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FROM JERUSALEM TO ASCALON: THE ROLE OF THE CLERGY IN THE LAST PHASE OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

Introduction

On July 15, 1099, the Crusaders captured Jerusalem, but this event did not guarantee the success of the campaign. It was the decisive Battle of Ascalon on August 12, 1099, that established the Latin presence in the East. During this short period, the ecclesiastical and lay leaders of the city were elected, leading to substantial tensions among the campaign leaders. Consequently, some opted not to stay in the Holy Land.

In my previous research, I focused on Adhémar of Monteil (†1098), who served as the papal legate during the campaign. After analysing the legate's activity, it became apparent that the clergy's main duty was to maintain the army's cohesion and deal with any moral crises that arose.¹ This prompted an examination of the link between the clergy and morality. The focus was on uncovering the inner, spiritual forces that motivate the troops and how clerical influence can be exerted at the most critical moments. The activities of the clergy have been grouped for clarity and the identification of patterns; this is a more effective approach than a chronological sequence. The article furthermore represents a comparative juxtaposition of the period before and after the conquest of Jerusalem.

After conducting an examination of the sources, this study will analyse the historical duties of the clergy and their comparison with the period following the conquest of Jerusalem. The main goal of this research is to outline the customary responsibilities of the clergy and the way, how duties were gradual-

* The study was funded by the University of Debrecen Thematic Excellence Program, Project no. TKP2021-NKTA-34, provided by the Ministry of Culture and Innovation of Hungary under the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund. It was also supported by the ÚNKP-23-3-II New National Excellence Program of the Ministry for Culture and Innovation From the source of the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund.

¹ I describe the low points of the campaign as a moral crisis, when the fighting spirit and enthusiasm of the army diminished to such an extent that the continuation of the campaign was in danger. As for the morale crises, it should be noted that most of them were linked to the lack of supplies, the constant threat, or the disputes between leaders. It was interesting to examine how the situation improved as a result of a ritual, despite the fact that the basic supply and safety situation did not change. Cecilia Gaposchkin called these rituals "invisible weapons". (Gaposchkin, Cecilia M., *Invisible Weapons. Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology*. London, 2017.)

ly undertaken during the campaign.² Additionally, the study aims to uncover the implicit commitments of the clergy, often unrecorded but inferred through changes in the army's morale. Lastly, an effort will be made to recognise the determinants that affect the clergy's ability to function. This analysis of clerical activity inevitably intersects with the investigation of lay piety, which presents methodological challenges due to the dominant clerical perspective found in most of the existing records.³

Sources

Within the extant sources concerning the First Crusade, a pertinent differentiation can be established between firsthand accounts provided by eyewitnesses and subsequently authored works that drew upon these accounts and insights gleaned from returning pilgrims.⁴ In this contextual framework, the *De Gesta*

² Gaposchkin shows how the rite of taking up the cross has changed over time. At the beginning, the existing pilgrimage blessings (*Benedictio pere et baculi peregrinantium*) were supplemented by the blessing of the sword or the banner. Then, as the rites became more closely linked to pilgrimages/crusades to the Holy Land, references to the Holy Land multiplied. (Gaposchkin, Cecilia M., "From Pilgrimage to Crusade: The Liturgy of Departure, 1095–1300", = *Speculum* 88, 2013. 44–91. 71.) This may also be connected to the rites carried out throughout the campaign. Although we are unaware of the exact wording, we can observe which components were preserved and which were discarded throughout the campaign.

³ The question of lay piety and ecclesiastical distortion is discussed without any claim to completeness in Flori (Flori, Jean, "Jérusalem terrestre, céleste et spirituelle", In. Edgington, Susan. B. – García-Guijarro, Louis (eds.), *Jerusalem the Golden. The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*. Turnhout, 2014. 25–50.), Gaposchkin (Gaposchkin, Invisible Weapons, 2017.), Maier (Maier, Christoph T., "Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", = *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48, 1997, 628–657.), Vauchez (Vauchez, André, *La Spiritualité du Moyen Âge occidental VIII^e–XIII^e siècle*. Paris, 2015.), McGinn (McGinn, Bernard, "Iter Sancti Sepulchri. The Piety of the First Crusaders", In. Lackner, Bede Karl – Philip, Kenneth Roy (eds.), *Essays on Medieval Civilization*. Austin, 1978, 33–73.), Erdmann (Erdmann, Carl, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*. Darmstadt, 2023.) and Bysted (Bysted, Ane L., *The Crusade Indulgence. Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c. 1095–1216*. Leiden, 2014.)

⁴ The eyewitness testimony and its reliability within the First Crusade could be the subject of a separate essay. The problem is well summarised by Lapina (Lapina, Elizabeth, *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*. Pennsylvania, 2015. 15–36.), Spencer also rejects the adjective "eyewitnesses" itself, since he believes that these works had a cultural, literary, even propagandistic role, presenting the ideal image of the crusader in the eyes of the clergy, and relating everything to it. (Spencer, Stephen J., "Constructing the Crusader. Emotional Language in the Narratives of the First Crusade", In. Edgington, Susan. B. – García-Guijarro, Louis (eds.) *Jerusalem the Golden. The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*. Turnhout, 2014. 173–189. 179.); MacGregor takes a similar view of the later encouraging effect of the chronicles. (MacGregor, James B., "The First Crusade in Late Medieval Exempla", = *The Historian* 68, 2006, 29–48. 32.); Yuval Harari has carried out a textual comparison of the

*Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*⁵, along with the writings of Peter Tudebode⁶, Raymond of Aguilers⁷, and Fulcher of Chartres⁸, fall under the category of firsthand eyewitness narratives. Although Albert of Aachen did not take part in the campaign, the information he received from returning pilgrims proves to be accurate.⁹

The “new generation”¹⁰ of authors is not covered, as Kostick suggests that these works can be used to examine the way in which the clergy of northern France judged the Crusade, but the interpolations must be treated with caution.¹¹ A separate unit is the work of Ralph of Caen¹², who was commissioned by Tancred to produce his work. I have used the work of Ibn al-Athīr¹³ and Ibn

chronicles identified as eyewitnesses. (Harari, Yuval N., “Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives”, In: Kedar, Benjamin. Z. – Riley-Smith, Jonathan (eds.), *Crusades*. Vol. III., London, 2004. 77–100.

⁵ The chronicle was completed between 1100 and 1101.; [Anonymous], *The Deeds of the Franks and Other Jerusalem-Bound Pilgrims/ Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum. The Earliest Chronicle of the First Crusades*. Ed. Dass, Nirmal, Plymouth, 2011. [hereinafter, Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*]; *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*. Ed. Hagenmeyer, Heinrich, Heidelberg, 1890.

⁶ For the comparison with *Gesta Francorum* see Bull, Marcus, “The Relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode’s *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere: The Evidence of a Hitherto Unexamined Manuscript* (St. Catharine’s College, Cambridge, 3)”, In: Kedar, Benjamin. Z. – Riley-Smith, Jonathan (eds.), *Crusades*. Vol. XI., London, 2012. 1–18.; Tudebode, Peter, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*. Transl. Hill, John H. – Hill, Laurita L., Philadelphia, 1974.; Flori, Jean, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes: introduction critique aux sources de la première croisade*. Genève, 2010. 83–98.

⁷ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*. Transl. Hill, John H. – Hill, Laurita L., Philadelphia, 1968. [hereinafter Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*]

⁸ Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127./ Historia Hierosolymitana*. Transl. Ryan, Frances Rita, ed. Fink, Harold S., Knoxville, 1969. [hereinafter Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*]

⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the Journey to Jerusalem*. Ed. Edgington, Susan B. Oxford, 2007. [hereinafter Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*]; According to Morris, there may have existed a chronicle of Lorraine, from which Albert and the later author, William of Tyre, may have drawn. (Morris, Colin, “The Aims and Spirituality of the First Crusade as seen through the Eyes of Albert of Aachen”, = *Reading Medieval Studies* 16, 1990, 99–117.

¹⁰ Guibert of Nogent, Baldric de Dol, Robert the Monk.

¹¹ Kostick, Conor, “Courage and Cowardice on the First Crusade, 1096–1099”, = *War in History* 20, 2013, 32–49. 35.

¹² *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*. Transl. Bachrach, Bernard S. – Bachrach, David S., Aldershot, 2005. [hereinafter Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*]

¹³ *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi’l-ta’rikh. P.1. The Year 491–541/1097–1146. The Coming of the Franks and The Muslim Response*. Transl. Richards, Donald S., London, 2006. [hereinafter The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr]; The chronicle was completed in 1228. (The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr, 3.)

al-Qalānisi¹⁴ as control sources. The research draws on letters and documents written during the campaign, with particular reference to the writings of Pope Urban II, Anselm of Ribemont¹⁵, Stephen of Blois¹⁶, the military leaders and Adhémar.¹⁷

The former role of clergy

The campaign was proclaimed by Pope Urban II (†1099) as the final act of the Council of Clermont (17–28 November 1095), and the departure was set for the feast of the Assumption of Mary on August 15.¹⁸ The cross-bearers set out, each led by a different nobleman, and assembled at Constantinople. The first great test of the united army of the Crusaders was the siege of Nicaea, which began in May 1097. Based on my research so far, the activities of the clerics can be grouped into four major categories: their actions before, during and after the encounters, caring for the poor, pacifying the divisions within the camp, and dealing with moral crises.¹⁹ In the following, I will describe these four groups after the siege and capture of Jerusalem.

Tasks related to battles

Their battle-related activity can be divided into three parts: pre-battle activity (1), when they usually offered sacrifices with the army or made morale-boosting speeches. During battles (2) they were among the soldiers, encouraging them and praying for victory. And after battles (3) they gave thanks for victory, buried the fallen and gave alms.

The spiritual fortification before the battles was provided by praying together with the army, confessing, taking communion, and ensure their martyrdom. Such is the case in the letter of Anselm of Ribemont, who, before the siege of Nicaea, writes about repentance, of taking the body and blood of Christ, and being strengthened.²⁰ During the battle of Dorylaeum, when one part of the army was surrounded by the Seljuk Sultan, Kilij Arslan, Fulcher writes of

¹⁴ *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades. Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisi.* Transl. Gibb, Hamilton A. R., Mineola, NY. 2002. [hereinafter *Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisi*]

¹⁵ A lay person who writes two letters to Manasses, Archbishop of Reims.

¹⁶ Count of Blois, son-in-law of William the Conqueror, one of the leaders.

¹⁷ Hagenmeyer, Heinrich, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100.* Innsbruck, 1901.

¹⁸ Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 137.

¹⁹ Marcus Bull notes that the mere ability of the clergy to sway the laity denotes the degree of religiosity among laypeople. (Bull, Marcus, “The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade”, = *History* 254, 1993, 353–372. 367.)

²⁰ Anselm of Ribemont’s letter to Manasses II, Archbishop of Reims (Antioch, end of November 1097.) In. Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 144.; The pre-battle ritual, conducted immediately prior to the battle or siege, aimed to sanctify the encounter. The ritual served to purify the army through sacrifice and confession, elevating fallen soldiers to the status of martyrs. (Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 2017. 98–99.);

priests praying among the troops, “chanting with tears”²¹, to whom soldiers ran to confess their sins before their certain death.²² Raymond of Aguilers also writes about confession during encounters. Later, Anselm confessed his sins before he fell during the siege of Arqa (February 1099).²³ While crossing the Iron Bridge in Antioch, the Crusaders were attacked. According to Albert of Aachen, Adhémar rushed there and – seeing that the soldiers were afraid – addressed them with a speech of exhortation.²⁴ The greatest challenge to spiritual strengthening was demonstrated at the battle of Antioch. On June 28, 1098, the Crusader army prepared for a crucial battle at Antioch. They were surrounded and their food was gone. According to the *Gesta*, these were the rites before the battle:

“And then finally, after three days of fasting and of going in procession from one church to another, everyone made confession of their sins, and once absolved, faithfully received in communion the Body and Blood of Christ. And then they gave alms and had masses celebrated.”²⁵

Stephen of Blois recorded that they journeyed to the city of Nicaea while blessing God. (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 139.)

²¹ Spencer draws attention that crusaders’ tears were understood to be a visual manifestation of their piety. (Spencer, *Emotional Language*, 2014. 179–183.); Piroška Nagy, highlights the therapeutic benefits of all forms of weeping, be it a response to joy, sorrow, or pain. Tears, with divine assistance, are believed to cleanse the sinner of their transgressions. It is thought that due to the individual’s sincerity, God grants their prayer when said through tears. (Nagy, Piroška, “Religious Weeping as Ritual in the Medieval West. Social Analysis”, = *The International Journal of Anthropology* 48, 2004, 117–137. 123.); Receiving grace also extends to others. (Nagy, Religious Weeping, 2004. 127–128.); Ritual weeping is restricted to specific church ceremonies. By employing this symbol, Fulcher increased involvement in the campaign to a liturgical level. Payen points out that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the form of repentance associated with weeping was a way of reconciliation for sin, followed by readmission to the Church for forgiveness. (Payen, Jean Charles, “La pénitence dans le context culturel des XII^e et XIII^e siècles: des doctrines contritionnistes aux pénitentiels vernaculaires”, = *Revue des Sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 61, 1977, 399–428. 403.); On the meaning of tears, see also Swift, Christopher, “The Penitent Prepares: Affect, Contrition, and Tears”, In. Gertsman, Elina (ed.), *Crying in the Middle Ages. Tears of History*. London, 2012. 79–101.

²² Porges, Walter, “The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-combatants on the First Crusade”, = *Speculum* 21, 1946, 1–23. 9.; Confession served not only as a means of attaining spiritual redemption for the sinners but also as a manner of seeking divine intervention. Payen sheds light on the collective acts of mortification, sometimes followed by general absolution, which occurred particularly during the Crusades, from the expedition of 1098–1099 onwards. (Payen, *La pénitence*, 1977. 408.)

²³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 89.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 376–378.

²⁴ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 192–194.

²⁵ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 84–85.

Raymond adds that those who had previously walked the streets barefoot, crying and beating their breasts, begging for God's mercy, were now celebrating enthusiastically in the streets.²⁶ Similar fasts, prayers and barefoot processions were reported before the siege of Jerusalem, which, after many attempts, finally succeeded in taking the city on July 15, 1099.²⁷

The priests played a significant role in encouraging the soldiers. When Albert of Aachen describes the siege of Nicaea, he notes that the clerics were there to teach and keep up the army's courage.²⁸ On February 9, 1098, just before a decisive battle, Albert of Aachen reports that Adhémar encouraged the troops, which led Godfrey of Bouillon to encourage the soldiers as well.²⁹ Before the battle, Bohemond of Taranto also refers to the upcoming conflict as a heavenly battle, not an earthly one, and therefore they must become "the bravest athlete of Christ".³⁰ The clerics were also present at the battle of Antioch on June 28, 1098: during the battle we can also read about the intercession of the priests: they prayed in front of the knights and sang psalms.³¹

The Crusader army besieged Maarat an-Numan in November 1098, where we read that priest prayed behind the siege towers that had been built.³² The siege dragged on and they ran out of food. Raymond reports that, despite all this, thanks to the encouragement of a priest, no one rested or doubted victory.³³

At the end of battles, the main task of the clergy was to bury the dead, but we rarely read about this, rather about acts of thanksgiving and alms-giving. Alms-giving played a role in the spiritual salvation of the deceased. We are informed by Albert of Aachen that after the burial of some knights, large amounts of alms were distributed to the poor for the spiritual salvation of the fallen ones.³⁴ Anselm of Ribemont wrote a letter to Archbishop Manasses of Reims requesting prayers, which highlights this function.³⁵

Similarly, expressing gratitude was significant for the clergy, as evident from a letter by Count Stephen of Blois. The letter recounts the army's arrival in Antioch in October 1098, and despite facing difficulties, they offered thanks

²⁶ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 62.

²⁷ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 132–133.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 413–415.; Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 103.

²⁸ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 100–101.

²⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 232–234.

³⁰ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 59.

³¹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 62–63.; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 104.

³² Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 94.

³³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 78.

³⁴ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 112.

³⁵ Anselm of Ribemont's letter to Manasses II, Archbishop of Reims (Antioch, end of November 1097.) In: Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 144–146. Asking for the prayer of the absent is not a new thing. McCormick has pointed out that even Emperor Charlemagne asked for prayers before certain battles. (McCormick, Michael, "The Liturgy of War in the Early Middle Ages: Crisis, Litanies, and the Carolingian Monarchy", = *Viator* 15, 1984, 1–24. 5.

and praised the Lord. We are informed of thanksgiving after battles in accounts of the conflict fought around December 28, 1097,³⁶ and after the Battle of Antioch on June 28, 1098. The victorious Franks returned to the city, celebrating with joy, and offering blessings and acclaim to the Lord. Anselm further notes that the feast of the Apostles was celebrated with great joy.³⁷ When the crusaders captured Jerusalem – after a massacre³⁸ – they proceeded to the sacred sites, where they prayed, wept with joy, and gave thanks to the Lord.³⁹

Both the pre- and post-battle components included the promise of martyrdom, which was a particular form of encouragement. According to Albert of Aachen's report on the defence of Antioch, a Lombard priest attempted to motivate the troops and guarantee their martyrdom in his address. The Anonymous account states that non-combatants, including the poorest who starved to death for the name of Christ, can also be martyred. The account emphasises that it is not limited to those who take up arms against infidels.⁴⁰

We can see how the priests encouraged the crusaders at close quarters, confessed, prayed and, if necessary, gave the last rites.⁴¹

³⁶ Stephen of Blois' second letter to his wife, Adele (Antioch, 29 March 1098.) In: Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 150.

³⁷ Anselm of Ribemont's second letter to Manasses II, Archbishop of Reims (Antioch, July 1098.) In: Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 149–152.

³⁸ Western chroniclers claim 10,000 dead (Kedar, Benjamin Z., "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades", In: Kedar, Benjamin Z. – Riley-Smith, Jonathan – Nicholson, Helene (eds.), *Crusades*. Vol III., London, 2004. 15–75. 28–29.), while the Arab chroniclers mention 70,000. (Hirschler, Konrad, "The Jerusalem Conquest of 492/1099 in the Medieval Arabic Historiography of the Crusades: From Regional Plurality to Islamic Narrative", In: Kedar, Benjamin Z. – Phillips, Jonathan – Riley-Smith, Jonathan, (eds.), *Crusades*. Vol. XIII., London, 2014. 37–76. 40–41.); The besiegers' retaliation may have been augmented by the ridicule and reprimand inflicted by the defenders upon seeing the procession. Even the cross was not spared from their mockery. (Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 123.; Murray, Alan V., "A Race Against Time – A Fight to the Death: Combatants and Civilians in the Siege and Capture of Jerusalem, 1099", In: Dowdall, Alex – Horne, John (eds.), *Civilians Under Siege from Sarajevo to Troy*. London, 2018. 163–183. 171.); Murray points out that the Crusaders could then be sure that the defenders were all non-Christians. (Murray, *Combatants and Civilians*, 2018. 175.); According to France, this degree of aggression was common in the era if the city refused to surrender. (France, John, *Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade*. Cambridge, 1994. 355–356.); Buc draws attention to the biblical parallel of the Franks riding knee-deep in blood, and thus to the need to rethink the scale of the massacre. (Buc, Philippe, "La vengeance de Dieu. De l'exégèse patristique à la réforme ecclésiastique et à la première croisade", In: Barthelémy, Dominique – Bougard, François – Le Jan, Régine (eds.), *La Vengeance 400–1200*. Roma, 2006. 451–486. 483.)

³⁹ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 104.; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 128.; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 123.

⁴⁰ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 38–39.

⁴¹ Porges, *The Clergy*, 1946. 15.

Taking care of the poor

Apart from the military, the greatest challenge of the campaign was to feed the enormous mass of people. The first large-scale starvation occurred during the siege of Nicaea in May–June 1097, when, according to the Anonymous account quoted above, the poorest starved to death.⁴² The alms had both a spiritual and a physical dimension. While the spiritual aspect was essential, the physical aspect of caring for the poor was also crucial. Later, after the death of Adhémar, Anonymous describes Adhémar's ideas as a strange symbiosis between the knights and the poor. According to the bishop, the knights could not be saved without the prayers of the poor, and the poor could not survive without alms from the knights.⁴³ A similar case can be found at Maarat-an-Numan, where the clergy ordered alms-giving after the capture of the town, presumably in response to the recent disputes, and presumably also to pray for the souls of the fallen.⁴⁴

Between 4 and 31 July 1097, after a victory at Dorylaeum, the army traversed through the Anatolian desert. The journey claimed many lives due to an insufficiency of food and water.⁴⁵ There is no record of any attempt by the clergy to improve the situation of those in need during this period.

The next significant food shortage occurred during the siege of Antioch in December 1097. Although Bohemond and Robert of Flanders were sent out on a plundering raid by the commanders while the crusaders were provided with food by Syrians and Armenians, this did not resolve the issue of supply, which resulted in loss of many lives.⁴⁶ The famine affected both the wealthy and the poor.⁴⁷ In order to regulate food prices, the clergy demanded the removal of all injustice (*iniustitia*) and wickedness (*feditas*) from the army and prohibited anyone from deceiving others.⁴⁸ Allan V. Murray notes that the measures to purify the army were not only aimed at returning it to God's grace, but also had a practical purpose since even a slight difference in price could determine whether a person lived or died.⁴⁹

⁴² Upon undertaking the oath of the crusader prince, the emperor took on the responsibility of supporting the army. (Lilie, Ralph-Johannes, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten. Studien zur Politik des byzantinischen Reiches gegenüber den Staaten der Kreuzfahrer in Syrien und Palästina bis zum 4. Kreuzzug 1096–1204*. München, 1981. 24–35.); It appears that alms-giving became increasingly relied upon to supplement and eventually replace this support.

⁴³ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 91. In his second letter to his wife Adele, Stephen of Blois stated that the Franks would not have survived if it had not been for the leaders' financial support and God's grace. (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 150.)

⁴⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 82.

⁴⁵ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 46.; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 88.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 139.

⁴⁶ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 53–54, 56.

⁴⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 94–95.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 221.

⁴⁸ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 228.

⁴⁹ Murray, Alan. V., "Sex, Death and the Problem of Single Women in the Armies of the First Crusade", In. Gertwagen, Ruthy – Jeffreys, Elizabeth (eds.), *Shipping, Trade*

The following famine appears in the chronicles after the seizure of Antioch on June 3, 1098.⁵⁰ The city was captured due to the betrayal of a defender. On June 4, the vanguard of Kerbogha, the emir of Mosul, arrived. As a result, the crusaders did not get enough time to restock the city's food supplies. According to the sources, they were forced to eat their livestock, followed by their leather straps and shoe soles, due to starvation.⁵¹ Since in this instance there was nothing to distribute to the poor and we have no knowledge of any changes to in weights and measures there is no information available regarding clerical efforts to combat hunger.⁵² Ultimately, in their predicament, the army chose the only viable solution: they broke out of the city.

Probably the most severe famine during the campaign took place at the siege of Maarat an-Numan in the winter of 1098. This is the only recorded instance during the campaign when chroniclers report a famine so grave that pilgrims had to resort to human flesh.⁵³ The incident described must have had a demoralising effect on the army involved.⁵⁴ However, subsequent texts suggest they were able to overcome it. Raymond's account reports that Count Raymond,

and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor. Farnham, 2012. 255–270. 264.

⁵⁰ Before this, Albert notes that the troops were already hungry upon receiving news of Kerbogha's army.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 268.

⁵¹ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 77, 81.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 298–300.; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 54.

⁵² Although Albert references a speech delivered to the populace by Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and the Bishop of Le Puy, in which they cautioned against deceiving their brothers and fleeing.; (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 312–314.)

⁵³ Fulcher writes that many of the crusaders "terribly tormented by the madness of starvation, cut pieces of flesh from the buttocks of Saracens lying there dead". (Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 112.); Anonymous reports that the deprivation caused "others, in fact, cut their flesh as morsels which they cooked and ate." (Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 95.); Both Albert and Raymond confirm this. (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 374.; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 81.); Sweetenham also points out that writers try to avoid the subject at first, but eventually they all admit cannibalism. (Sweetenham, Carol, "The Count and the Cannibals. The Old French Crusade Cycle as a Drama of Salvation", In. Edgington, Susan. B. – García-Guijarro, Louis (eds.), *Jerusalem the Golden. The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade.* Turnhout, 2014. 307–328. 318.); It is intriguing that subsequent writers of the campaign, like William of Tyre, used cannibalism in a different way. In his work, Bohemond is depicted as having cooked Turks in front of the defenders during the siege of Antioch. Although The Damascus Chronicle and Ibn al-Athīr also mention cannibalism during the siege of Antioch. (The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr, 2006. 15.; Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisī, 2002. 46.)

⁵⁴ Tattersall, Jill, "Anthropophagi and Eaters of Raw Flesh in French Literature of the Crusade Period: Myth, Tradition and Reality", = *Medium Ævum* 57, 1988, 240–253. 248.; In the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the Tafurs constitute a distinct social class who consume human flesh and are hence ostracised by the wider community. They are primarily deployed for manual labour. On the Tafurs, see Sumberg, Lewis A. M., "The Tafurs and the First Crusade", = *Mediaeval Studies* 21, 1959, 224–245.

the Bishop of Orange and the Bishop of Albara, gathered the people and prayed for the army. Unfortunately, Bishop William of Orange, weakened by famine, later passed away.⁵⁵ During the siege of Arqa in February 1099, the crusaders successfully turned a relief force back, resulting in a significant haul of booty. It is assumed that, because of the influence of the clergy, a tenth of the booty was given to the paupers.⁵⁶

Holding the Army Together

The third role of the clergy was to maintain unity within the army and prevent internal conflicts. According to Fulcher during the Asia Minor phase of the campaign, the army was coherent and fraternal despite its linguistic diversity. If any individual left behind their belongings, the rest of the group ensured they were returned to the rightful owner.⁵⁷ Overcoming initial challenges and narrowly avoiding death, unleashed emotions that brought the army together. According to Riley-Smith, it was during this campaign phase that the concept of crusader chosenness was born.⁵⁸ McCormick states that unlike in feudal society, many of the commoners (*minores*) and the poor (*pauperes*) did not fight under the banner of a single commander, but rather under different leaders. This greatly promoted the idea of collective election and belonging to the army of Christ.⁵⁹

Apart from the conflict between Baldwin and Tancred,⁶⁰ there were no significant conflict between the leaders until the conquest of Antioch. The city was taken thanks to the treachery of a defender who allowed Bohemond into the towers he was guarding. In exchange for his merit, Bohemond demanded the city of Antioch, but the leaders refused.⁶¹ Soon after, however, they received word of an approaching enemy army, so they made a deal: if the Emperor Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118) helped them, the city would be his.⁶² The emperor did not help, and the crusaders were divided over possession of the city.

⁵⁵ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 95.; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 129.

⁵⁶ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 91.; The allocation involved $\frac{1}{4}$ for the priests responsible for feeding the crowds, $\frac{1}{4}$ for the bishops and the rest for Peter the Hermit.

⁵⁷ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 88.

⁵⁸ Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*. New York, 2003. 116.

⁵⁹ McCormick, Michael, "Liturgie et guerre des Carolingiens à la première croisade", In: *Militia Christi' e Crociate nei secoli XI–XIII*. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 28 agosto – 1 settembre 1989. Milano, 1992. 209–240. 213.

⁶⁰ A conflict erupted in September 1097 regarding the possession of Tarsus. (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 190–191.)

⁶¹ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 66.; According to Albert, Godfrey, and Robert of Flanders, who were the first to be informed of Bohemond's plan, were "rejoiced with great joy" at the news, and there was no sign of any agitation. (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 272.)

⁶² Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 67.

These difficult circumstances led to an epidemic of plague in the city, causing both Count Raymond and Adhémar to fall ill. The chronicler Raymond of Aguilers tells us that Bohemond took the opportunity to expel the soldiers of Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and Count Raymond from their parts of the city.⁶³ Raymond of Aguilers links the illness of the Count and the Legate to anarchy, saying: "in the absence of a judge who could or would discuss lawsuit, each person became a law unto himself".⁶⁴ In this case, therefore, the clergy did not succeed in preventing dissension among the leaders. This can be explained by the illness of the legate and his death on August 1, 1098. In connection with his death, the *Gesta* mentions "much sorrow and immense grief and pain in the entire army of Christ" and then describes the bishop's activities: "he was the support of the poor and the counselor of the rich. He kept the clergy in order, he preached, and he addressed the warriors", then points to the symbiosis mentioned previously.⁶⁵ Raymond attributes the dispersion of the leaders to Adhémar, saying that "Bohemond's return to Romania, and Godfrey's journey to Edessa gave proof to his [Adhémar's] usefulness to the Militia Christi and to its leaders".⁶⁶

The march was suspended until autumn, presumably to relieve from the summer heat and the burden of siege, which the army was dissatisfied. If Albert Aachen's account is to be believed, the pilgrims were already considering not following the leaders anymore.⁶⁷ They believed that the leaders were only after wealth and possessions, while they had left their homes for Christ and should continue their journey without them.⁶⁸

The entry may show the notable aspect of the First Crusade: control of the army begins to slip from the hands of the leaders. The orders of the secular princes no longer matter, and the army have essentially become a self-organised body whose members are driven by a common mission, a common conscience and a common oath. They seem to despise those who fight for power and wealth and forget their vows. The leaders faced a choice: either they would lead the crowd, or it would march on Jerusalem without them. We see a similar situation later, after the capture of Maarat an-Numan, when renewed disputes led the pilgrims to tear down the walls of the city, which forced the leaders to

⁶³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 65.

⁶⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 63.

⁶⁵ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 91.

⁶⁶ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 66.; Richard points out that after Adhémar's death, the army's supreme commander became Raymond of Saint-Gilles. (Richard, Jean, "La Papauté et la direction de la Première Croisade", = *Journal des Savants* 2, 1960, 49–58. 52–53.)

⁶⁷ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 372.; Raymond also writes of dissatisfaction. (Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 75.)

⁶⁸ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 75.; France observes that from that point onwards, the campaign was led by the people rather than the leaders.; France, John, "The Crisis of the First Crusade: From the Defeat of Kerbogha to the Departure from Arqa", = *Byzantion* 40, 1970, 276–308. 293.

depart.⁶⁹ Further pressure was brought to bear during the long siege of Arqa (January–May 1099), when the army forced Count Raymond to abandon the siege by burning the camp and continuing to Jerusalem.⁷⁰

The *Gesta Francorum* reports that the dispute between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bohemond was tried to be controlled by the clergy, Godfrey, Robert of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy. Finally, Raymond and Bohemond promised the bishops that they would no longer disturb the road to the Holy Sepulchre.⁷¹ We have already seen two examples of similar pledge-affirming oaths initiated by the clergy.⁷²

Dealing with moral crises

Three low points in the campaign can be identified where the success of the campaign became questionable. The first of these was during the siege of Antioch. The crusaders were severely undermanned and starving, while also facing constant harassment from the defending forces. Additionally, at the battle of December 29, 1097, Adhémar's standard-bearer was killed, resulting in the loss of a valuable relic, the banner of the Blessed Mary, which was taken as war spoils.⁷³ The difficulties forced many to abandon the siege.⁷⁴ They interpreted the hardships as divine punishments for their sins. As a result of the crisis, the "a conference was held with the bishops and all the clergy who were there, and they declared that all injustice and wickedness was to be cut out from the army".⁷⁵ Raymond of Aguilers tells us that after the conference Adhémar ordered three days of fasting, prayer, almsgiving and processions, and instructed the priests to celebrate mass and repeat the psalms.⁷⁶ These rites can be identified as the

⁶⁹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 81.; Schein, Sylvia, "Die Kreuzzüge als volkstümlich-messianische Bewegungen", = *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 47, 1991, 119–138. 129.

⁷⁰ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 110.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 386.

⁷¹ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 92.

⁷² Porges, however, attributes the army's departure to lower-ranking members of the clergy. (Porges, *The Clergy*, 1946. 16.)

⁷³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 34–35.; However, the loss of the standard carried significant symbolism. Besides the blessing of arms, France also had a custom of blessing its banners, which sanctified the campaigns themselves. (Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 2017. 70.); Flori illustrates this process with the Oriflamme, which was only brought out of the Abbey of Saint Denis on prestigious events. (Flori, Jean, *Guerre sainte, jihad, croisade: Violence et religion dans le christianisme et l'islam*. Paris, 2001. 145–152.); This implies that the standard represents the collaboration between God and humankind, in which individuals work in service of God. Gaposchkin highlights the elevation of violence and homicide to a sacred level within this partnership. (Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 2017. 72.)

⁷⁴ Desertions may be the best indicator of a moral crisis, since it meant breaking a vow.

⁷⁵ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 228–229.

⁷⁶ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 36.

second element in McGinn's cycle of sin-repentance-forgiveness.⁷⁷ McCormick has pointed out that these penitential rites were far from being a novelty of the First Crusade, and that the Carolingian army already had very similar liturgies.⁷⁸

The next low point of the campaign was after the capture of Antioch on June 3, 1098. On June 4, the vanguard of Kerbogha appeared and began to surround the city. Many managed to escape before the ring was closed.⁷⁹ According to the *Gesta Francorum* report "their feet and their hands were worn right down to the bone".⁸⁰ The appearance of runaways could suggest either starvation or divine punishment. Yet, only Albert mentions famine in the time leading up to the siege. The *Gesta* and Raymond reports, the Franks had looted considerable food reserves in early April.⁸¹ It is possible that the "deserters" appeared ill because of the siege lasting almost eight months or their inadequate access to food due to their lower social status. It may also be a means for the chroniclers to convey the punishment of those who violated their oaths. It is important to note that taking the cross was accompanied by a vow, which Fulcher reports on its reaffirmation in the context of the moral crisis of early January 1098.⁸² Perhaps the priests and leaders announced the punishment of fugitives to discourage others from fleeing. Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres also document the escape of clergymen. However, they do not provide their names, which suggests that these individuals were probably lower-ranking members of the clergy.⁸³ To prevent any further escapes, Adhémar and Bohemond closed the gates of the city.⁸⁴

The summer heat, weakening health conditions, and food shortages, as Runciman notes, it was an atmosphere in which dreams and visions thrived.⁸⁵ First, Christ appeared to Stephen, a priest from Valence. Stephen acknowledged that all victories were by Christ's grace alone. However, the Crusaders were more focused on satisfying their own desires.⁸⁶ In the vision, Jesus Christ instructed

⁷⁷ The first element is the appearance of sin, followed by some form of repentance, which restores them to the grace of God. (McGinn, *Iter Sancti Sepulchri*, 1978. 51.); These cycles are referred to as *necessitatis cause*, or *laetania proquacumque tribulatione*, in liturgical entries. (Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 2017. 111.); McGinn notes that the implementation of a set of rituals will serve as a template for managing forthcoming crises. (McGinn, *Iter Sancti Sepulchri*, 1978. 50–52.)

⁷⁸ McCormick, *Liturgie et guerre des Carolingiens*, 1992. 219.

⁷⁹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 49–50.

⁸⁰ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 77.

⁸¹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 268.; Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 66.; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 46.

⁸² Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 95.

⁸³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 57.

⁸⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 56–57.

⁸⁵ Runciman, Steven, *A History of the Crusades*. Vol. I. Cambridge, 1951. 241.

⁸⁶ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 77–78.; Raymond had previously reported on the "dancing girls" who charmed the knights, and the lust within the army (Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 48.), as confirmed by the accounts of Stephen of Valence

Stephen that the Crusaders should return back to Him, and daily sing the entire response, *They are assembled (Congregati sunt)* along with the verse.⁸⁷ Of greater significance than Stephen was the account of Peter Bartholomew⁸⁸, to whom St Andrew revealed the location of the Holy Lance in St Peter's Basilica through a series of visions. Upon hearing the story and even learning the discovery of an ancient spearhead, Adhémar remained sceptical. However, recognising the camp's delight regarding the relic, he refrained from expressing his doubts.⁸⁹ The army's enthusiasm is reported by all our chroniclers.⁹⁰

The army leaders reverted to the earlier year's routine: they renewed their oath to remain in the city and on the road, while the clerics engaged in several penitential rites.⁹¹ We can read about processions undertaken barefoot, fasting prior to battle, and purification. The spiritual significance of the Lance ignited the fervour of the crusaders. The events also caught the attention of Ibn al-Athīr, an Arab chronicler, who reports that "there was a monk there, of influence amongst them, who was a cunning man".⁹² The aforementioned "cunning man" referred to Peter Bartholomew, whose vision greatly influenced the army's morale.

and Fulcher. (Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 101.); We know no more about the identity of the "unlawful women" (*feminus exlegibus*). Murray notes that Antioch may have had brothels, so we think that the knights' visits to these may have provoked the dislike of the priests. (Murray, *Sex, Death and the Problem of Single Women*, 2012. 260.)

⁸⁷ It begs Christ to break the power of its enemies. On the matter of leadership, Stephen's account contains an interesting element. When the Lord asked Stephen who the commander of the army was, he said that they had no commander, but they trusted Adhémar more than others. (Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 78.); Stephen's vision is also described by Raymond of Aguilers. (Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 56.); The Crusaders perceived their association with the Lord as a type of agreement, where they were indebted to offer service in return for different benefits. (Riley-Smith, Jonathan, "Crusading as an Act of Love", = *History. The Journal of the Historical Association* 65, 1980, 177–192. 181.; Flori, Jean, "Une ou plusieurs 'première croisade'? Le message d'Urbain II et les plus anciens pogroms d'Occident", = *Revue Historique* 285, 1991, 3–27. 16.)

⁸⁸ A pilgrim from Provence. Schein points out that the poor followed self-proclaimed charismatic leaders rather than princes. (Schein, *Die Kreuzzüge*, 1991. 121.)

⁸⁹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 54.; France, John, "Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew", In: Kedar, Benjamin Z. – Phillips, Jonathan – Riley-Smith, Jonathan (eds.), *Crusades*. Vol. V., London, 2006. 1–20. 10.; Russo points out that the authenticity of the Lance was legitimised to the doubters by the acceptance of such great leaders as Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Adhémar. (Russo, Luigi, "Il Liber di Raimondo d'Aguilers e la Sacra Lancia d'Antiochia", = *Studi Medievali* 47, 2006. 785–837. 800.)

⁹⁰ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 57.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 316.; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 100.; Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 83.

⁹¹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 56.; Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 84–85.

⁹² *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, 2006. 17.

Another moral crisis was the siege of Maarat an-Numan and the subsequent events. Due to the onset of winter, the army's food supply was so depleted that some individuals reportedly resorted to cannibalism. After the city was captured, further disputes emerged among the leaders, resulting in significant numbers of soldiers leaving the camp, fed up with the leaders' bickering.⁹³ Upon sensing the crisis, the clergy reverted to their former practice: they distributed alms, prayed and set off barefoot to continue their journey with the army to Jerusalem.⁹⁴

The siege of Arqa shattered the enthusiasm of the pilgrims. Count Raymond brought Adhémar's cross from Antioch as the authenticity of the relic of the Holy Lance, which he kept, was in doubt.⁹⁵ According to the chronicler Raymond, the army was inspired by the new relic and departed for Jerusalem without the count.⁹⁶ Another clergyman, Peter Desiderius⁹⁷, rescued what was possible and informed Count Raymond about a vision advising them to progress towards Jerusalem and not to lament the abandonment of the siege of Arqa.⁹⁸ The army appears to be led by priests rather than princes, who guide them towards Jerusalem through visions. At this point in the campaign, Riley-Smith compares the crusaders to a military monastery on the move.⁹⁹

Dealing with moral crises involves turning around the interpretation of difficulties. Several of our reports testify to the fact that crusaders regard in-

⁹³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 79.

⁹⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 83–85.

⁹⁵ Peter Bartholomew, who had previously found it through visions, used his visions too conspicuously to achieve his political ambitions, and in response was subjected to a trial by fire, during which he died. (Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 96–102.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 378.); Besides the standard, the cross was the most important symbol of the Crusaders, accompanying them from the moment they took their vows. Gaposchkin points out that the chroniclers of the First Crusade repeatedly refer to the apotropaic and talismanic protective function of the cross. (Gaposchkin, *From Pilgrimage to Crusade*, 2013. 66.)

⁹⁶ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 110.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 238.

⁹⁷ A chaplain of the Count of Die, Isoard, who argued for the authenticity of the relic in the context of the Lance trial. (Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 97.); When the authenticity of the lance was questioned, Peter Bartholomew underwent a trial by fire to prove it. However, as a result of the ordeal, he succumbed to his injuries.

⁹⁸ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 111.; About the visions of Adhémar see Kostick, Conor, "The Afterlife of Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy", = *Studies in Church History* 45, 2009. 120–129.; Russo points out that the negative visions of Adhémar appear at a time when the dispute between Count Raymond and Bohemond was escalating, and Peter Bartholomew was presumably trying to weaken the nimbus of the Provençal camp. (Russo, *d'Aguilers e la Sacra Lancia*, 2006. 806.)

⁹⁹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 2003. 84.

creasing obstacles as divine election, and thus bear them more steadfastly.¹⁰⁰ This privileged status also includes the intervention of the saints.¹⁰¹

To summarise the first section, the campaign also presented the clergy with challenges that were quite different from their activities at home. Apart from their customary responsibilities, we have identified four major areas of involvement, including tasks related to battles (1), taking care of the poor (2), reducing disunity in the army (3) and dealing with moral crises (4).

The fate of Jerusalem: electing the city's leaders

On July 15, 1099, the Crusaders captured Jerusalem, fulfilling their oath. However, the success of the campaign was not guaranteed by the occupation of the city. Following the city's fall, on July 17, an assembly was held where, according to Anonymous, alms were distributed, and prayers offered for God to choose who he would like to rule over the others and who would govern the city.¹⁰² Raymond also discusses the notion of selecting a king, but he faces a dilemma.

Even before the capture of Jerusalem, on July 4, Tancred had already caused discord within the army by planting his banner over the church of the Lord's Nativity, as if it were a temporal possession.¹⁰³ A conference was called to settle the matter and to discuss the future fate of Jerusalem. At the time, the clergy expressed their disapproval of appointing a secular leader in a place where the Lord had suffered and been crowned.¹⁰⁴ On July 22, a council convened to determine the town's future. Raymond of Aguilers' chronicle states that the clergy ultimately arrived at the decision to elect a king to "run the government, collect the taxes of the region, protect the countryside from further devastation, and to serve as a counselor to the people". It was insisted that a spiritual leader be elected before a secular ruler,¹⁰⁵ but due to potential disagreement among the clergy, this was not achieved until after Godfrey of Bouillon was elected.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ Stephen of Blois refers to these hardships as "the most holy suffering" (*sanctissima passio*). (Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 150.; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 96.); Payen summarises St Gregory VII's *Moralia in Job*, a popular work of the period in which suffering is seen as a sign of divine election, and which was probably known to the preachers and clergy of the Crusades. (Payen, *La pénitence*, 1977. 409.)

¹⁰¹ Russo, *d'Aguilers e la Sacra Lancia*, 2006. 794–795.

¹⁰² Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 104.

¹⁰³ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 121.; Albert of Aachen, on the contrary, writes that the citizens of Bethlehem themselves asked the crusaders to march in to protect the Christian population. (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 398–400.)

¹⁰⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 121.

¹⁰⁵ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 129.; The Orthodox patriarch, Simeon, had fled to Cyprus and is believed to have died at this time. Hamilton points out that the Crusaders may have elected a new leader without knowing of Simeon's death demonstrating their disapproval of an Orthodox patriarch leading the Latin faithful. (Hamilton, Bernard, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church*. 2016, 12.)

¹⁰⁶ According to Fulcher, Godfrey did not want a crown (Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 146.); Hiestand explains the lack of a royal title by the absence of

The election of the spiritual leader for the city was held on August 1. Hamilton emphasises that the lack of experienced and trained clerics among the Latins presented a challenge in managing a territory as extensive as the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁷ The list of candidates is limited to Arnulf, the Bishop of Marturano¹⁰⁸, and Arnulf of Chocques¹⁰⁹, who played a prominent role in the Lance trial. Ian Robinson suggests that Adhémar's status as *legatus vicarius* did not extend to the whole army, but only to the contingent of Raymond of Saint-Gilles. Seeing the interest in the appeal, the Pope conferred on the clergymen who were marching with the northern contingents, on Alexander, chaplain to Stephen of Blois, and on Arnulf of Chocques, chaplain to Robert of Normandy, the *licentia ligandi atque solvendi*.¹¹⁰ This is supported by the account from Ralph of Caen, wherein Adhémar, on his deathbed,

an ecclesiastical dignitary who could have sanctioned the establishment of a fresh realm. (Hiestand, Rudolf, *Die päpstlichen Legaten auf den Kreuzzügen und in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten. Vom Konzil von Clermont (1095) bis zum 4. Kreuzzug*. Manuscript, 1972. 93.); Riley-Smith points out that the title *Advocatus Sancti Sepulchri*, so often cited, occurs only once in the description of Godfrey, and that in Daibert's letter to the new pope in the autumn of 1099. (Riley-Smith, Jonathan, "The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon", = *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52, 1979. 83–86. 84.; Daibert' letter: Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 167–173.); Murray points out that the eyewitness chroniclers usually refer to Gottfried as princeps, the ruler of the *regnum Christi* (Murray, Alan V., *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Dynastic History 1099–1125*. Oxford 2000. 70.); Rowe also argues that this was a gesture of piety, in fact the title implies full royal dignity (Rowe, John G., "Paschal II and the Relation between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem", = *Speculum* 32, 1957. 470–501. 475.)

¹⁰⁷ Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, 2016. 12.

¹⁰⁸ A supporter of Arnulf of Chocques, who is described by Aguilers as illegitimately holding the title of Bishop of Bethlehem (Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 129.)

¹⁰⁹ He took part in the campaign as chaplain to the Duke of Normandy, Robert II. Arnulf appears to have had several different names. The controversy over his birthplace is presented by David, who clarifies that he was born in the village of Chocques in the diocese of Thérouanne. (David, Charles W., *Robert Curthose. Duke of Normandy*. Cambridge, 1920. 217.)

¹¹⁰ Robinson, Ian S., *The Papacy, 1073–1198, Continuity and Innovation*. Cambridge, 1990. 155, 351–352.; Mayer, Eberhard, "Zur Beurteilung Adhémar's von Le Puy", = *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 16, 1960, 547–552. 550–551.; This can be corroborated by the evidence that Adhémar consistently camped nearby Raymond of Saint-Gilles, both laid siege to the same portion of the wall and marched in unison. Becker refers to Adhémar as *Armeebischof*, while he places Arnulf and Alexander under his direction, since it was Adhémar who acted on behalf of the Pope and wrote two letters to the Western flock. (Becker, Alfons: *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099). Der Papst, die griechische Christenheit und der Kreuzzug*. Stuttgart, 1988. 412, 429.); Richard points out that Arnulf began acting as Patriarch of Jerusalem almost as a matter of course, which may be an indication of papal authority. (Richard, La Papauté, 1960. 54–55.)

assigns the management of the army to Arnulf of Chocques for his virtues.¹¹¹ With the exception of Raymond, Arnulf is described positively in the sources. He is presented as wise, respected, eloquent and was elected by consensus.¹¹² However, Raymond writes that he was elected “contrary to the wishes of the good clergymen”, since he was not a subdeacon, was of priestly origin¹¹³ and was repeatedly accused of greed (incontinence), so well-known that pilgrims even sang songs about him.¹¹⁴

Arnulf may have perceived a lack of legitimacy, prompting him to resort to a previously tried and tested method: the search for a highly revered relic with a reputation that could be claimed.¹¹⁵ Thus, he commanded the search for a piece of the Holy Cross, which was discovered on August 5.¹¹⁶ Arnulf’s approach was successful, as even Raymond, who was openly critical of him, describes their contentment with the relic and praise to the Lord for its acquisition.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 2005. 113–114.; Later Arnulf argues that he was elected vicar to the Pope. (Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 2005. 149.); Ralph’s portrait of Arnulf should be treated with some distance, since Arnulf was Ralph’s teacher and the “pre-reviewer” of the *Gesta Tancredi*. (Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, 2005. 20.); Richard points out that since Alexander had left the camp, Arnulf was the only one who had been appointed by the Pope. (Richard, Jean, “Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l’Eglise latine de Jérusalem”, In. *Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel: Par ses amis, collègues et élèves*. Vol. II., Paris, 1955. 420–430. 423.)

¹¹² Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 104.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 452–454.; Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 175–176.

¹¹³ Foreville notes that Normandy was a unique case in the period regarding clerical celibacy, where members of the great noble families raised children who were accepted into the various orders without difficulty. (Foreville, Raymonde “Un chef de la première croisade: Arnoul Malecouronne”, = *Bulletin philologique et historique* 1953–1954, 377–390. 380.); Arnulf later requested a dispensation from Pascal II (†1118) so that he could continue to hold the episcopal office despite his origin. (Rozière, Eugèn de, *Cartulaire de L’église du Saint Sépulchre de Jérusalem. Publie d’après les manuscrits du Vatican*. Paris, 1849. 11–13. No. 11.)

¹¹⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 131.

¹¹⁵ The situation was similar with the Holy Lance and the cross of Adhémar. Murray also suggests that the search for the relic may have been motivated by the Patriarch’s desire for legitimacy. (Murray, Alan V., “Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ: The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem”, In. France, John – Zajac, William G., *The Crusades and their Sources. Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*. London–New York, 1998. 217–238. 221.) Gerish points out that they often served as a sign of legitimacy or a symbol of power by creating a link between the sacred and the possessor of the relic. (Gerish, Deborah, “The True Cross and the Kings of Jerusalem”, = *The Haskins Society Journal Studies in Medieval History* 8, 1996, 137–155. 138.)

¹¹⁶ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 131.; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 123.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 450–452.

¹¹⁷ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 131–132.

Debate between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Godfrey of Bouillon

After the capture of Jerusalem, Raymond of Aguilers reports that the Bishop of Le Puy played a critical role in maintaining the cohesion of the army with “admirable acts and sermons”.¹¹⁸ Subsequently, Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bohemond were compelled by the bishops to swear an oath of non-interference in the journey. When this happened, visions set them off again.

After his election, Godfrey began to demand the Tower of David, which had been given to Count Raymond, and this ruined their relationship. Trusting in the previous conciliatory efforts of the clergy, Raymond assigned Peter, Bishop of Albara¹¹⁹ as the overseer of the tower until a decision could be made through negotiation. However, Bishop Peter disregarded this agreement and handed over the tower to Godfrey without waiting for any discussion. When the Count accused the bishop of being a traitor, the bishop responded that he had suffered physical force.¹²⁰

As previously stated, the election of the king disregarded the earlier desires of the clergy. The chronicler, Raymond, explains how it was possible for a bishop to be threatened or abused to obtain a positive decision. He states that with the deaths of Adhémar and William, Bishop of Orange, the clergy was significantly weakened and appeared to have lost its ability to influence politics. The importance of the situation is shown by the fact that even the strongest contingent was lost when the tower was abandoned. The Count’s humiliation led him to refuse to take part in the Battle of Ascalon and decided to leave the Holy Land.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 129.

¹¹⁹ According to Raymond of Aguilers, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, in consultation with his chaplains, chose Peter to be Bishop of Albara. (Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 73.); Tudebode adds that Peter was taken to Antioch, where he was ordained by the Byzantine Patriarch, and then ‘held councils as a replacement for Adhémar, Bishop of Le Puy. (Tudebode, *Historia*, 1974. 94.); Richard detects in this the good relations between Raymond of Saint-Gilles and the Greeks. (Richard, Jean, “Note sur l’archidiocèse d’Apamée et les conquêtes de Raymond de Saint-Gilles en Syrie du Nord”, = *Syria* 25, 1946–1948, 103–108. 105.); Unfortunately, there is very little written about Peter by his contemporaries, so we can only learn from the later chronicle of William of Tyre. If we accept the question of the legate discussed earlier, it is presumably a replacement for the ecclesiastical leader of the Provençal contingent, not the entire army. Regarding the election of bishops, Hamilton draws attention to two points: the lack of awareness of the schism of 1054, and the fact that the Franks, in their home circumstances, appointed clerics to organise the administration. (Hamilton, *The Latin Church*, 2016. 9–11.; Cowdrey, Herbert E. J., “The Reform Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades”, In: *Le Concile de Clermont de 1095 et l’appel à la Croisade. Actes du Colloque Universitaire International de Clermont Ferrand (23–25 juin 1995) organisé et publié avec le concours du Conseil Régional d’Auvergne*. (Collection de l’Ecole française de Rome, 236). Rome, 1997. 65–83. 65–69.)

¹²⁰ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 130.; Raymond of Saint-Gilles, in consultation with others, appointed Peter himself to head Albara. The fact that Peter did not take his side despite this could be seen as a betrayal.

¹²¹ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 132.

Later, Albert of Aachen informs us that the relationship between Godfrey and Raymond had deteriorated to such an extent that Godfrey rode armed to Raymond's camp, where Raymond was waiting for him, ready for battle.¹²² In the end, Robert of Flanders and other *magnificent men* managed to prevent the bloodshed within the army. Afterwards they parted in friendship.¹²³

It appears that Peter did not accurately estimate the risk of letting the tower through. As the leader of the clergy, Arnulf did not intervene to moderate the dispute between Raymond and Godfrey of Saint-Gilles.

The Battle of Ascalon

Around August 4, the Crusaders were informed that Egyptian Grand Vizier Shah-an-Shah al-Afdal was marching on Jerusalem.¹²⁴ According to Fulcher's account, the Franks swiftly marched towards Ascalon upon discovering this, bringing the recently found relic along with them.¹²⁵ Both Raymond of Aguilers and the *Gesta Francorum* confirm that clerics marched with the army along-

¹²² Duke Godfrey marched against the city of Ascalon, but Raymond of Saint-Gilles, in Albert's words, persuaded the defenders to hold out and not to surrender the city. Albert adds to Count Raymond's list of crimes, claiming that he persuaded the other princes to leave the camp. In the end, Godfrey, unsuccessful, abandoned the siege of Ascalon and marched against Arsuf, where Raymond again urged the defenders to hold out. (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 472.); Hill and Hill argue that Albert was biased against Godfrey and add that the city's defenders may have heard that only those whose safety was guaranteed by Raymond survived the siege of Jerusalem. (Hill, John H. – Hill, Laurita L., *Raymond IV Count of Toulouse*. New York, 1962. 138.); Ibn al-Qalānīsī did not know about Raymond of Saint-Gilles' conspiracy, but he knew about the dispute: he wrote that the princes could not agree on the amount of the war claim against the city of Ascalon, and that they quarrelled over it, and ended up with nothing. (Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānīsī, 2002. 49.)

¹²³ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 474.

¹²⁴ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 105.; Ibn al-Athīr explains the reason for this by the behaviour of the Franks in Jerusalem. The chronicler lists at length the valuables the Franks stole from the Mosque and the number of people they killed or enslaved. (The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr, 2006. 22.)

¹²⁵ Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 125.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 454.; Murray has catalogued the mentions of the Cross as a military device during the campaigns in the Holy Land, which was carried 31 times by the patriarch (or his deputy) until its loss at Hattin in 1187. (Murray, *The Relic of the True Cross*, 1998. 222.); The relic is one of the relics of war, such as the Oriflamme or the *caroccios* in Lombardy. Voltmer, in the context of such symbols of power, underlines that the *caroccios* were important tools for understanding the abstract notion of power where it was not linked to persons, as in the Italian cities. (Voltmer, Ernst, "Nel segno del Croce: il carroccio come simbolo del potere", In: *'Militia Christi' e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto – 1 settembre 1989*. Milano, 1992. 193–207. 207.); Since these pilgrims also interpreted the question of rule in an abstract way, these symbols were just as necessary here.

side the princes.¹²⁶ The Bishop of Marturano was captured while carrying a message between Ascalon and Jerusalem, and was never seen again.¹²⁷

Before the battle, the clergy followed the earlier pattern: according to Raymond's account, before the battle the crusaders forgave one another sins of commission and omission.¹²⁸ Immediately before the battle, the army "was protected and signed with the sign of the holy cross by Arnulf, Peter and the other priests".¹²⁹ In Albert of Aachen's work, Godfrey confirmed the martyrdom of the soldiers.¹³⁰

Parallel to the battle, as in previous examples, clerics prayed for victory. We know from the Anonymus and from Raymond that Peter the Hermit stayed in Jerusalem, held a procession, distributed alms and prayed for victory with the faithful.¹³¹ Shah-an-Shah al-Afdal's army was taken by surprise by the crusaders' attack and was defeated. After the victory, the Franks returned to Jerusalem in great joy, praised God and marched to the Holy Sepulchre, where they offered thanksgiving.¹³² The two locations contain all the elements we have read before about the clergy's activities in battle: they hold a pre-battle procession, distribute alms, and pray for God to lead their troops to victory. The clerics also accompany the army and give thanks after the victory.

Summary

The Battle of Ascalon successfully repelled the threat temporarily, leading to the establishment of the Latin East. In conclusion, the clergy was able to fulfil its tasks during the campaign. Some of their battle-related activities, already part of the European wars, were fully integrated into the war liturgy of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and some of them even spread westwards. Caring for the poor was a priority for the clergy. After the conquest of Jerusalem, we read several times about alms-giving and the distribution of the spoils. The importance of maintaining the unity within the army was so enduring

¹²⁶ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 132.; Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 105.

¹²⁷ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 105.; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 129.

¹²⁸ Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 134.; During a later siege at Arsuf (October–December 1099), Arnulf called on the army to confession and forgiveness, from which they drew strength. (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 492.)

¹²⁹ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 458.

¹³⁰ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 458–462.; Murray's statement that the Cross had become a talisman that the Kingdom of Jerusalem considered indispensable for military action, and thus in the war liturgy of the Battle of Ascalon, was later spread to Europe. (Murray, *The Relic of the True Cross*, 1998. 231.); One explanation may be that the cross piece from Constantinople was used by Urban himself in his recruitment journey, the success of which Cowdrey refers to. (Cowdrey, *The Reform Papacy*, 1997. 82–83.; Cowdrey, Herbert E. J., "Pope Urban II and the Idea of Crusade", = *Studi Medievali* 36, 1995, 721–742. 737–738.)

¹³¹ Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 106.; Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, 133.

¹³² Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum*, 108.; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 127.; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 472.

that according to Ruess, it was one of the most significant activities of later legates.¹³³ Related to this, we have seen a break in the weak leadership of the Bishop of Albara. The conflict between Godfrey and Raymond of Saint-Gilles could potentially have resulted in a more severe outcome.

The clergy, as Raymond put it, had been weakened by the deaths of Adhémar and William, and as a result seemed to have lost their role in high politics. Arnulf divided the Crusader leaders because of his origin and his temperament. The conflict, which he had also mishandled, was finally resolved by Daibert, Archbishop of Pisa, who managed to reconcile Bohemond and Raymond of Saint-Gilles.¹³⁴ After his arrival in Jerusalem, on Christmas 1099, he deposed Arnulf and ascended to the patriarchal throne himself.

¹³³ Ruess, Karl, *Die Rechtliche Stellung der Päpstlichen Legaten bis Bonifaz VIII.* Paderborn, 1912. 80–81.

¹³⁴ Albert of Aachen, and Daibert himself, confirms in a letter to the Pope that he succeeded in reconciling Bohemond and the other leaders. (Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 484.; Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, 1901. 173.)