accomplishments. Godfrey earned a reputation, first in his own county and later all over Europe, as a great warrior and a Christian model along the same lines as the older heroes.

Romances and the *Chansons de gestes*

The nine worthies were popular as individuals long before Jacques de Longuyon used them in his poem, but the value of these particular nine as symbols and models

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[39]Keen, 69. Keen's translation of the German, 'das Wurde werdens wirdit mir.'

increased after this time. Perhaps other authors found it easier to build upon Jacques' nine than to develop a list of their own or perhaps the symbolism and symmetry in this list pleased the later authors. Alexander was an extremely popular hero in Scotland long before the fourteenth-century. His name was tied to the legend of the beginning of Scotland, since, his gifts of England to Betis and Scotland to Gadifer established the Scots in Britain.[40] Alexander's inclusion as one of the main characters in the poem may have contributed to the popularity of *Les Voeux* during David the Bruce's reign in Scotland but it was not the only reason. The story itself probably had something to do with it since it was an exciting tale of battles and life surrounding a martial society. John Barbour translated the poem into Scottish so that people unfamiliar with French could read or hear the story of Alexander and Porrus and benefit by their example of what was honorable. Godfrey also appeared in legends in many countries including Scotland. He exemplified the ideal desired by feudal knights and served as a model not only for common knights but for kings as well. In the 'Stewart's Original' (c. fourteenth-century) Barbour linked the Scottish kings to Godfrey, sending Sir Alan Stewart on crusade with the duke.[41] Whether or not this truly happened, the information tended to link the Stewarts to the Nine Worthies in much the same way as the Bruce had been tied, giving them an older precedent for their position in Scotland.

Chansons de geste or songs of deeds, stories about heroes and their families, were mainly from Northern France, just as lyrical poetry was mainly from the south. Troubadours wrote the lyric poems and courtly love poems in response to the type of life style they followed in the southern courts. Troubadouric literature was fostered by feudal

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[40]Ritchie, vol. 1, xlvii, n. 13. The romance 'Perceforest' found in some 15th c. MSS and 16th c. prints describes these events but the tradition came from much earlier folktales and legends.

[41]Barbour maintained that Sir Alan Stewart, the son of Walter Stewart, the first of the family, was "in the Crusade with Godefroi de Bouillon, King of Jerusalem, at the capture of Antioch" (1098). Bower said Alan died in 1233 so he could not have possibly accompanied Godfrey. *See* Ritchie, vol. 1, ccxvii, n. 16, for more information.

society, and, by the twelfth-century, was essentially aristocratic poetry, appealing to nobles and their courts rather than to the peasant or emerging middle classes. The northern poets used the styles better liked by their audience. Many of the northern districts including Lorraine developed special *geste* cycles of their own around the heroes of their districts, including William of Orange and Charlemagne. Though the oral tradition preceded it by a great many years, the earliest known *chanson* was the *Song of Roland*. Written around the end of the eleventh-century, it described actual events, transforming a minor occurrence in the life of Charlemagne into a major episode in the conflict between the Christians and the Saracens.[42]

The *chanson de geste* cycle of the crusades developed Godfrey's character the most; especially in the group of stories brought together in the *Chevalier au cygne*, a romanticized version of the history of the First Crusade. The series in general took on definite shape in the late twelfth and early thirteenth-centuries. Two stories in the series, the *chansons* of *Antioch* and *Jerusalem*, were originally composed by a contemporary of the events and were reshaped some seventy-five to a hundred years later by another poet. The *chansons* became a poetic narrative of the crusade and Godfrey became the exemplary hero, providing in one person all the qualities, ideals, pettiness, jealousies, poetry, and personalities involved in the enterprise. In the *chansons*, the knights were fierce, bloody, cruel, and sometimes greedy over land or prestige, but their continued goal, at least the uppermost goal, was to win back the Holy City from the Muslims. By heightening Godfrey's historic qualities, the truth and facts of his position and character as far as it was known, the persona of Godfrey was developed with legendary or epic proportions. In the chronicles and romances, he equaled or excelled the other barons in their fierce valour, and

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[42]*See* the Introduction in *The Song of Roland*, tr. Dorothy L. Sayers, (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, Inc., 1971), for further explanation concerning the growth of the legend from the actual events.

yet courtesy tempered his wrath. The authors of this side of Godfrey conveniently forgot about his forcing the Jews to pay for his part in the Crusade and any other less than noble acts he committed, because they were either in the name of his lord the emperor or for a "just" cause as far as the chroniclers were concerned.[43] According to the chroniclers, he surpassed all in Christian meekness and modesty, and, like Raymond of Toulouse, he refused the throne of Jerusalem until he has been commanded from on high by the overwhelming demand from his fellow barons. He accepted the role as protector of the kingdom as a sacred charge, and in its defence, or so the Arab chroniclers say, he died.[44]

The tales in the series of the *Chevalier au cygne* were separately titled *Antioche*, *La Conquête de Jérusalem*, *Les Chétifs*, *Hélias*, *Les Enfances Godefroy*, *Boudouin de Sebourc*, and *Bastart de Bouillon*. The oldest and perhaps the finest in this series, the *Chanson d'Antioche* (c. 1200), was probably the work of Greindor de Douai. He reworked an older poem by Richard the Pilgrim, "whom some believe to have been an eyewitness of the events of the first crusade, and whose account of it tallies well with what the most respectable chroniclers tell us."[45] It described the Christian host taking and defending the city, in its original form from Richard the Pilgrim was not much later than the events it described.[46] The *chansons* praised the deeds of Godfrey among other heroes of

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[43]*See* my chapter 3 for information on Godfrey's position regarding the Jews.

[44]For information on the Arab's version of Godfrey's death *see Arab Historians of the Crusaders*, ed. Francisco Gabrieli, tr. E. J. Costello, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 13, and Taylor, vol. 1, 554. Taylor briefly describes the heart of the reason why Godfrey above the other participants in the First Crusade was chosen as the ruler of Palestine and the reason for his becoming the hero of the Crusade. The *chansons* about Godfrey gave an impetus to the history of the crusades. Taylor contends that while the crusade opened with the form of Godfrey as the ideal type, they ended a century and a half later with the saintly but inept figure of Louis of France. Rather than the accomplished warrior hero pushed forward by his religious convictions, the crusading period ends with a saintly but sadly unprepared king.

[45]Graindor of Douoi based his *langue d'oil* version partly on Robert the Monk and partly on an earlier composition by Richard the Pilgrim. According to Runciman, Richard "was a simple, rather ignorant man, but with his own point of view." Other poems on the same subject included one "in French by Gilon with interpolations by a certain Fulcher, ... and a Spanish *Gran Conquista d'Ultramar*," Runciman, 332. *See also*, Keen, *Chivalry*, 57.

[46]George Saintsbury wrote in his *A Short History of French Literature (From the Earliest Texts to the Close of the Nineteenth Century)*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), "The variety of its personages, the

the crusades in the hopes of elevating these men beyond the common horde. The only English version of the swan knight story before the fifteenth century, *Chevalere Assigne*, was a compilation of *Jérusalem*, *Hélias*, and *Les Enfances de Godfrey de Bouillon*.

The series of the *chansons* about Godfrey received its title from the relationship between the Duke and the story of the swan knight. The story of Godfrey's ancestry, parts of which were circulating as early as the twelfth-century, developed out of the folk tale better known as Lohengrin. One explanation for its connection to Godfrey was that the story originally was associated with his maternal uncle but after Godfrey's success in the Crusade, the tale of the swan knight took on more of the aspects of prophesying his elevation to reign in Jerusalem. A more likely explanation was that Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, may have assumed the swan devise from his wife's family and after Godfrey's death, legend may have associated it with Godfrey rather than Baldwin. The most likely one of all was that an ancestress of Godfrey married and adventurer of obscure origin, and later became known as associated with a legend from the area where he lived. A modern historian contended that the legend was *une ancienne légende de lorraine, rattachée arbitrairement au XII siècle à la famille des rois de Jérusalem*.[47]

The swan knight was also connected to the Grail legend. In Chrétien de Troyes' *Perceval*, Godfrey was mentioned as one of Perceval's descendants. In the *Conte du Graal*, Gerbert, one of the continuators of Chrétien's story, launched into fantastic adventures regarding Perceval's quest. At one point he related the story of Perceval's vision on his wedding night, in which a celestial voice told the knight and his wife that

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vivid picture of the alternations of fortune, the vigour of the verse, are all remarkable," 16. Both *La Chanson d'Antioche* and *La Conquête de Jérusalem* illustrate the ease with which poets introduced panegyrics into their poems.

[47]Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XXVI (580ff) and XXX (444) quoted in Howard Maynadier, *The Arthur of the English Poets*, (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1907), 148, n. 1. Maynadier says the story was probably a family tradition which became part of the legends surrounding Godfrey of Bouillon after his death.

among their descendants would be the Swan Knight and the three conquerors of Jerusalem—Godfrey and his two brothers. The legend of the swan knight and its position in the crusading cycle were significant since they singled out Godfrey's family and associated it with miraculous and prophetic events.[48]

Many versions of this tale appeared at various times and came to belong in part to Godfrey's family history. The story began when, lost in the forest, Lothar, son of a King Philip, laid himself down to sleep by a clear spring. He was woken by the fair Elioxe, whose father's castle was close by; looking on her, he fell in love instantly and offered her his hand. She consented to be his but warned him that it would cost her her life: she would bear him a son from whom would spring the race of the future conqueror of Jerusalem, and would die in doing so. So it fell out: while he was at the wars she bore him seven children, six boys and a girl, and died in childbirth. Each child, when it was born, had a gold chain about its neck. The old Queen, their grandmother, had hated Elioxe and looked askance at the children, whom she ordered to be abandoned in the forest, telling Lothar on his return that his wife had died giving birth to a monster. In the woods, the children were succored by an old hermit, but news of it came to the Queen, and she sent a servant to steal their gold chains: he succeeded in stealing those of the six boys, who were instantly transformed into swans and flew away over the forest. The lonely girl wandered seeking them, till she came at last to her father's palace and was recognized; the brothers were found on a nearby lake, and regained their shape when the chains were restored—all save one, whose chain was lost. Four of the brothers disappeared from view; the fifth, the Swan Knight, having grown to knighthood, set out in a bark drawn by his swan brother. After forty days, they came to the emperor Otto's palace at Nijmegen; here the Swan Knight stepped forward to

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[48]William of Tyre, while willing to accept a number of legends, could not quite credit the swan legend. He wrote: "I purposely omit the story of the swan whence, legend declares, these brothers derived their origin, because, although many writers give that as true, yet it seems to be without foundation," Babcock, 388. Albert of Aix is one of many who tells the story of the swan knight in connection with Godfrey.

champion the duchess of Bouillon and her daughter Beatrice against the duke of Saxony

who was challenging their inheritance. In a judicial duel he slew the duke, and afterwards

married Beatrice. When she asked him the question he had forbidden, the manner of his

birth, the swan returned with the bark and took the knight away, sorrowing, never to be

heard of again. But Beatrice still had their daughter Ida, who in due course married count

Eustace of Boulogne, bearing him three sons, Eustace, Baldwin, and the conqueror

Godfrey.[49]

Some critics said the tale of the swan knight was "inaptly forced into connection

with the family of Godfrey."[50] Afterall, the truth of Godfrey of Bouillon's family history

was well documented in his mother's biographies and in other family writings.[51] Whether

fitting or not, however, the story became part of the legendary background of Godfrey

providing some substance to the idea of the duke as one of the most worthy knights in

history. Coopland ended his version of the tale with: "Thus endeth the life and

myraculous hystory of the most noble and illustrious Helyas knight of the swanne with the

birth of the most excellent knyght Godfrey of Boulyon, one of the nyne worthiest, and the

[49]This version of the tale of the swan knight, paraphrased here from Keen, 58-59, was chosen because of its clear ties to Godfrey. Other versions appeared at the same time, many of which are included in S. Baring-Gould's *Curious Myths of The Middle Ages*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1904), 430-53.

In Baring-Gould's version in his chapter "The Knight of the Swan," based on the romance of *Helyas, the Knight of the Swanne* from the edition of Coopland, not only were the names somewhat different (Oriant, king of Lilefort, met and married Beatrice), but each of the seven children were born with silver chains about their necks. When the Queen, Oriant's mother, ordered a second time for the children to be killed, only six were found and had their chains stolen, thus turning into swans. The seventh was Helias, who grew up in the forest and later became the knight of the swan. He found his brothers and sister, turning all but one back into humans, and left his father's castle in search of further adventures. He appeared at the court of Otho, Emperor of Germany, and victoriously championed Clarissa, the Duchess of Bouillon against the Count of Frankfort, winning the heart and hand of the daughter of the Duchess in the process. They had one daughter, named Ydain, who became the mother of Godfrey of Bouillon. Helias left his family after his wife forgot his injunction against inquiring about his lineage. Baring-Gould ends the chapter with various other versions of the folk tale and its probable origins from Belgian, Keltic, and Norse mythology.
[50]Taylor, vol. 1, 554. Taylor says the chansons have become adventurous and full of irrelevant marvels rather than serious supernatural intervention. Godfrey duplicates the exploits of his supposed ancestor, the Swan-knight, becoming more legendary than real. Knightly manners have changed from brutality to courtesy. Women throng these works and the romantic love of women so highly developed in the Arthurian legends begins here.
[51]For ancestry of Godfrey, *see* family tree in my Chapter 3.

last of the three chrysten."[52] Perhaps it was this connection of the tale of the swan that

drew Jacques de Longuyon's attention to Godfrey, providing the poet with a worthy

successor to the traditions of the other eight he chose to compare to his own hero, Porrus.

Godfrey of Bouillon in Legends

The poems of Godfrey of Bouillon and the series of the *Chevalier au Cygne* were

extremely popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth-centuries and were later rendered into

prose form.[53] Although the *chansons de geste* were a very popular form of literature

during the Middle Ages, they were not the only form. Besides these poems, Godfrey of

Bouillon was mentioned in numerous other works, from his own contemporary time and

later, including Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and Henry David Thoreau's poem "Godfrey

of Bouillon."[54] Chroniclers as early as fifty years after the First Crusade added supposed

historical facts to Godfrey of Bouillon's career to enhance his position as "king" of

Jerusalem. Perhaps since he was a relative unknown to most of the medieval world outside

his sphere of influence, these additions were necessary to enable the rest of Christianity to

feel some kind of empathy with the hero. And, since he was already dead and could not do

anything else to affect the precarious balance in the Latin kingdom in the east one way or

the other, he appeared to be better than he actually had been, as someone to hold up to

those that followed as leaders of the kingdom. Since the First Crusade was the most

successful, by recapturing Jerusalem and driving the Muslims out of a position of

prominence in the region for a short period, medieval society idealized Godfrey as

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[52]Quoted in *Early English Prose Romances*, ed. William J. Thoms, (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1906), 784.

[53]Colvin, xvii. Colvin clearly explains the various sources of the poems of Godfrey in her introduction to Tyre's work and the various extent versions of Tyre's own writing.

[54]*Unpublished Poems by Bryant and Thoreau: "Musings" by William Cullen Bryant and "Godfrey of Boulogne" by Henry D. Thoreau*, (Boston: The Bibliophile Society, 1907), Introduction by F. B. Sanborn.

representing that success. This idealization lead to the retelling or fabricating of legends or deeds exemplifying his righteousness, goodness, strength, and ability as a leader.

Many legends survived regarding Godfrey's strength and warrior skills. Esteemed as always ready to attack and quite efficient in battle, Godfrey's strengths and skills were well known even before he left on the crusade, as previously illustrated by William of Tyre's account of the duke's actions in the service of Henry IV against the Saxons. Another example which William of Tyre related, occurred early in his career when Godfrey and another knight appeared before the emperor Henry IV in order to fight a trial by combat. During the course of the action, Godfrey's sword broke:

The adversary … pressed the duke hard and refused him any respite. Finally, however, Godfrey regained his usual skill, for which he was so famous. Urged on by anger, he rushed forward with the hilt of his broken sword in his hand and dealt his adversary such a mighty blow on the left temple that he was thrown half dead to the ground; indeed, to all appearance he seemed to be wholly lifeless.

Godfrey threw the fragments of his own sword from him and, holding in his hand the sword of his prostrate enemy, summoned the lords who shortly before had talked to him about a compromise. He begged them to arrange conditions of peace, and to rescue from such an ignominious death the distinguished man who had been vanquished.

Amazed at the extraordinary valor of the duke and his incomparable mercy, they arranged a peace. Thus the controversy was brought to an honorable end, yet in such a way that the duke remained the victor and was universally deemed worthy of immortal glory.[55]

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[55] William of Tyre, in Babcock, 389. Babcock notes that there is no known basis for this story in German

Godfrey contributed to the success of the emperor's battles against the Saxons; the duke achieved his position as a worthy and gallant knight even before his many feats while on crusade.

William of Tyre and the other chroniclers related many of Godfrey's deeds while in the east, showing his great strengths and skills as a warrior. One legend related how, at the siege of Antioch, Godfrey "cut asunder a Turk, who had demanded single combat, and that one half of the man lay panting on the ground, while the horse, at full speed, carried away the other: so firmly the miscreant sat."[56] And later in the battle, "another also who attacked him he clave asunder from the neck to the groin, by taking aim at his head with a sword; nor did the dreadful stroke stop here, but cut entirely through the saddle, and the back-bone of the horse."[57] Not only in battle was Godfrey able with his sword. William of Malmesbury related another tale where Godfrey rescued one his men who was hiding behind his shield while being attacked by a wild animal, which the chronicler called a lion but which was probably a wild boar.

> Godfrey, grieved at this sight, transfixed the ferocious animal with a hunting spear. Wounded, and becoming fiercer from the pain, it turned against the prince with such violence as to hurt his leg with the iron which projected from the wound; and had he not hastened with his sword to rip it up, this pattern of valour must have perished by the tusk of a wild beast.[58]

Other tales described Godfrey's skill against various animals. He was said to have cut off

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history.

[56]William of Malmesbury, 394. Heinrich von Sybel also told the tale of Godfrey's cutting the Turk in two, the upper half fell to the ground and the lower half was borne back to town on the frightened horse, 28.

[57]William of Malmesbury, 394.

[58]William of Malmesbury, 394.

the head of a camel with a single stroke. After a successful raid in Jordon, Godfrey met an Arab nobleman who wished to see the Duke in order to tell others of his prowess.

When he stood in the presence of the duke and had greeted him with all due reverence, the Arab chief earnestly begged Godfrey that he would deign to smite with his own sword an immense camel which had been brought for this purpose. He wished to be able to testify to others of the duke's strength as seen with his own eyes. Since the chief had come from a long distance to see him, Godfrey consented. Unsheathing his sword, he cut off the animal's head as easily as it it had been some fragile object. The Arab was amazed at the evidence of such great strength, but, in his own heart, he attributed the feat largely to the sharpness of the sword. Accordingly, begging leave to speak freely, he asked Godfrey whether he could accomplish a similar feat with the sword of another. The duke, smiling a little, requested that the Arab's own sword be brought him. Taking it, he commanded another animal of the same kind to be brought before him. This done, he raised the sword and without difficulty struck off its head also at one blow.

The Arab chief now for the first time began to marvel and was almost dumb with amazement. He recognized that the force of the blow proceeded, not from the keenness of the weapon, but from the strength of the man himself and was convinced that the stories he had heard about Godfrey's valor were true. He immediately offered gifts of gold, silver, and horses and thereby won the favor of the duke. On his return to his own land, he acted as a herald and proclaimed to all whom he met the prowess of the duke, which he himself had witnessed.[59]

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[59]Babcock 413. Babcock says it is difficult to imagine when Godfrey would have time for some of the occurrences William of Tyre relates considering all the problems he had to deal with during his year as Advocate.

Through stories like these, Godfrey's fame spread throughout the east and the west as the crusaders returned home. Although it was partly because of his prowess in arms that so many legends developed around his name, Godfrey would not have been the ideal example of chivalry, which included not just skill in military matters but also skill in matters of love and honor and loyalty, if he did not posses other virtues as well.

William of Malmesbury upheld Godfrey as the most worthy of the crusaders because of his military renown as well as his being "conspicuous in rank and courage without being arrogant."[60] Several examples of Godfrey's humility were told in the chronicles or in the legends, including his refusal of the name of king or a crown in the city where Christ was crowned with thorns. Another example took place during the siege of Arsuf. When a group of Saracens came as envoys to Godfrey's camp, they discovered him sitting on the ground outside his tent. To their amazement that he would so humble himself, he responded that "the ground might well suffice for a temporary seat to mortal man, since after death it was destined to be his abode forever."[61] Further illustration of this point was that the man many of the French called the tenth worthy, Bertrand Du Guesclin, took Godfrey as his model because the duke took no account of pomp and trappings; the duke thought it was enough to be mounted and armed reasonably.[62] Like Raymond Lull's ideal knight, Godfrey desired little beyond what he could achieve with his arms and knightly skills. As long as he had his sword and his horse and his honor remained unsullied, he felt he had achieved the most any man could desire. Bertrand's remarks reflected his opinion that this ideal was a goal to strive for, even if it remained out of reach because of lesser men's pettiness.

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[60]William of Malmesbury, 394.

[61]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 410. *See also* Dana C. Munro, *The Kingdom of the Crusaders*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1935), 69, and Keen, 153.

[62]Keen, Chivalry, 153.

William of Malmesbury made a vital point in his history when he referred to Godfrey as "that brilliant mirror of Christian nobility, in which, as in a splendid ceiling, the lustre of every virtue was reflected," or as that "pattern of valour."[63] The chronicler upheld Godfrey as the most worthy of the crusaders because of his military renown as well as his high rank, courage, and lack of arrogance. Anna Comnena described Godfrey as "a very rich man, extremely proud of his noble birth, his own courage and the glory of his family"; he was the first "to sell his land and set out on the road to Jerusalem" after Peter the Hermit and his followers.[64] William of Tyre said Godfrey "was distinguished by nobility of character also, as far as the qualities of the inner man were concerned, and to him rightly the precedence belonged."[65] The chronicler continued, describing the duke with all the chivalric virtues—devout, merciful, just, serious and steadfast, humble, constant in prayer, liberal, gracious, affable, kind and forbearing, and "he showed himself in all his ways commendable and pleasing to God."[66] According to Albert of Aix, Alexius told Godfrey at their meeting, during which Godfrey pledged fealty to the emperor, "I have heard that you are the most mighty knight and prince in your land, a man most prudent and of perfect trust."[67] Albert continued, saying the emperor adopted Godfrey as his son.[68] The anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* described Godfrey as "reckless and brave."[69] He also generally mentioned "Duke Godfrey" first in any listing of the leaders of the

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[63]William of Malmesbury, 390, 394.

[64]Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 311. Perhaps because of the trouble between Godfrey and her father, Alexius, over the emperor's rights to the land reconquered by the crusaders, Anna Comnena does not hold Godfrey in a very favorable light. This is reflected in her assessment of him in this section.

[65]William of Tyre, in Babcock 387.

[66]William of Tyre, in Babcock, 387.

[67]"Godfrey of Bouillon: the *Gesta* Version," in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 130.

[68]Albert of Aix may have been confused over the oath Alexius demanded from the Crusaders. The emperor had them swear vassalage to him in the western tradition as well as the oath of filial duty, as was the Greek custom. See my chapter 3 for more information on the oath.

[69]*Gesta Francorum*, Hill, 19.

crusade. For example, while relating the events after the winning of Antioch and the debate over its disposal either to Bohemond or to the emperor, the author wrote, "The bishops, with Duke Godfrey, the counts of Flanders and Normandy and the other leaders, went apart from the rest, and entered the part of the church where stands St. Peter's chair so that they may give judgement between the two parties."[70] Of course, he probably mentioned the leaders in this order because Godfrey held the highest secular rank rather than for any other reason. And Fulcher of Chartres wrote how the crusaders elected Godfrey as ruler of the Holy City "because of his noble excellence, the proven worth of his military service, his patient temperance, and also the elegance of his manners."[71]

Godfrey of Bouillon as one of the Nine Worthies

Many of the references to Godfrey of Bouillon in art and legend revolve around his inclusion as one of the Nine Worthies. The earlier quotation from Coopland is only one of many instances where Godfrey is defined as one of the most worthy men of all times and the last of the three Christians.[72] In his books on chivalry, Geoffrey de Charney divided knights into three classes of worthies:

> The good, simple, and bold are *preux*: those who by their valour displayed in many places have risen to high rank are *soulverain preux*: but you may tell those who are *plus soulvereinment preux* by the wisdom with which they attribute all their glory and achievements to the grace of God and the Virgin.[73]

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[70]*Gesta Francorum*, Hill, 76.
[71]"The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres, Book I," in Peters, 79.
[72]*See* above, page 28.
[73]Keen, 13.

The Nine Worthies were the embodiment of Geoffrey's *plus soulvereinment preux*. Just a few years before Geoffrey's writings, Jacques de Longuyon's schematic listing in his poem established a particular set of nine worthies which proved to be the most popular. The symmetry of the nine and its reference both to the symbolism of that number and the strength given it by the number three squared provide an adequate explanation for why the poet chose to illustrate this particular number of worthies.[74] Eight of the nine already had a substantial oral and written literary tradition by the fourteenth-century; only Godfrey did not. But, since the poet was from Lorraine and Godfrey's history was developing although not as clearly defined as many other heroes, the duke deserved his place among the nine. Jacques de Longuyon needed another Christian hero to round out his list and of the many he could have chosen, Godfrey proved to be a lasting choice.

> [The nine were] a motley crew, great military captains and subjugators of large areas of the earth's surface such as Alexander and Charlemagne, together with Joshua and Arthur, whose exploits were of doubtful authenticity and touched but a small corner of the world, libertines like Caesar together with the noble and self-sacrificing Judas Maccabeus and Godfrey de Bouillon.[75]

The medieval audience looked at all nine of these heroes through their own fourteenth-century experiences, placing even the ancients in situations, costumes, and mental attitudes similar to their own. The conquerors Alexander and Charlemagne were not evil men for subjugating noble people for what they could add to an empire; the more mythical Arthur was regarded as a real person, or if not real at least his exploits and the ideas they illustrated

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[74]See earlier information on nine worthies and number symbolism in my chapter 2.
[75]Roger Sherman Loomis and Laura Hibbard Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 37.

were real; and the incongruity of placing Julius Caesar, Judas Maccabeus, and Godfrey of Bouillon in the same poem, referenced to the same ideas and purposes, was not considered as it might be today but rather as the culmination of a long awaited goal. Each of the nine held a particular place in Jacques de Longuyon's story, a particular relevance to the poet and his audience. Hector was the first warrior and the Franks claimed descent from him. Charlemagne was the champion of the Franks who believed themselves to be God's new chosen host. And Godfrey of Bouillon fulfilled this belief by his achievement—recovering the Holy Land in the First Crusade, and becoming head of the new Latin kingdom.

Godfrey was the most recent recruit to the circle of the worthies. He symbolized the fact that the story of chivalry's mission in the world was still in progress, a divine mission that was both urgent and contemporary, and that there was no reason why, with Jacques de Longuyon's chosen nine, all the places of the first circle of chivalrous honor should be regarded as occupied.[76] By the fourteenth and fifteenth-centuries, chivalry was not part of the life of most people, but was the tool for courtly games. Society had moved on but felt the need to keep some of their past. The nine were symbols of that past.[77]

Jacques de Longuyon's nine reflected earlier texts and traditions, including a mid-thirteenth century rhyming chronicle by Philip Mouskés, who represented the three laws with three heroes: Hector, Judas Maccabeus, and Ogier the Dane. Another precedent for the nine worthies was the Welsh *triads*, which were based on a system of druidic knowledge grouping together three subjects because of some common thread; some deed, action, or intellectual pursuit linking them.[78]

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[76]Keen, 123.

[77]By the fourteenth-century, the chivalric ideal was something upheld in romances rather than a working function in society. The world was changing, so the lifestyle of the medieval world changed with it. Chivalry became a set code of behavior but not everyone of the knightly class abided by that code. It was the pomp and trappings for special occasions rather than conduct suitable for daily life, which tended toward the mundane,.

[78]J. A. Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles,* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1900), 430-431 n. 2.

This is that Godfrey by whose valiant hand
God freed from Saracens the Holie Land.

Fig. 5: Godfrey of Bouillon, reprinted, by permission of the publishers, from Lea and Gang, *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, (Oxford, 1981), frontispiece.
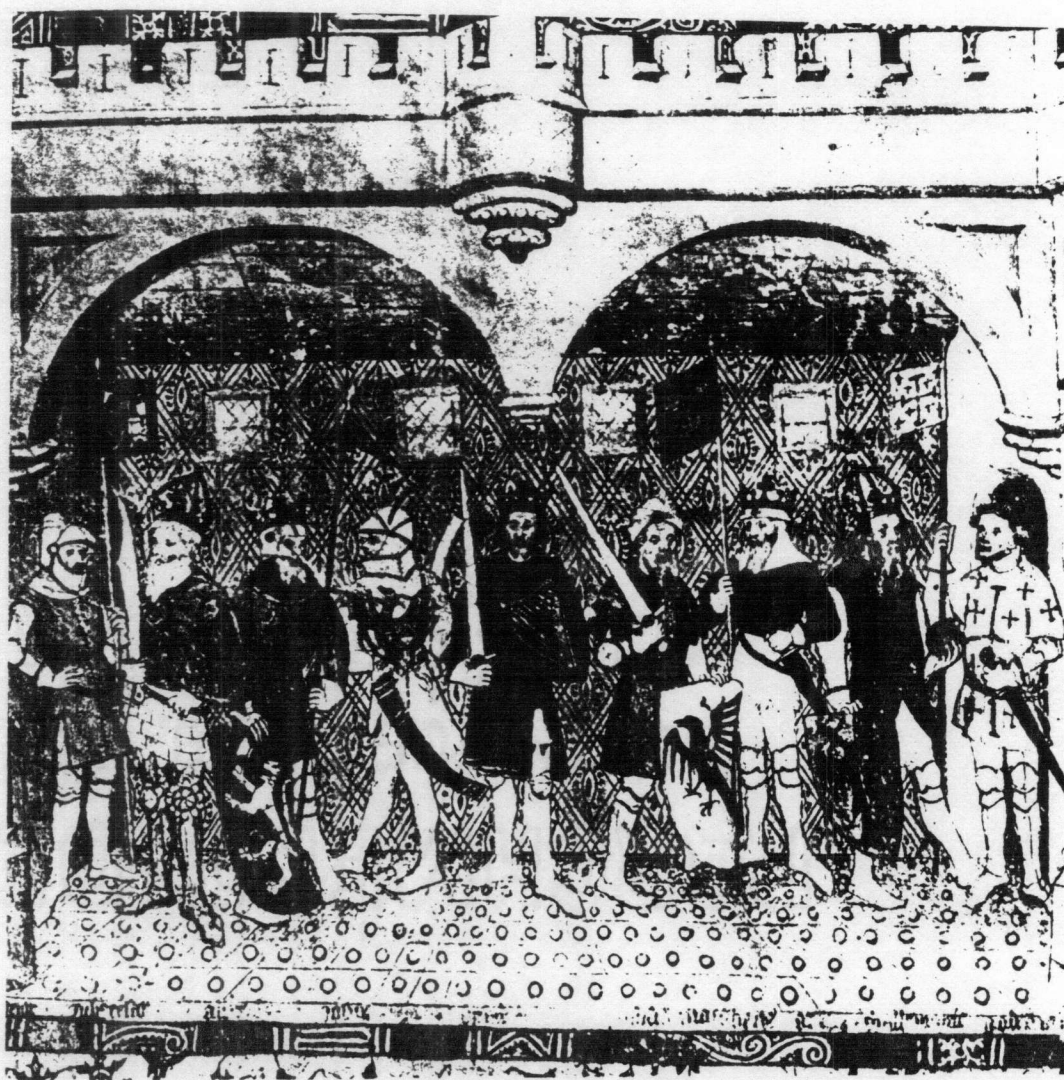
Fig. 6: The Nine Worthies, France, c. 1390, reprinted, by permission of The Modern Language Association of America, from Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (London, 1938), fig. 13
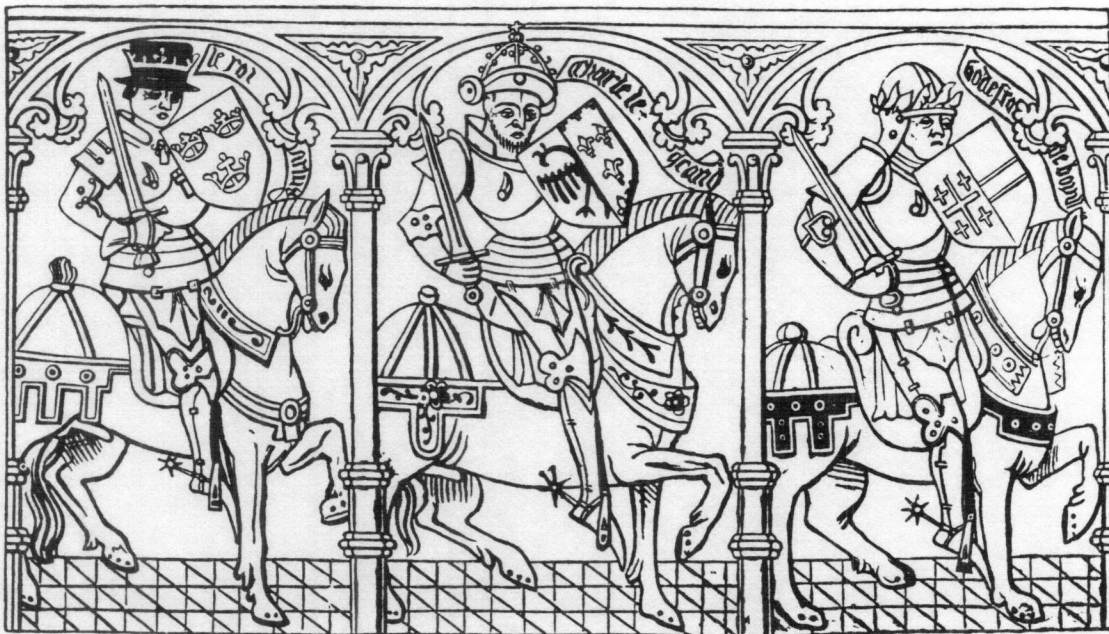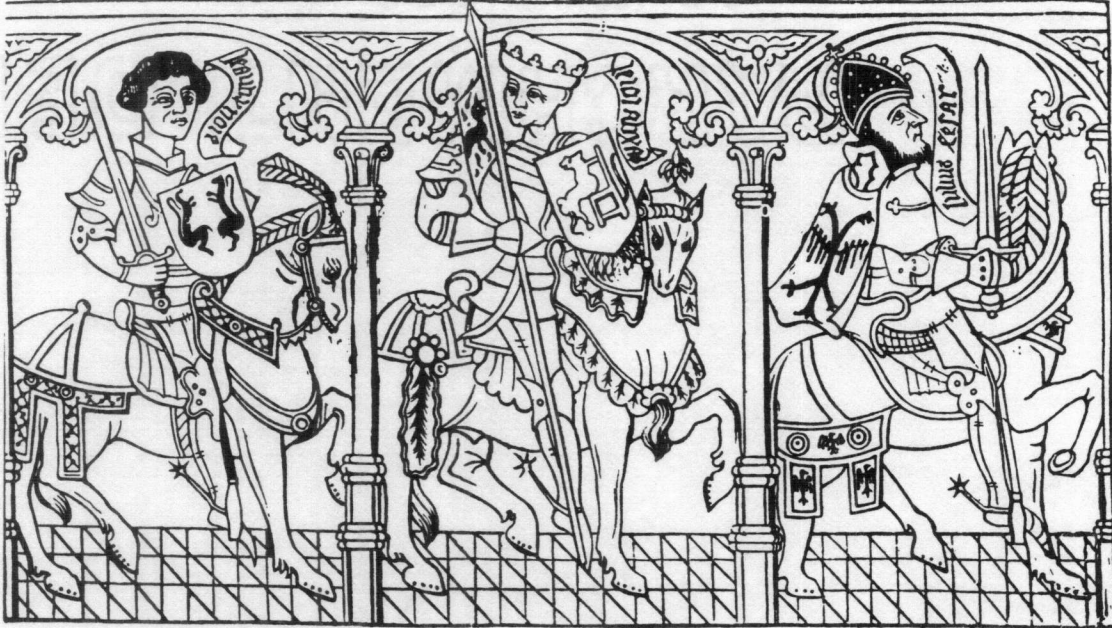
Fig. 7: The Three Christian Worthies, Bale, Switzerland, c. 1475, reprinted, by permission of The Modern Language Association of America, from Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (London, 1938), fig. 15

Fig. 8: The Nine Worthies, Wood-Engravings, reprinted, with permission, from Paul Lacroix, *The Arts in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (New York, 1964), 227

The Nine Worthies in Literature and Art

The genealogies of the period furnished the only information extent for some of the heroes because the epics or legends expounding their achievements were lost. The *triads* were often used as early bibliographies of the Welsh poems, listing the characters in the poems without really describing the plot of the tale or the people's accomplishments. The following illustrates the type of data found in the *triads*:

Three loyal retinues of the Island of Britain: The retinue of Cadwallon, son of Cadfan, who were seven years in Ireland with him. … And the retinue of Gafran, son of Aeddan, who, when he disappeared, went to sea for their lord. And, third, the retinue of Gwenddoleu, son of Deidiaw, at Arderydd, who continued the battle for six weeks after their lord was slain. [79]

This kind of listing did not proved any real information, since who these people were, when they lived, if they actually lived or were just legendary figures, or anything about their actions remains obscure. But, since many of the epics no longer exist, modern historians have some idea of the large a body of works formerly extent which provided fuller examinations of these men and their activities.

Unlike the *triads*, however, the poet of *Les Voeux du paon* used his groupings to form a conscious whole, introducing a new symmetry into listing similar people. His juxtaposition of the three classical and the three Biblical champions to the three medieval figures brought into focus the mission of chivalry in the medieval world, which was to

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[79]Hector Munro Chadwick, *Growth of Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 46. Information on *triads* from this book unless otherwise stated. The *triads* vary greatly in value for modern understanding of the Welsh epics from this period. If they were compiled from later chroniclers, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, they do not provide much information on lost sagas. On the other hand, if they are compilations from early epics, the poems may be lost and the only information remaining may be the *triad*.

uphold God's peace, spread His law, and guard His holy sites in the continual and universal struggle against the forces of darkness, chaos, and impiety.[80] Longuyon's symmetry and use of symbolism solidified his list, forcing any who followed him into contending with if not actually using his groupings.

The poem gave rise to a literary genre in which the vogue of using the nine became a decorative devise in art and literature. Numerous examples of poetry were written at the end of the fourteenth-century and the grouping continued well into the sixteenth, in everything from stanzas accompanying murals and tapestries like those under the frescoes at the Lochstedt castle to copper engravings and pageants.[81] In *The Flower and the Leaf*, generally attributed to Geoffrey Chaucer but probably not written by him, the unnamed observer described a group seen in the forest:

Tho nine, crownèd, be very exemplair

Of all honour longing to chivalry,

And those, certain, be called the Nine Worthy,

.   .   .   .

That in hir tyme did many a noble dede,

And, for their worthines, ful oft have bore

The crowne of laurer-leves on their hed,

as ye may in you oldë bokes rede.[82]

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[80]Keen, 122-23.

[81]Authors in the fifteenth-century produced many works about the nine, including a Vow of Alexander (1498) not connected to John Barbour's translation of *Les Vouex du paon* and a mumming play much like the one Shakespeare's characters put on in *Love's Labour's Lost*. The first six heroes were listed in *Golagrus and Gwain*, and Coopland singled out Godfrey in his sixteenth-century compilation which included the story of *Helyas, the Knight of the Swan*. For a more complete listing of the nine in literature than is provided here, see Isaac Gollancz, *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, (London: Nichols and Sons, Ltd., 1897), Appendix I; Roger Loomis, "Verses on the Nine Worthies," *Modern Philology* (XV, 1917), 214-19; and Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends*, 37-41.

[82]*The Flower and the Leaf*, ll. 502-509 in *Chaucerian and other Pieces*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, vol. 7

John Gower listed all nine in his *The Praise of Peace*, written for Henry IV. Gower

advised the king to look to the nine for an example of how to best serve God.

> See Alisandre, Hector, and Julius,
>
> See Machabeus, David, and Josuë,
>
> See Charlemayne, Godfray, and Arthus
>
> Fulfild of werre and of mortalitee!
>
> Hir fame abit, but al is vanitee;
>
> For deth, whiche hath the werres under fote,
>
> Hath mad an ende, of which ther is no bote.[83]

John Lyndgate and Shakespeare, however, only mention some of the original nine and add

others in their works, as did the *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1320) and the *Golagrus* (c. 1450).[84]

Godfrey was included in a number of works from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century as

one of the nine worthies.[85] Richard Lloyd printed a work in 1584 titled *The Renowned*

Acts and Valiant Conquests of the Nine Worthies which included wood cuts of the nine.

And others took the idea of representing the most worthy individuals as a cohesive group,

as in *The Nine Worthies of London* printed for Humphrey Lownes in 1592, Clement

Barksdale's *Lives and Actions of England's Late Worthies in Church and State* (1662), and

the *Lives of the Nine Worthies* by Thomas Heywood. Godfrey became a main character in

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Supplement to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897), 377.

[83]John Gower, *The Praise of Peace*, ll. 281-287, in Skeat, 213.

[84]Between lines 86-103 in his *Ballad of Good Counsel*, Lydgate mentions all nine except Godfrey of Bouillon while adding Solomon, Troilus, Tullius Cicero, Senaca, and Cato. In Shakespeare's *Love's Labor Lost*, the poet names two of the nine, Joshua and Judas Maccabees, and promises three others. The other named worthies are Hercules and Pompey the Great but no others from Jacques de Longuyon's nine. Ritchie refers to Shakespeare, the "Cursor Mundi," and the "Golagrus" in his Introduction, clvi, n. 5.

[85]Following information from Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica; or a General Index to British and Foreign literature*, vols. I-IV, (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1824).

Torquota Tasso's *La Gerusalem Liberata* (1581), representing Understanding, particularly for that "which considereth not the things necessarie, but the mutable and which may diversley happen, and those by the will of God."[86]

Not only were the nine popular in romances, *chansons de geste*, mumming plays, and pageants, but in art as well.[87] The nine, whether caught in stone, tapestry, or stained glass, sent a message to their audience, regarding the continually unfolding story of chivalry. They appeared in medieval art with a certain monotony—monotonous because of the need to give each specific attributes and to portray the importance of each as an individual and as a cohesive whole. A grouping of the nine in the Hansasaal of the Rathaus at Cologne (c. 1320-30) was the earliest example.[88] Numerous others exist in Germany, including the statues at Schloss Runkelstein, the frescoes in the castle of the Teutonic Knights at Lochstedt in East Prussia, and the many examples of stonework and paintings adorning the Schöne Brunnen at Nüremberg (1385-96). Other preserved groupings from the fifteenth century are three windows in the Rathaus at Läneburg, panel paintings from the Alter now at the Germanic Museum in Munich, and some frescoes from the same period in the castle of Valeria at Sion, Switzerland. Also outside Germany, a fresco of nine male and nine female worthies (c. 1430) occupied a wall of the great hall at the Castello di Manta in Piedmont. The frescoes were executed for Valerano and Clemensia Provana

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[86]*Godfrey of Bulloigne: A Critical Edition of Edward Fairfax's translation of Tasso's* Gerusalemme Liberata, *together with Fairfax's Original Poems*, ed. Kathleen M. Lea and T. M. Gang, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1981)

[87]R. S. Loomis, in *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, says "Arthur and his eight rivals appear frequently in medieval art and with a certain inevitable monotony so that exhaustive enumeration, illustration, and description seem unnecessary," 38. *See also* n. 65 on that page and the bibliography at the end of the book for a more complete listing.

[88]Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends*, 38. More references to the nine in art in Chapter III, 'King Arthur,' 37-41. Unless otherwise noted, illustrations of the nine in art taken from this book.
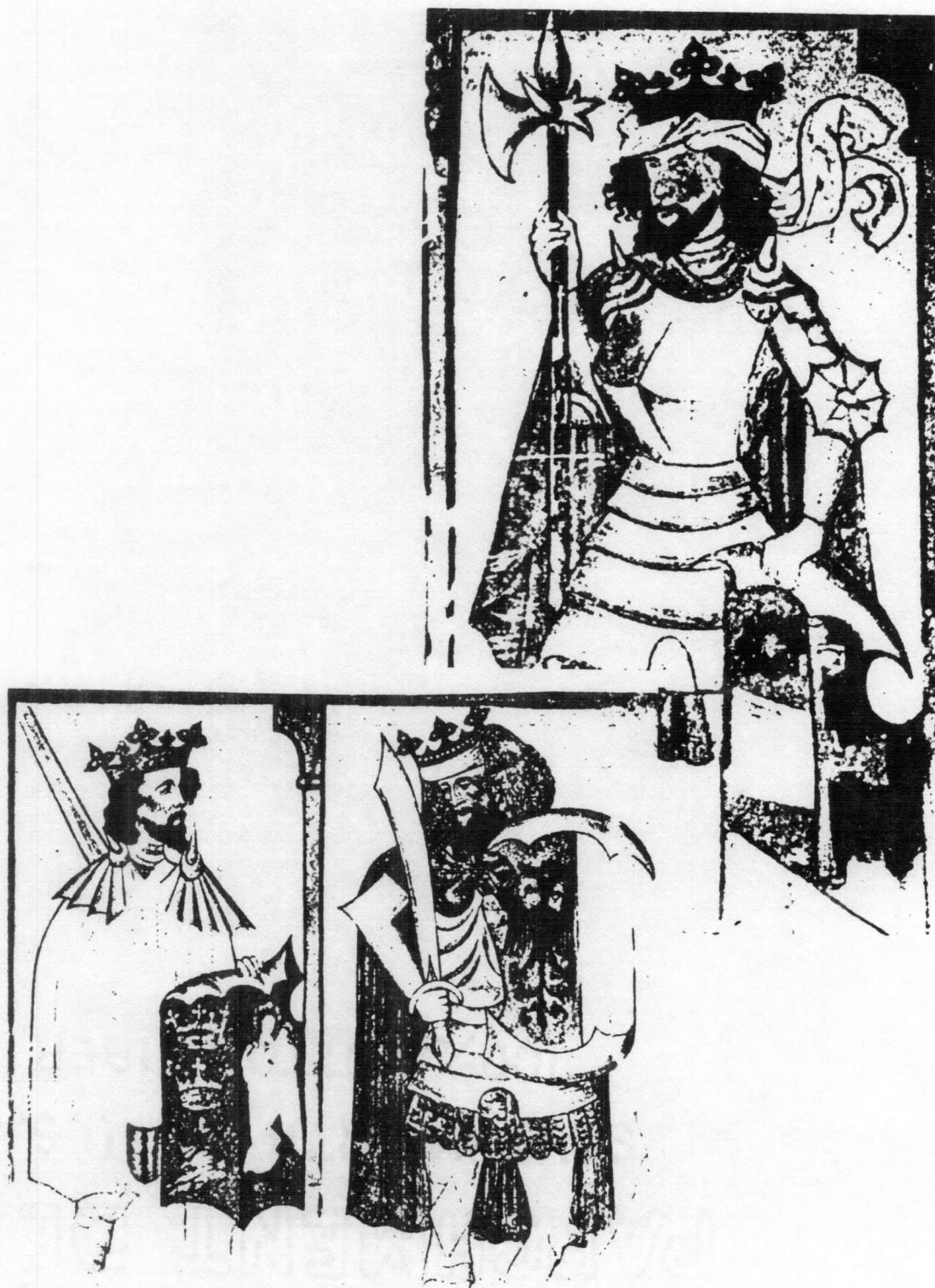
Fig. 9: The Three Christian Worthies, Sion, Switzerland, *c.* 1490, reprinted, by permission of The Modern Language Association of America, from Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (London, 1938), fig. 17

Fig. 10: Murals, Runkelstein, Austria, *c.* 1400, reprinted, by permission of The Modern Language Association of America, from Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (London, 1938), fig. 60

(shown as Hector and Penthesilea). A manuscript of the *Chevalier Errant* written by Valerna's father, Tommaso, duke of Saluzzo, may have provided the inspiration for the works. The life-sized warriors, fully armed with appropriate weapons, stand in a meadow between trees hung with the escutcheons or each.[89] The Summer House at the Runkelstein castle in the south Tyrol contains murals of the Nine on the stairs going up to the gallery. The three pagans and the three Jews are shown standing, in armor, but the three Christians are seated on a panelled stall.[90]

In England, the coats of arms of the nine were painted on the fifteenth-century mortuary chest of Robert Curthose in Gloucester cathedral and Sir John Fastolf mentioned a tapestry of the nine in an inventory taken in 1459. The son of Edward III, Thomas of Woodstock, earl of Gloucester, and his wife Eleanor possessed copies of many of the Godfrey romances from the cycle of *Le Chevalier au cygne*, which included the *Chanson d'Antioche* and the *Chanson de Jérusalem*. Their country residence, Pleshey Castle, contained fifteen tapestries of scenes from this cycle and they may have had others which showed Godfrey of Bouillon as one of the nine worthies.[91]

Several country homes in England had works of the nine, including the abundantly decorated east front of the Elizabethan Montacute House in Somerset. Statues of the Nine Worthies dressed as Roman soldiers filled niches on the top story of the house, under the handsome cornice and balustrade running the length of the roofline.[92] The seventeenth-

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[89]Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends*, 39.

[90]Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends*, 48.

[91]Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095-1599*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 261.

[92]Information on the following four examples from Bruce Dickins, "The Nine Unworthies," in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron, (London: The Athlone Press, 1969), 228-232. Illustration from Olive Cook, *The English House Through Seven Centuries*, photos by Edwin Smith, (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 1983), 104. The anachronistic portrayal of people occurred frequently in the Middle Ages. Men and women were put in medieval dress and settings regardless of their own century in order to imply the correctness of medieval ideals, actions, and thought. For example, Julius Caesar appears in medieval armor, wearing a crown and carrying a sword and shield in an illustration from Thomas of Saluzzo's *Chevalier Errant*, c. 1370.

Fig. 11: Judas Maccabeus and Arthur, Castello di Manta, Piedmont, *c.* 1430, reprinted, by permission of The Modern Language Association of America, from Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (London, 1938), fig. 14
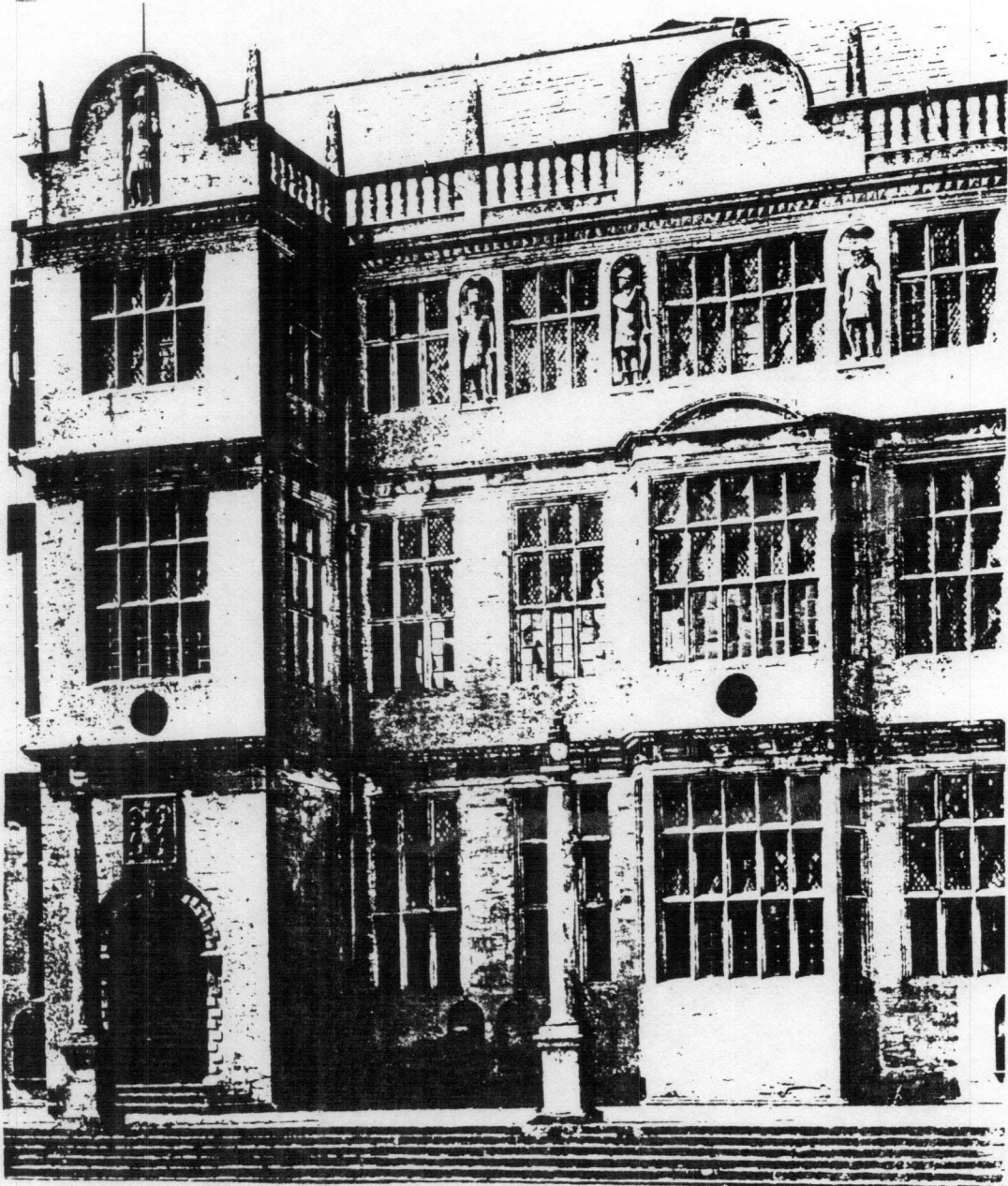
Fig. 12: Montacute House, Somerset, England, reprinted by permission, from Olive Cook, *The English House Through Seven Centuries*, photograph by Edwin Smith, (Woodstock, 1968), 104

century panelled room of the Old Palace at Bromley-by-Bow (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum), had plaster work on the ceiling—circular medallions with busts of Hector, Joshua, and Alexander—which may have been taken from plates executed by Nicholas de Bruyn in 1597. Figures of the nine stood in the Jacobean hall of Blickling in Norfolk until at least the eighteenth-century. The earl of Buckinghamshire wrote (1767):

> Some tributary sorrow should, however, be paid to the nine worthies, but Hector has lost his spear and nose, David his harp, Godfrey of Bouillon his ears, Alexander the Great his highest shoulder, and part of Joshua's belly has fallen in. As the ceiling is to be raised, eight of them must have gone, and Hector is at all events determined to leave his niche.[93]

And on the ceiling of the Chamber of the Nine Nobles in Crathes Castles, Kincardinshire, Scottish verses describing each of the figures accompanied the paintings of the worthies.[94].

Outside England, the motif was also immensely popular. In France, many tapestries appeared in the collections of the houses of Anjou and Burgandy, as well as two tapestries belonging to Charles V listed in an inventory from 1379. Jean, Duc de Berry, third son of John II of France, commissioned many works depicting the nine, including statues inside and outside his castle at Bourges, a basin for washing hands while at table, a *nef* or table ornament in the form of a ship, and many tapestries, including the fifteenth-century fragments of the *Nine Heroes Tapestry* now at The Cloisters, New York, believed to be part of a set woven by Nicholas Bataille for the duke

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[93]Quoted from Lord Suffield, *My Memories* (London, 1913), in Bruce Dickens, "The Nine Unworthies, " in *Medieval Literature and Civilization: Studies in Memory of G. N. Garmonsway*, ed. D. A. Pearsall and R. A. Waldron, (London: The Athlone Press, 1969), 89-90.
[94]*A Guide to Crathes Castle and its Gardens*, (National Trust, 1963) describes the castle and the room of the nine nobles. Christina Gascoigne in *Castle of Britain* (New York: Thames & Hudson, Inc., 1980), 184-87, refers to the same room as the Muses Room.
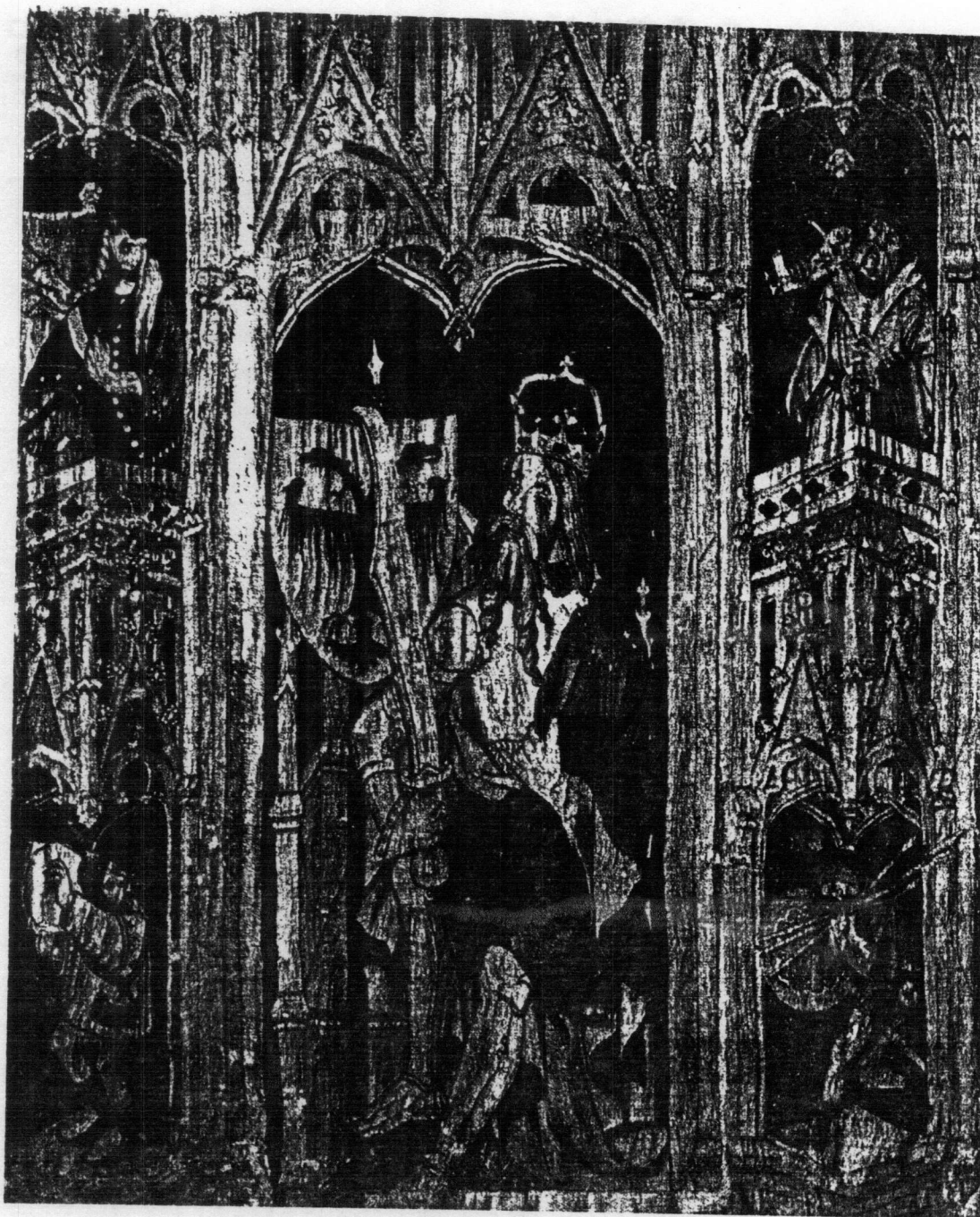
Fig. 13: Julius Caesar, *Nine Heroes Tapestry*, The Cloisters, New York, reprinted, with permission, from Bonnie Young, *A Walk Through the Cloisters*, photographs by Malcolm Varon, (New York, 1979), 61

Fig. 14: Detail of Hebrews tapestry, The Cloisters, New York, reprinted, with permission, from Bonnie Young, *A Walk Through the Cloisters*, photographs by Malcolm Varon, (New York, 1979), 62
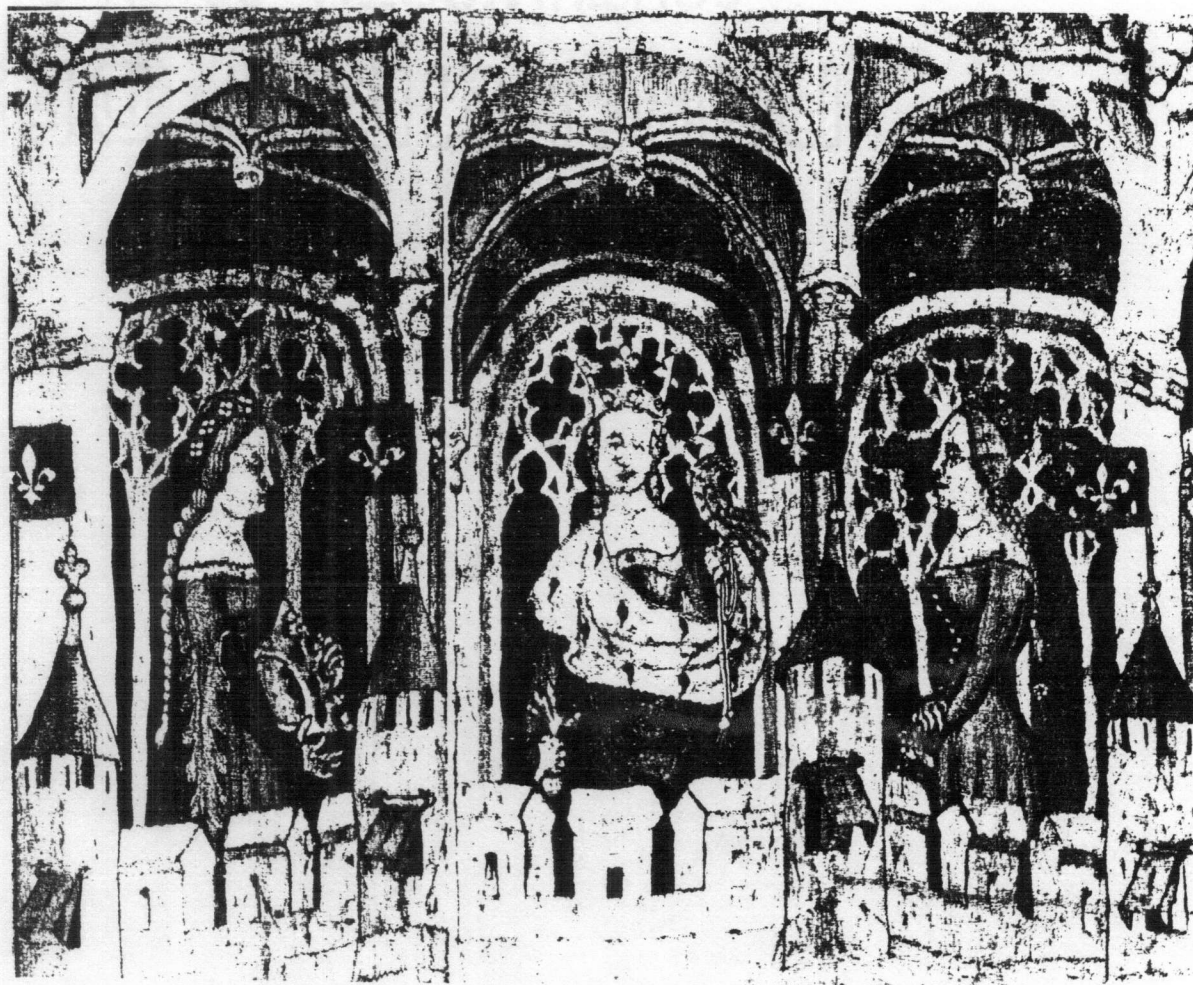
of Berry. Internal evidence of the duke's arms on the banners in the Hebrew heroes tapestry indicated that it presumably was commissioned either by the duke or for him. The household records of Philip the Bold mentioned both a heroes tapestry, which may have been the duke of Berry's set, inherited by Philip from Charles VI, as well as a tapestry set of nine heroines. Louis of Anjou owned numerous tapestries representing the theme of the nine worthies. In his inventory of 1364-65, seventy-six tapestries were listed, including one of the nine worthies and one of Godfrey of Bouillon, Charlemagne, and Arthur. And in 1465, a demand developed for woodcut sheets of the nine and six complete sets from this period were still extant in the 1930s.[95]

Grouping women worthies, as in the frescoes at Piedmont and the tapestry of nine heroines from Philip the Bold, was not at all unusual but rather a logical projection of the same ideals onto women as those of the nine male worthies. The tradition of the women worthies was not as concrete as the men. While many tapestries and other art works used the women as counterpoints to the men, the nine women were more likely to a mixed group rather than strictly divided into three groups of pagans, Hebrews, and Christians. Sometimes, however, the artists or poet repeated the symmetry of the male worthies in their female counterparts. In the seventeenth century, Thomas Heywood wrote *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the most Worthy of Women of the World. Three Jewes. Three Gentiles. Three Christians.* He said his choice of nine referred to the nine muses but the reference too closely resembles the divisions of the nine male worthies to be a coincidence. This work was similar to his earlier *Gunaikeion* (1624), a compendium of information on all kinds of women—lewd, virtuous, goddesses, Amazons, and

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[95]Regarding one of the sets, R. S. Loomis writes, "All the Worthies are depicted monotonously on horseback in much the same attitude, with little to differentiate them but the faces, horse-trappings, helmets, heraldry, and the rimes below," which is actually quite a bit for a woodcut. For more information on these, *see* Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends*, 140.
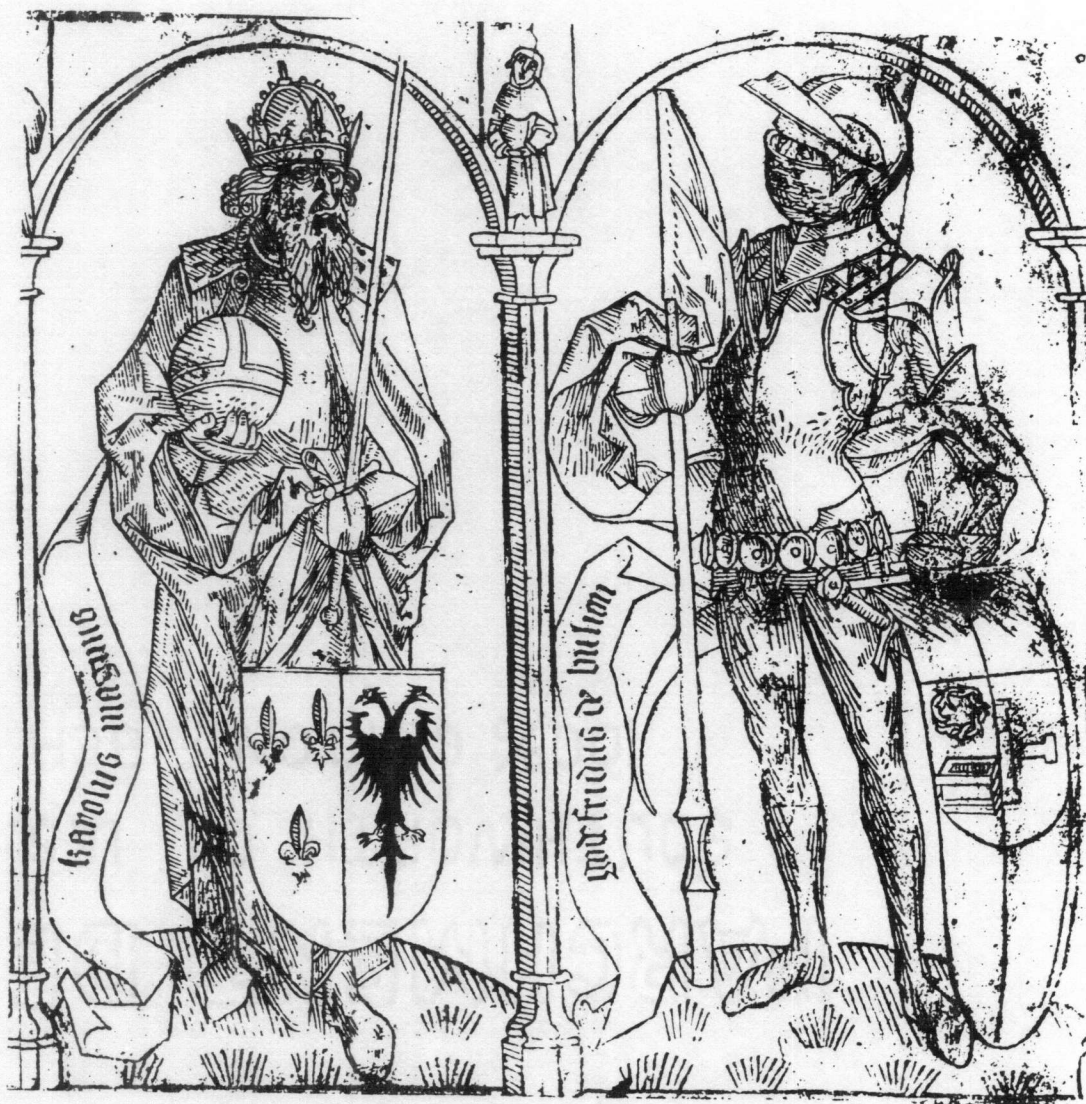
Fig. 15: Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon, Hamburg, *c.* 1490, reprinted, by permission of The Modern Language Association of America, from Loomis and Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, (London, 1938), fig. 394

prophetesses. His nine included Deborah, Judith, and Esther; Bunduca or Boudicca, Penthesilea, and Artimesia; and Elphleda or Aethelflaed, Margaret of Anjou, and Elizabeth I of England.[96] The women in the tapestry set from the records of Philip the Bold were not divided into three groups, but rather were an assemblage of Amazons and warrior queens who recalled memorable acts of renown for the people who saw their images.[97]

Another projection of the Nine Worthies tradition was the corresponding Nine Unworthies on the first pastedown of a Cambridge manuscript from the end of the fifteenth century.[98] These nine served as the anti-types of the worthies, much in the same manner as persecutors opposed saints, or devils opposed angels. The pastedown listed the nine unworthies as Chaym, Nero, Pylatus; Joram, Ieroboam, Achab; Iudu Scharioth, Iulianus Apostata, and Barnabo Mediolanj. Chaym is the ancient form of Cain; Joram is the Vulgate form of Jebram, a name borne by many of the ninth century kings of Israel and Judah; and Barnabo Maeiolanj was Bernatio Visconti, Lord of Milan during the fourteenth century. Each man represented evil to medieval society and as such were the antithesis of the nine men most admired for their chivalric virtues—nobility, courage, liberality, and charity.

Conclusion

Regardless of the historical fact—that Godfrey was only one of many leaders of the Crusade and was chosen as Advocate because of his title as duke as much as for any

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[96]George Glover's engravings of *The Nine Woemen Worthys* may have inspired Heywood since most of Glover's women are repeated in Heywood's, with the exception of Zenobia whom Glover put in the place of Bunduca, renamed Bonita and moved to the Christians in the place of Elphleda. For a fuller explanation of Heywood's nine, see Eugene M. Waith, "Heywood's Women Worthies," *Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Norman T. Burns and Christopher J. Reagan, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975), 224.

[97]Information on this tapestry may be found in Jules Guiffrey, "Les Tapestrieis du XII à la fin du XVI siècle," in *Historie générale des arts appliqués à la fin du XVIII*, ed. Emile Molinier, vol. 6, 31-32.

[98]Dickens, 228-32.

religious convictions, statecraft, managerial ability, or family ties—by accepting the position as ruler of Palestine, Godfrey of Bouillon earned the admiration of his own time and that of the people who followed.

The chroniclers upheld Godfrey as one of the greatest of the crusaders. His position as duke and the number of men he commanded during the enterprise placed him among the leaders, whether or not he deserved his position. Medieval society's regard for rank and its belief that people of certain ranks had the knowledge and skill to perform their duties meant he would earn a certain place in their history no matter what he personally achieved. As the *de facto* ruler in Jerusalem after its reconquest, however, he was given a place in the culture and literature of the period which might have been reserved for another. Robert Guiscard, Raymond of St. Gilles, Urban II, Adhémar, or even Baldwin earned the same kind of prestige in the mind of society, but Godfrey was chosen to fill out Jacques de Longuyon's nine. Others were added to the list, among them Guy of Warwick, Bertrand de Guesclin, and Robert the Bruce, but they did not really take his place until much later versions of the story. Tasso began his poem, *Jerusalem Delivered*, with the lines:

God sends his Angell to Tortosa downe,

Godfrey vnites the Christian peeres and knights,

And all the Lords and Princes of renowne

Choose him their Duke, to rule the wars and fights,

He mustreth all his host, whose number knowne,

He sends them to the fort that Sion hights,

The aged Tyrant *Iudæs* land that guides

In feare and trouble to resist prouides.[99]

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[99]Fairfax, *Tasso*, 94.

Medieval society believed it was through Godfrey that so much was achieved and the record of the chronicles showed that his own contemporaries believed him to be great. He appeared in legends as the perfect Christian knight, the "peerless hero of the whole Crusading epic."[100] Although his rule accomplished little beyond keeping Jerusalem out of Arab hands for a little while, he was an example for Christians to strive to imitate. The stories and legends that developed around his name may have had little to do with actual, historical fact but they reflected the attitude of their audience. They gave the Middle Ages a hero from their own time. It was indeed in Godfrey of Bouillon's person that the "myth found its final and most perfect expression, and … his fame … came in the end to eclipse that of all the others."[101]

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[100]Runciman, 145.
[101]Keen, 209.

CHAPTER 5

GODFREY OF BOUILLON AS HERO

Alas Antioch, alas Holy Land—here is their bitter complaint: There is no Godfrey
in their midst, the fire of love is extinguished in the hearts of the Christians.
Neither old nor young care anymore for the war of God.[1]

In the Middle Ages, Godfrey of Bouillon exemplified the ideal image of the

chivalric knight, becoming the model for others to follow, and his position as the ideal

developed rapidly after the end of the First Crusade. Within fifty years of his death, the

literature and art of western Europe centered on him as *the* medieval hero, the last of the

three great Christian worthies in Jacques de Longuyon's *Les Voeux de paon* (*The Vows of

the Peacock*). Before this, stories flourished concerning the great lords of the crusade—

Raymond of St. Gilles, Bohemond, Baldwin of Edessa, Robert of Normandy, Robert of

Flanders, Tancred, and others. Their chroniclers and poets enhanced their standing among

the other crusaders, upholding them and their actions during times of great strife and

uncertainty as well as times of victory and joy. But Godfrey, at least the Godfrey of

literature, gradually overshadowed the others. His achievement, the recovery of the Holy

City for Christianity, was the pinnacle—the crowning glory—for the western world.

Because medieval people placed so much faith in this recovery, seeing it as a promise to

them of the joys to come, they transposed their admiration for the recovery to admiration

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[1]The troubadour Rutebeuf summarized the situation after the Third and Fourth Crusades that failed in these
words. Quotation from: Rutebeuf, "La complainte d' Outremer (1265-1266)', *Onze poems de Rutebeuf
concernant la Croisade*, ed. J. Bastin and E. Farol, (Paris, 1946.)

for the leader at the time. Since Godfrey held the title as leader, as Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, he became the symbol of that achievement.

Godfrey was one of many heroes in medieval literature, starting with the early saints, who served as an example of the kind of life a Christian should live. The development of his story followed much the same pattern as did their lives. From oral traditions, folktales, stories, and legends, later authors wrote definite Lives. The purpose of these Lives of the saints was to stress the sanctity of the saint, as one who shared in the divine power of God. In the same way, the chronicles, *chansons de geste*, romances, and other stories stressed the heroic qualities of Godfrey's life, emphasizing his role and often inferring if not stating outright the direct intervention of God.

These works generally followed a set pattern: a description of marvellous infancy; evidence of an early vocation for the Church or prowess in knightly combat; accounts of the prophecies, reasons for, and examples of the saint's sanctity or in the case of the hero, prophecies, reasons for, and examples of the hero's prowess; ending with a somber but uplifting death scene of farewell. The lives of the saints often included miracles which occurred either before or after the death of the individual. Literature of the knights emphasized their military abilities, largesse, courtesy, and other Christian virtues; and while they had no miracles attached to them, they did owe a great deal to divine intervention and guidance for their successes. Eddius Stephanus wrote in the preface to his *Life of Wilfrid* that the purpose of his writing was to preserve "the memory of Bishop Wilfrid, for simply to know what kind of man he was is in itself a sure way to virtue."[2] Most of the lives of heroes, both saints and knights, wanted to claim something of the same thing, since the authors hoped that by the example of their subject, the audience would come

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[2]Eddius Stephanus, *Life of Wilfrid*, in *The Age of Bede*, tr. J. F. Webb, ed. with intro. D. H. Farmer, (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), 105.

closer to the perfect world promised in paradise. Eddius' *Life* followed the pattern discussed earlier. It began with Wilfrid's birth, at which "a sign from God proved that he was sanctified while still in the womb of his most pious mother" and continued with his choice of the priesthood as a youth, his part in the controversy surrounding the Easter Question, how he "brought back to life a child dead and unbaptized," his virtue, his many journeys to Rome, his difficulties with the Northumbrian kings, and ended with his final illness and last instructions to his flock, his death and burial, and a number of miracles, including the sign of a white arc, which "apart from the lack of colour . . . looked exactly like a rainbow" that Eddius and the others who saw it took as a sign that God was "building a wall of protection around his chosen vineyard."[3]

Chronicles and stories of knights often followed the same models as did the lives of the saints. Besides the stories of Godfrey which developed during the Middle Ages were many about the other crusaders including Raymond of St. Gilles, Bohemond, Robert of Normandy, and Robert of Flanders. These originated in the chronicles written by men who either accompanied the crusaders or who wrote later using eye-witness accounts to provide them with accurate information, or at least to say it was accurate. Raymond of Aguilers and Anna Comnena described Raymond of St. Gilles in glowing terms, relating the "courage and wisdom the Count displayed ... [where he] was fighting constantly at the rear and ever defending his people,"[4] and his "superior intellect, his untarnished reputation, the purity of his life ... [and how] he honoured truth above all else."[5] The author of the *Gesta Francorum* described Bohemond as a mighty and honorable man, and always tried to

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[3]See *Life of Wilfrid*, 106, 125, and 182.

[4]Raymond of Aguilers, in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source material*, tr. and notes Martha E. McGinty, ed. Edward Peters, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 119.

[5]Anna Comnena, *The Alexiad*, tr. E. R. A. Sewter, (New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1987), 330.

present him in the best circumstances. "Bohemond called a council to encourage his men, and to warn them all to be courteous and refrain from plundering that land, [Byzantium] which belonged to Christians."[6] William of Tyre related many stories about Raymond, Tancred, Baldwin, and Godfrey, but he placed the most emphasis on the duke's role in the expedition. The tales of Godfrey started out much like those of the other crusaders; he was just one of many who participated. Gradually, however, he became not one of the leaders of the crusade but the leader, the one around whom the entire history revolved. In the brief "Life of Godfrey of Boulogne" attached to the 1624 edition of Fairfax's translation of Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, the author refers to Godfrey as "Captaine Generall of this Armie."[7] Other legends developed the idea of the heroic Godfrey, including the story of the swan knight which was linked first to his family and ultimately to him, the *chansons* of the battles for Antioch and Jerusalem which became histories of the part he played at these times, and his inclusion as one of the nine worthies in Longuyon's poem.

Medieval society was greedy for entertainment and the romances, epics, and *chansons de geste* satisfied their need to some extent. The stories of heroic exploits and saintly deeds gave them ideas and ideals to strive toward. The great men and women of the past, both historical and legendary, provided medieval audiences images on which to project themselves. Orpheus, Alexander, the heroes of the Trojan War, Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, Charlemagne and his peers were admired for both their skills

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[6]*Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (*The Deeds of the Franks and the other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*) ed. Rosalind Hill, (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962), 8. Steven Runciman, in his *History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 *The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951) says Bohemond regarded the chronicle "as his *apologia* and himself hawked it round northern France," 330.

[7]"The Life of Godfrey of Boulogne," in Torquato Tasso, *Godfrey of Bulloigne: A Critical Edition of Edward Fairfax's Translation of Tasso's* Gerusalemme Liberata, *Together With Fairfax's Original Poems*, ed. Kathleen M. Lea and T. M. Gang, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1981), 592.

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in war and their place in history.[8] It was a time when the warrior culture of the knight dominated every aspect of society. The knight who won in tournaments and battles gained wealth and the respect of his peers. Poets portrayed knights as fearless warriors, brave and eager before and during the battle. Bertran de Born, a thirteenth century troubadour, the ideal of war upheld the secular virtues of his society: courage, generosity, and courtly behavior.   In his "Be.m plai lo gais temps de pascor," Bertran changes the emphasis from an ode of war to a celebration of elán:

> And it pleases me too when a lord is first to the attack on his horse, armed, without fear; for thus he inspires his men with valiant courage. When the battle is joined, each man must be ready to follow him with pleasure, for no one is respected until he has taken and given many blows. …
>
> … And when he enters the fray, let every man of rank think only of hacking heads and arms, for a dead man is worth more than a live loser.[9]

And Díaz de Gámez, in the fifteenth century, wrote that knights "have not been taken from among feeble or timid or cowardly souls, but from among men who are strong and full of energy, bold and without fear."[10]

Raymond Lull and Geoffrey de Charney's ideal knight—the epitome of all that chivalry defined—rarely if ever existed during the heyday of the knightly period, when tournaments, melées, and jousts were tests of skills actually used in battle rather than athletic exercises refined to display a knight's skill in front of admirers. As society changed from the early medieval period to the years of the Renaissance, society changed

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[8]*Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*, ed. Kenneth Sisam, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1937), Introduction, xi

[9]*The Poems of the Troubadour Bertran de Born*, ed. William D. Paden, et. al., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 340. French original is on opposite page. *See also* the Introduction, 34-37.

[10]Díaz de Gámez, "The Chivalric Ideal," in *The Portable Medieval Reader*, ed. James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin, New York: Penguin Books, Inc., 1982), 91.

the warrior's position in its cultural life. The warrior was still needed and used but they no longer held the "rank" of sole hero of the society, although reluctantly sharing the honor with saints or holymen. The role of the soldier, no longer a warrior but a protector of the peace, became less central during the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the modern period. Sir Henry Taylor, in his *Heroism in the Shade*, defined his idea of a hero:

> What makes a hero? An heroic mind
>
> Express'd in action, in endurance proved:
>
> And if there be pre-eminence of right,
>
> Derived through pain well suffer'd, to the height
>
> Of rank heroic, 'tis to bear unmoved,
>
> Not toil, not risk, not rage of sea or wind,
>
> Not brute fury of barbarians blink,
>
> But worse,—ingratitude and poisonous darts
>
> Launch'd by the country he had served and loved.[11]

In the later periods of history, the soldier was still needed and still admired but he was no longer the focal point of all aspects of society, as had been necessary in the Middle Ages.

That necessity determined medieval audiences' quest for role models among the warriors. Since all society revolved around them, they needed to be upheld as the greatest example. Warriors and knights were a necessary part of medieval society. They served as protectors and employers; and their way of life encompassed and regulated all of aspects of medieval life. The king, the chieftain from an earlier period, collected taxes and obligations for service in order to be able to afford to make war, knights and their vassals made up the

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[11]Henry Taylor, *Heroism in the Shade*, found in Henry David Thoreau, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, intro. Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, ed. Henry Aiken Metcalf, (Boston: The Bibliophile Society, 1905).

armies used in the wars, and the houses of the landed people who supplied the food for the armies were fortresses built to withstand battles against them. With the rise of the middle classes—merchants, guilds, and towns—and the beginning of the Renaissance, the need for a society centered around knights as warriors lessened, not because there were no more wars but because the attitudes of the people changed.

Jacques de Longuyon needed someone like Godfrey of Bouillon to complete his set of nine worthies in *Les Voeux de paon*. The three triads the poet used were a strong symbol for the heroes. It tripled the symbolism of the number three, which stood for the higher plane of the soul.[12] Since the study of numbers and symbols was universal during the Middle Ages, Longuyon was familiar with the meanings in the number nine and the strength of using three triads of three men, each from the three laws of the Christian world.[13] Longuyon's hero needed a background against which he could be compared to show his worthiness over his enemy. Because of the poet's ties to Lorraine, Godfrey was perhaps a logical choice to fill out the nine. By the time Longuyon wrote in the fourteenth century, Godfrey already had a number of legends relating his life history: the cycle of *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, which included the *Chanson d'Antioche* (the expedition of Peter the Hermit and the conquest of Antioch), the *Chanson de Jérusalem* (concerning the expedition to Jerusalem), *Les Chétifs* (probably based on narratives by William of Poitiers), *Hélias* (the story of the Swan Knight), and *Les Enfances de Godefroy de Bouillon*. He also played a part in a number of other tales, especially as one of the Nine Worthies.[14]

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[12]"The number three represents the Trinity: Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and consequently the number of the soul. The *Voyage of St. Brendan* is full of the number three as representing significant aspects of the story, enumerated in John MacQueen, *Numerology: Theory and Outline History of a Literary Mode*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), 18-22. The number nine, or three squared, referred to the attainment of perfection of the three lower planes of the universe. For more information on the use of numbers as symbols, *see* bibliography and section in chapter 2.

[13]*See* Emile Mâle, Introduction, 5-14. He discusses the characteristics of medieval iconography, of which the second was obedience to mathematical rules. Numbers became important in themselves, endowed with spiritual power.

[14]*See* chapter 4 above for specific references in legends, manuscripts, verses, plays, and songs.

Beginning with Longuyon's poem, the characters of the Nine Worthies gradually came closer to the attitudes, actions, and beliefs held in the fourteenth century. Medieval audiences easily followed the progression of time from classical to Old Testament to New Testament as it developed a lineage of sorts from ancient to contemporary times. The nine worthies logically progressed toward the fourteenth century. The Trojan Hector was the legendary founder of Rome and the Franks claimed their descent from him. Alexander spread the Roman civilization across the known world and, while not quite a chivalric knight, he was a mighty hero and conqueror. Julius Caesar furthered the spread of Roman influence, over an ever wider world. These three shared the legendary history of Troy and pointed towards the greatness still to come. Joshua established the Holy Land for the Chosen People of God. David and Judas Maccabeus maintained the Holy Land, preserving it for the coming of the Christian era. In the Christian's triad, Arthur, who became associated with the Grail Legend, and Charlemagne represented a gradual movement toward the present, from the Old Testament to the New. Charlemagne brought together the ancients of the Roman Empire and the Hebrews as the Franks came to represent the new Chosen People. Godfrey, a distant relative of Charlemagne and, through the legend of the Swan Knight, the final Keeper of the Grail, regained the Holy Land for the Christians. Since he was the closest in chronological time to the fourteenth century, he represented the culmination of all that had gone before. In this way, the other eight were working themselves toward a pinnacle which Godfrey, because of their example, achieved.

Godfrey of Bouillon, as the medieval model of chivalry, represented an ideal which could never again be exactly matched but which could serve as an example of what was possible. In legend, he was not a real identity, a fully developed character of flesh and blood, but rather a representation of what medieval society wished was real. He became the mythical prince of fairytales—handsome, strong, brave, compassionate, humble,

skillful in the use of arms and military strategies, but not overly or overtly intelligent. The idea of the perfect, pious, skilled knight was important to medieval audiences and Godfrey filled that need. Whether or not the man was worthy of being in the company of the other eight no longer mattered; the idea of what he was more than held him up as an equal.

> The moon hung low o'er Provence Vales,
>   'Twas night upon the sea;
> Fair France was wooed by Afric gales,
>   And paid in minstrelsy;
> Along the Rhone there moves a band,
>   Their banner in the breeze,
> Of mail-clad men with iron hand,
>   And steel on breast and knees:
> The herdsman following his droves
>   Far in the night alone,
> Read faintly through the olive groves,—
>   'Twas Godfrey of Boulogne.
>
> The mist still slumbered on the heights,
>   The glaciers lay in shade,
> The Stars withdrew with faded lights,
>   The moon went down the glade.
> Proud Jura saw the day from far,
>   And showed it to the plain;

She heard the din of coming war

But told it not again:

The goatherd seated on the rocks,

Dreaming of battles none,

Was wakened by his startled flocks,—

'Twas Godfrey of Boulogne.

Night hung upon the Danube's stream,

Deep midnight on the vales;

Along the shore no beacons gleam,

No sound is on the gales;

The Turkish lord has banished care,

The harem sleeps profound,

Save one fair Georgian sitting there,

Upon the Moslem ground;

The lightning flashed a transient gleam,

A flaring banner shone,

A host swept swiftly down the stream,—

'Twas Godfrey of Boulogne.

'Twas noon upon Byzantium,

On street and tower and sea;

On Europe's edge a warlike hum,

Of gathered chivalry:

A troop went boldly through the throng

  Of Ethiops, Arabs, Huns,

Jews, Greeks and Turks,—to right their wrong;

  Their swords flashed thousand suns.

Their banner cleared Byzantium's dust,

  And like the sun it shone;

Their armor had acquired no rust,—

  'Twas Godfrey of Boulogne.[15]

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[15]Henry David Thoreau, "Godfrey of Boulogne," *Unpublished Poems by Bryant and Thoreau: "Musings" by William Cullen Bryant and "Godfrey of Boulogne" by Henry D. Thoreau*, intro. F. B. Sanborn, (Boston: The Bibliophile Society, 1907).

APPENDIX

The Great Battell of Effesovn in *Les Voeux du Paon*[1]

Suith it is gude Hector was wicht   1
And out of mesure mekill of mycht,
For, as the poyet beris witnessing,
Quhen Menelayus the muchty King
Assegit in Troy the King Priant
For Elene, that was sa plesant,
That Parys forrow that semble
Reuisit for hir fyne beaute,
Hector on him the gouerning
Tuke of the toun, and the leding.   10
Into the half thrid zeir all anerly
That he loued throw cheualry,
Of crouned Kingis he slew nynetene
But dukes and erlis, as I wene,
That was sa fell it is ferly;
Syne Achilles slew him tressonabilly.
Gude Alexander, that sa large was,
That wan Daurus and Nicholas
And slew in Inde the grat vermyne,
(Babylon he conquered syne,   20
Quhare he deit throw poysoning),
Rang seuin zeir as nobill King,
Wan all this warld vnder the firmament;
than on ane day, in plane parliament
He said he had in all-kin thing
Our lytill land to his leding!
Cesar alsua, that Ingland wan,
All that was callit Bertane than,
To thame of Rome maid vnder-lout
Cassbylon, the King sa stout.   30
In Grece alsua discumfit he
Pompeyus, his mauch, ik sic plenty
Of men that neue zit quhare
War sene sa mony as thay ware;
Syne Alexander, the great Citte,
Affrik and Asia als, wan he,
Egypt alsua and Syrie
And mony vther fare countre,
And the yles of the sey all hale,
That was sa mony withouttin fale.   40
Thir was Paganes that I of tald,

---

[1]From *The Buik of Alexander, or The Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conquerour Alexander the Grit* by John Barbour, ed. R. L. Graeme Ritchie (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons Ltd, 1929), 402-406. French original is on pages opposite Scottish translation.

And I dar suere, and for suith hald,
That better than thay war neuer borne,
Efter that tyme na zit beforne.

Of thir thre Iowes we find it writ,
The auld Testament witnesis it,
Thay did sa mekle that commonly
All men thame lufis generally,
And, as I trow, sall lufe thame ay,
Euermare quhill domisday.
Iosua suld first named be,
That was ane man of great pouste.
The flum Iordane partit he euin in tua
Throw his wisdome and prayers alsua,
And stude on ilk syde as ane wall
Quhill his men our passed all.
Towart the south he waryed lang,
Quhare tuelfe Kingis wan he, styth and strang,
And destroyit thame velanusly,
And reft thame thare landis halely;
Thay turned to his commandement,
And to him war thay obedient.
Dauid slew Golyath with strenth,
That seuin halfe ellis had of lenth,
And mony ane fell pagan he brocht,
maugre thairis, all to nocht,
And was ouer all sa wele doand
That he was neuer recryand,
Bot in battell stout and hardy.
Men may say of him tantingly

.   .   .   .   .   .

.   .   .   .

Iudas machabeus, i hecht,
Was of sik vertew and sik micht
That, thoch thay all that lyfe micht lede
Come shorand him as for the dede,
Armit all for cruell battale,
He wald not fle, forouttin faill,
Quhill he with him of alkin men
Micht be ayane aganes ten.
That Iudas that I heir of tell
Slew Antiochus the fell,
And Appollonius alsua,
Nicanor als and mony ma.
Of thir thre christin men I can tell heir
That neuer na better in warld weir.
Arthur, that held Britane the grant,
Slew Rostrik, that stark gyant,
That was sa stark and stout in deid
That of Kingis beirdis he maid ane weid,
The quhilk Kingis alluterly

50

60

70

80

War obeysant to his will all halely;
He wald haue had Arthouris beird,   90
And failzeit, for he it richt weill weird.
On mount Michaell slew he ane,
That sik ane freik was neuer nane,
And ma gyantis in vther places sua,
Bot gif the story gabbing ma.
Charles of France slew Agoment,
And wan Spane to his commandement,
And slew the duke of Pauy,
And wan the Saxones halely,
Throw great battell and hard fechting,   100
That thay was all at his bidding;
And quhair God deit for our sauetie,
He put the haill christintie.
men aucht to lufe him commonly
Baith in peirt and priuaty!
Godefray the Bullony throw cheualry
Into the plane of Romany
Wincust the michty Salamant,
And, before Anthioche, Corborant,
Quhen the King Sardanus was slane;   110
Than was he King, him-slef allane,
Of Jerusalem syne ane zeir and mare.
Thir are the nyne best that armes bare,
I haue deuysit zow ordourly,
that leuit weill and cheulrusly;
bot Neuer thair lyfetyme on ane day
tholit thay sik pyne and sik affray
As Porrus, that sa haltanly
Avowit had throw cheualry,
Amang the ladeis that war fre,   120
Quhen the poun to deid brocht he.

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