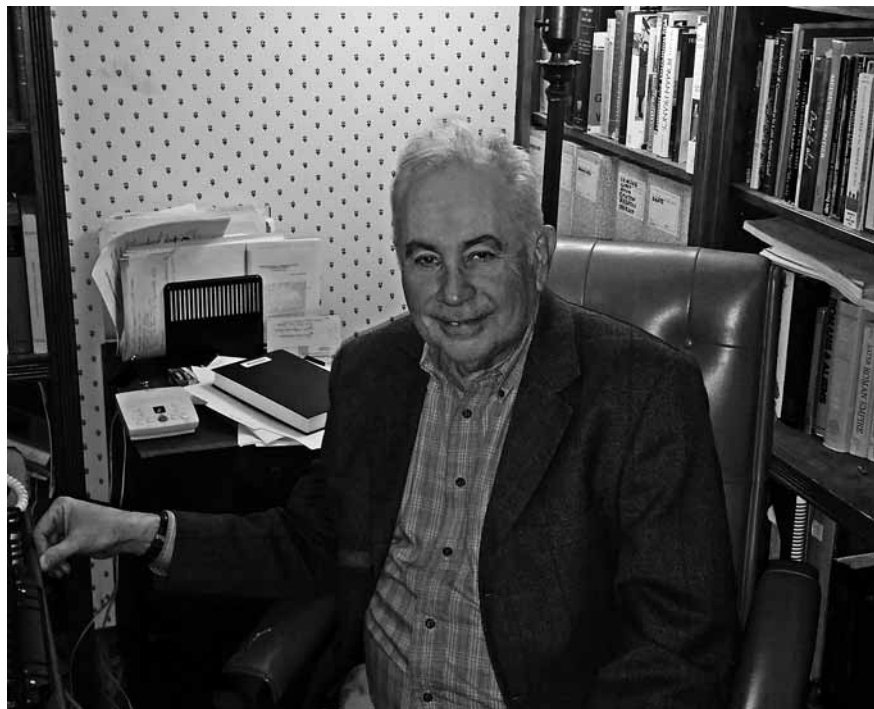# THE MEDIEVAL WAY OF WAR

Studies in Medieval Military History
in Honor of Bernard S. Bachrach

Edited by
Gregory I. Halfond

THE MEDIEVAL WAY OF WAR

Bernard S. Bacharach

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Abbreviations

CCCM	*Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis* (Turnhout, 1966-)
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1954-)
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna, 1866-)
Diplomatarium Danicum	*Diplomatarium Danicum*, (ed.) A. Afzelius et al. (Copenhagen, 1938-)
EHD	*English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, (ed.) D. Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979)
FStI	*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1887-)
JK	Philip Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd ed., ed. F. Kaltenbrunner (to AD 590) (Leipzig, 1885; Reprint Graz, 1956)
JL	*Jyske Lov*, in *Danmarks gamle Landskabslove med Kirkelovene*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen, 1933)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
AA	*Auctores Antiquissimi* (Berlin, 1877–1919)
Capit.	*Capitularia regum Francorum*, (ed.) A. Boretius, MGH Leges (Hannover, 1883–97)
Epp.	*Epistolae* (Berlin, 1887-)
Leges	*Leges Nationum Germanicarum* (Hannover/Leipzig, 1892-)
Schriften	*Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Stuttgart, 1938-)
SRG	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* (Hannover/Leipzig, 1871-)

SRM   *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum* (Hannover/
               Leipzig, 1885–1951)

SS   *Scriptores* (Hannover/Leipzig, 1826–1934)

MIÖG   *Mitteilung des Instituts für* Österreichische

PG   *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, (ed.) J.-P. Migne
               (Paris, 1857–87)

PL   *Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*, (ed.) J.-P. Migne
               (Paris, 1844–64)

RHC HOc   *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*
               (Paris, 1844–95)

RHC HOr   *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens orientaux*
               (Paris, 1872–1906)

RHGF   *Recueil des historiens des gaules et de la France*
               (Paris, 1738–1905)

TRHS   *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1872-)

Introduction

Gregory I. Halfond

Few historians in the past 50 years have argued so forcefully or persuasively as Bernard S. Bachrach for the study of war as not only worthy of scholarly attention, but demanding of it. As Bachrach observed in the introduction to his 2001 monograph *Early Carolingian Warfare*, "In the West, military matters have consumed more material resources and lives than any other human endeavor over more than 3,000 years."[1] In his 20 books and more than 130 articles, Bachrach has established unequivocally the relevance of military institutions and activity for an understanding of medieval European polities and mentalities. In so doing, as much as any scholar of his generation, he has helped to define the *status quaestionis* for the field of medieval military history.

Born in the Bronx, New York in 1939, Bachrach graduated Jamaica High School in Queens in 1957, and received his BA (with honors) from Queens College in 1961. He completed his graduate work at the University of California, Berkeley, where he studied under Professor Bryce D. Lyon. Bachrach has credited both Lyon and François Ganshof, who chaired his Ph.D. orals committee, as primary influences on the development of his own historical methodology, particularly in his attention to institutional history. Upon the successful defense of his dissertation, in 1967 Bachrach took a position as Assistant Professor of History at the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, an institution that remains to this day his professional home. During his tenure at Minnesota, Bachrach has supervised nine completed doctoral dissertations, and directed more than 25 Master's theses. In addition, he has served as an informal mentor to many more graduate students and young scholars, several of whom now return the favor through their contributions to this volume.

Indeed, all of the contributors to this volume—colleagues, friends, admirers, and former students alike—share both Bachrach's long-held contention that medieval warfare demands serious scholarly study, as well as his belief that its associated tactics, strategies, and logistics were delimited by such contextual factors as fiscal, material, and administrative resources, environment, and technology. Perhaps more controversially, but no less persuasively, Bachrach also has long stressed that military planning and action developed in relation to successful and sophisticated historical precedent, especially that established by the Roman imperial government. The latter, rather than Germanic tribal custom, informed the

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[1]   Bernard S. Bachrach, *Early Carolinglian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. ix.

early medieval approach to war. In his first published monograph, *Merovingian Military Policy* (1972), Bachrach famously concluded that military organization in sub-Roman Gaul "recalls *Romania* and not *Germania*," an observation that he has reiterated many times over the course of his career.[2] Bachrach's attention to continuity, however, has never assumed that military strategy and tactics atrophied during the early medieval period. As he wrote in 1997, "continuity between the later Roman Empire and the Middle Ages … is not to be understood as sclerotic rigidity or stasis. Rather it should be seen as gradual and incremental change over many centuries within a system rooted firmly in the ancient world."[3]

Bachrach's careful attention to historical continuities has encouraged an unusually broad chronological perspective. Although his earliest research concentrated on Late Roman and Merovingian Gaul, over the course of his career he also has published important studies of Carolingian, Ottonian, Angevin, and crusader warfare. His most recent book is a magisterial study of *Charlemagne's Early Campaigns (768–777)* (2013), the second volume in what hopefully will be an ongoing series of monographs reevaluating Carolingian military history. In all of his publications Bachrach has entirely eschewed the romanticism that medieval courtly writers sought to associate with the practice of war. As he wryly observed in a 1988 article, "medieval chivalry is to medieval warfare as courtly love is to medieval sex."[4] Instead, Bachrach has looked for the inherent rationalism underlying medieval military strategy, while also emphasizing those institutions, resources, and other contextual factors that determined how policy was implemented as action.

Bachrach's work thus stands in firm opposition to a "primitivist" view of early medieval warfare, which imagines parallels, for example, between the Germanic warrior culture of *Beowulf* and Charlemagne's military apparatus. The successful conduct of war in medieval Europe required extensive and often sophisticated administrative resources. Bachrach, for instance, has forcefully and persuasively critiqued the methodology of Hans Delbrück in estimating the size of medieval armies, supporting instead Karl Ferdinand Werner's contention that early medieval royal regimes had the ability to mobilize substantial armies in times of military need.[5] Regardless of the size of their forces, military commanders had to ensure

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[2]   Ibid., Merovingian Military Organization 481–751 (Minneapolis, 1972), p. 128.

[3]   Ibid., "Medieval Military Historiography," in *Companion to History*, (ed.) M. Bentley (London, 1997), pp. 191–208, at p. 194.

[4]   Ibid., "*Caballus et Caballarius* in Medieval Warfare," in *The Study of Chivalry: Resources and Approaches*, (eds) H. Chickering and T. Seiler (Kalamazoo, 1988), pp. 173–211, at p. 198.

[5]   Ibid., "Early Medieval Military Demography: Some Observations on the Methods of Hans Delbrück," in *The Circle of War*, (eds) Donald Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge, UK, 1999), pp. 3–20; Ibid., *Early Carolingian Warfare*, 57–58; Ibid., *Charlemagne's Early Campaigns (768–77): A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 61–5.

for their armies adequate nutrition, animals, equipment, and battlements. Both capital and administrative skill were required in order to provide such seemingly basic necessities. In a well-known case study, Bachrach estimated the cost of the construction of the tower at Langeais in AD 992–994, concluding that in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries it was far more cost-effective for magnates to construct castles than to maintain substantial cavalry forces.[6] Bachrach also has warned repeatedly against an anachronistic application of modern anthropological concepts and models, such as gift-exchange and ritual violence, as explanatory devices for medieval military activity.[7] Such models imply that medieval warfare was more cultural performance than a mobilization of resources for the purpose of implementing political policy through the means (or threat) of violence.

Bachrach's opposition to primitivism also led him to reject Feudalism as a useful summative term for medieval European social and political organization long before this became the norm among Anglophone scholars. In what is perhaps his best known short study, "Charles Martel, Mounted Shock Combat, the Stirrup and Feudalism" (1970), Bachrach systematically dismantled Lynn White Jr.'s revision of Heinrich Brunner's thesis concerning the origins of Feudalism. White had argued that the Carolingian adoption of the stirrup in the eighth-century gave rise to a cavalry-based military model, i.e. mounted shock combat, which required the granting of fiefs from seized ecclesiastical lands to cover its costs. Bachrach, in contrast, established that

> The decisive arm of the military forces of Charles Martel, and his sons was not cavalry; infantry and artillery were their most useful units. The techniques used by Charles to secure armed support were the same as those used by his predecessors … the stirrup, in fact, was all but ignored by the Carolingians. And finally, if one were to adhere to a definition of feudalism which can be constructed from the evidence of the period of Charles Martel's rule then one could find feudalism in the Merovingian era as well.[8]

More recently, Bachrach concluded unequivocally that "The growing recognition that feudalism, however defined, is of little importance to medieval

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[6] Ibid., "The Cost of Castle-Building: The Case of the Tower at Langeais, 992–4," in *The Medieval Castle, Romance and Reality*, (eds) K. Reyerson and F. Powe (Dubuque, IA, 1984), pp. 46–62.

[7] E.g. Ibid., "Anthropology and Early Medieval History: Some Problems," *Cithara* 34 (1994): pp. 3–10.

[8] Ibid., "Charles Martel, Mounted Shock Combat, the Stirrup and Feudalism," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7 (1970): pp. 49–75. A useful summary of the debate surrounding Brunner and White's theses can be found in Kelly DeVries and Robert D. Smith, *Medieval Military Technology*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 2012), pp. 99–116.

history, in general, has gradually inspired the realization that feudalism is of no particular value to the study of medieval military history."[9]

While the study of war always has been central to Bachrach's scholarly activities, his belief in its relevance for a broader understanding of medieval European history, along with his wide-ranging intellectual interests, have lead him to pursue projects well beyond the traditional scope of military history. He has authored important monographs on *A History of the Alans in the West* (1973), *Early Medieval Jewish Policy in Western Europe* (1977), *Fulk Nerra, The Neo Roman Consul: A Political Biography of the Angevin Count (987–1040)* (1993), and *The Mystic Mind: The Psychology of Medieval Mystics and Ascetics* (co-authored with Jerome Kroll, 2005). The Fulk volume was the culmination of over a decade of work on Fulk, his familial ties, and the institutions that buttressed the Angevin state. Bachrach's work on Fulk Nerra also stimulated an interest in prosopography, which led to his co-founding of the periodical, *Medieval Prosopography*, which has appeared semi-regularly since 1980, and remains one of the most important repositories for prosopographical research. Over the course of his career, Bachrach also has embraced research from, among other fields, medicine, science and technology, agriculture, archaeology, art history, and economics as relevant to his own historical project. Such an interdisciplinary perspective implies both that war cannot be studied in a vacuum, but also its intrinsic relevance to Medieval Europe's social, cultural, and political history.[10]

This volume seeks to honor Bernard Bachrach's many contributions to medieval military history in part by embracing the interdisciplinarity and topical diversity intrinsic to his research. Contributors were invited to write on topics of their own choosing, and the essays contained herein range chronologically from Late Antiquity to the Later Middle Ages (ca. 300–1500 CE), and possess a geographical scope stretching from Britain to the Middle East. The individual chapters are arranged chronologically and thematically, with discrete sections focused on "The History and Historiography of War in Late Antique and Early Medieval Europe," "Warfare in the East in the Crusading Era," and "European Warfare in the Central and Later Middle Ages."

Within these broader delineations, many of the individual essays are related methodologically. Several of the contributors follow the honoree's example by analyzing the fiscal and administrative resources that impacted the conduct of military activity. David Bachrach, in an important case-study, examines the career of Peter of Dunwich, a royal bureaucrat in the service of Edward I, whose diverse managerial and administrative skills contributed to the success of Edward's military apparatus. Michael Prestwich similarly examines Edward's military resources, and, taking as a model Bernard Bachrach's study of the construction of the tower at Langeais, discusses Edward's construction of three trebuchets at the

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[9]   Bachrach, "Medieval Military Historiography," 199.

[10]   See on this point Bachrach's introduction to the first volume of the *Journal of Medieval Military History* 1 (2002).

Tower of London in 1278. Several other studies in this volume look more broadly at the administrative and legal policies and procedures of military organizations or other bodies possessing military responsibilities. David Jacoby discusses the internal evolution of the mercenary Catalan Company, whose military successes culminated in its 1311 conquest, and subsequent rule, of the Duchy of Athens. Niels Lund, in a study of Danish ecclesiastical military obligations, reveals that Danish bishops had significant military resources at their disposal, and, in consequence, owed significant service to the monarchy.

Several of the contributors to this volume examine case-studies of specific martial actions or the grand strategies of individual commanders. Benjamin Kedar and John France identify the battlefield strategies that determined the outcomes of Arsūf (1191) and Bouvines (1214) respectively, while John Pryor and Kelly DeVries, in turn, reevaluate the documentary sources for the siege of Acre (1189–91) and the battle of Crécy (1346). Stephan Morillo, in his essay, tests the limits of the historiographical principle of *Sachkritik*, often cited by Bachrach, through an examination of Duke William of Normandy's 1066 invasion of England. In an approach similar to Bachrach's own studies of the Carolingian dynasty, Richard Abels and Herwig Wolfram delineate the grand strategies of Alfred the Great and the Emperor Conrad II respectively. Whereas the former proved his "strategic vision, adaptability, and perseverance" in war, the latter "lacked talent as a military strategist, for which deficiency he compensated by excelling as a politician and a diplomat." Taking a broader chronological perspective, Andreas Schwarcz addresses the failure of Roman defensive strategy for the upper Danube *limes* in Late Antiquity. Similarly, Manuel Rojas Gabriel identifies the more successful grand strategy adopted by the Hispano-Christian polities in their campaigns against the Muslims between the years of 1031 and 1157, a strategy whose principal aim was to "drive the enemy … to a high level of systemic exhaustion."

Several of the essays focus not on military action, but rather on military theory and the representation of war during the European Middle Ages. Gregory Halfond, for example, looks at the Merovingians episcopate's ideological response to war as articulated in the canons of their councils, and posits a connection between secular military activity and the church's definition of *pax ecclesiae*. John Gillingham, in his essay, examines the occasional disparities between chivalric theory and military reality in the treatment of women and children during the crusading era. As Bachrach himself has done in a number of studies, James F. Powers and Lorraine C. Attreed embrace pictorial evidence in their study of the portrayal of women in Romanesque combat scenes.

Finally, Walter Goffart addresses an issue of great relevance to medieval military historiography. Goffart examines the early modern French cartographical tradition prior to Auguste Longnon, which produced both maps and atlases that made possible the modern mapping of medieval military history. Indeed, one of those historical cartographers whose career Goffart examines, Maxime Auguste

Denaix, was a chief of military cartography prior to his retirement and subsequent career as the compiler of historical atlases.

By happy coincidence, as this volume goes to press, Bernard Bachrach is celebrating his 75th birthday, and has shown no signs of slowing his prodigious scholarly pace. On behalf of all of the contributors, I hope that the honoree will accept this volume as both a birthday present of a sort, but also as a respectful testament to his contribution to our field. We have no doubt that his work will continue to inspire, infuriate, and stimulate generations of historians to come.

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PART I
The History and Historiography of War in Late Antique and Early Medieval Europe

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Chapter 1

The Roman Frontier along the Upper Danube in Late Antiquity

Andreas Schwarcz

The Roman frontier along the Danube was a central part of Roman defensive strategy for several centuries. The formation of the Alpine and Danube frontier as a whole was the work of Augustus, and especially the sector in Raetia and along the upper and middle Danube had as its primary aim the defense of Italy as the center of the Empire. The conquest of the Alpine regions was completed by the annexation of the kingdom of Noricum in 15 BC, although the building of a full-fledged line of fortifications there took until the end of the first century AD. The legionary fortress at Lauriacum was erected even later, after the Marcomannic wars of Marcus Aurelius at the end of the second century after a first try at Albing, which was given up. Noricum was on the periphery of the empire, but it maintained its importance as a source for iron, and therefore for weapons, but also for horses.

When Diocletian reorganized the administration of the provinces on a grand scale and divided them into smaller units, Noricum was partitioned into two new parts, Noricum Ripense and Noricum Mediterraneum. Noricum Ripense was a border province and came under a new regional command under a *dux* together with Pannonia Prima.[1]

These administrative reforms were combined with a sweeping reorganization of the army: legions from now on consisted only of 1,000 men and the core tactical units, *numeri* and *alae*, of 500 to 1,000 soldiers. This also meant a reduction for the Legio II Italica stationed at Lauriacum, but according to the *Notitia dignitatum* (*occ*. 34) it was now divided up into three parts at three garrisons, Lauriacum, Ioviacum, and Lentiae, each unit commanded by a *Praefectus legionis*. The Legio I Noricorum was probably newly formed at the same time and stationed in two units at Favianis and Adiuvense, each also led by a *Praefectus legionis*. These organizational measures would have been accompanied by a building program,

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[1] Notitia dignitatum occidentalis, occ. 5, in *Notitia dignitatum accedunt notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae et latercula provinciarum*, (ed.) Otto Seeck, 3rd edn (Frankfurt, 1983 [reprint]). See Verena Gassner, Sonja Jilek, Sabine Ladstätter, *Am Rande des Reichs. Die Römer in Österreich*. Österreichische Geschichte 15 v.Chr. -378 n.Chr. (Vienna, 2002), pp. 302 f.

which was continued by Constantine and his sons. The fortifications along the Danube reached their final construction period under Valentinian I.[2]

Evidence of these efforts to secure a crucial border for the Empire are the monumental remains of the fortresses along the Danube in Western Lower Austria, which give this sector of the Roman frontiers its special importance and value in the frame of the supranational UNESCO World Heritage Site "Frontiers of the Roman Empire." Buildings of several stories, massive towers and town gates, watch towers and late antique *burgi*, survived for centuries as integral parts of the medieval fortifications of the towns along the Danube. The U-shaped towers of Zeiselmauer, Traismauer, and Tulln, the fan-shaped tower and the town walls of Mautern, the monumental Vienna Gate of Traismauer, and the late antique *burgi* of Bacharnsdorf and Zeiselmauer still offer impressive evidence of the importance of this part of the frontier in Late Antiquity.

Most of these building projects cannot be dated precisely. Numerous brick stamps of Legio II Italica are evidence for building activities in the time of the *dux* Ursicinus. He may be identical with the *Magister equitum* of the same name, who was later, around 359/360 AD, *Magister peditum praesentalis* during the reign of Constantius II.[3] As he can be found in the East, briefly in Gaul, later, from 349 AD onwards, a stay in Noricum as *Dux Pannoniae Primae et Norici Ripensis* has to be dated before 349 AD and not in the reign of Valentinian I. This is supported by the fact that he bears the title of *vir perfectissimus* and not *clarissimus* on these brick stamps.

Emperor Valentinian himself crossed Noricum in the spring of 375 AD and spent three months at Carnuntum preparing for his summer campaign. He died at Brigetio from a stroke on November 17th of the same year 375 AD, after forcing the Quadi into submission, when he received their *deditio* and got angry over their excuses for rebelling in the first place.[4] Two building inscriptions, one from the legionary fortress of Carnuntum and another, now lost, for the *burgus* of Ybbs from 370 AD bear evidence for building activities under his reign.[5] But only the late Roman fort at Oberranna (Stanacum?) and the fortified settlement of Mauer on the river Url, where *Equites sagittarii* were stationed, were newly built in Late Antiquity. Even fortifications on the other side of the Danube, in the Barbaricum,

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[2]   *Notitia dignitatum occidentalis*, occ. 34. See Gassner-Jilek-Ladstätter, *Am Rande des Reichs*, pp. 305 f.

[3]   Gassner-Jilek-Ladstätter, *Am Rande des Reichs*, pp. 310 f. On Ursicinus see A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I A.D.260–395* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 985 f.

[4]   Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, 30.6, from *Ammianus Marcellinus with an English Translation*, (ed.) John C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1935–39, revised and reprinted 1952–56), pp. III:346–9; *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, pp. I:933 f.

[5]   *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* vol.3, (ed.) Theodor Mommsen (Berlin, 1873), CIL 3, 14358, and 5670a. See Gassner-Jilek-Ladstätter, Am Rande des Reichs, p. 310.

were still erected under the reign of Valentinian I.[6] It was the very building of a fort in the territory of the Quadi and the assassination of their king Gabinius, who had protested against this violation, in 374 AD, which had given the signal for the uprising of the Sarmatians and Quadi.

The reorganization of the army and the building program also meant changes in the way soldiers and civilians lived together. The reduction of the military units in size also meant that they needed less space within the fortifications. Fewer troops within the fortifications also led to a reduction of the *Cannabae* and *Vici*. Families and retainers followed the soldiers when they were stationed elsewhere. When stormy times arose after Valentinian's death, the civilian population not only sought protection within the fortifications, they moved their settlements within them. This can be seen clearly for instance at Zeiselmauer (Cannabiacae), where the late antique *Burgus* occupies only a small part of the former area of the fort and the old *Principia* gave its location to the early medieval church.

The situation is very similar in Lauriacum, which was more important as the former seat of a *Praeses proviciae*, a legionary fortress, as garrison for an auxiliary unit, and equipped with a harbor for a fleet unit. It became the seat of a bishop, the former civil settlement was used as cemetery, and the ruins were used as quarry for the new buildings. The bishop's church of the fifth century was built on the location of the former *Valetudinarium*.[7] The former civil settlements were slowly given up in favor of this mixed use of the former military area.

The thorough barbarization of the army in the fourth century also brought about a new form of coexistence between the provincial Roman population and mostly barbarian Roman troops recruited from federates and *Dediticii*. *Municipia* had not been used as garrisons by troops before. They now were fortified and defended by local militia. Their sites are sometimes difficult to distinguish archeologically from military fortifications.

The heavy upheavals in the history of the Western Empire in the first decade of the fifth century also involved Noricum and the upper and middle Danube area directly. The pressure of the Huns on the Pannonian provinces and the Pannonian plain outside the Empire grew massively after 400 AD. An indication for this is the incursion of the Vandals into Raetia, which obviously passed through Noricum and necessitated security measures there. Alaric's first attack on Italy started along the military road from Sirmium to Emona in the late autumn of 401 AD and the federates north of the Alps, and surely also the Marcomanni, reacted with incursions into Raetia and Noricum. Stilicho himself crossed the Alps in the winter of 401/2 AD, renewed treaties with the rebelling federates, and collected troops to counter the invasions of the Goths. As he also recalled units from Gaul and Britain, he surely included the units from the Danube in his army for the delivery of besieged Milan. The troops from the Danube probably returned to

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6   Gassner-Jilek-Ladstätter, *Am Rande des Reichs*, pp. 308–311.
7   Gassner-Jilek-Ladstätter, *Am Rande des Reichs*, p. 315.

their garrisons after Stilicho's victories at Pollentia and Verona in the second half of 402 AD.[8]

Tensions worsened between East and West in September 405 AD, when Emperor Honorius and Pope Innocentius I tried to intervene with a diplomatic mission in the dispute between Emperor Arcadius and Johannes Chrysostomos, who had been deposed by his emperor as Patriarch of Constantinople. Stilicho used these tensions for an attempt to gain the whole of Illyricum for the West and concluded a new treaty of alliance with Alaric, who was to gain again the post of *Magister militum per Illyricum*, which he had already held for the East between 397 and 401. Hostages had to be given at the conclusion of this treaty by both parties: among the Romans was Fl. Aetius. The Western embassy suggested an ecumenical council to be held at Thessalonike, which was also the seat of office for the *Magister militum per Illyricum*. The intention to give this unified command to Alaric also meant that he was promised by this *foedus* the resources and the command of the troops of the western *Comes Illyrici*. Perhaps this was the moment when the military units stationed in Noricum came under the command of this officer as noted in *Notitia dignitatum occ.* 7. These plans were probably to be executed after the return of the imperial and papal embassy from the East, but the invasion of Radagaisus into Italy in winter 405/6 AD prevented this.[9]

Radagaisus probably invaded Italy directly from Pannonia and did not march through Noricum, but Stilicho must again have employed the troops and federates from the upper Danube to stop him. But only a year later, in the winter of 406/7, the next invasion hit the Western Empire. This time it was the attack of the Vandals under Godegisel, combined with Alans, Sarmatians, Quadi, Gepids, Heruli, Saxons, Burgundians, Alemanni, and *hostes Pannonii*,[10] who crossed the Rhine into Gaul. It is possible that their passage from Pannonia to the West was made easier because the troops from the Danube were still in Italy or even were part of Alaric's expedition into Epirus in autumn 406 AD.

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[8] Claudius Claudianus, *De bello Gothico*, in *Claudii Claudiani Carmina*, MGH AA 10, (ed.) Theodor Birt (Berlin, 1892), ll. 329–65 and 400–429, at pp. 271–5; Andreas Schwarcz, *Reichangehörige Personen gotischer Herkunft. Prosopographische Studien* (Ph.D. thesis 1984), p. 182.

[9] Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Ioanni Chrysostomi*, PG 47 (Paris, 1858), ch. 3 f.; Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, PG 67 (Paris, 1859), book 8, ch. 26; Innocent I, *Epistulae et decreta*, PL 20 (Paris, 1845), ep. 8, at pp. 457–60; *Epistulae imperatorum pontificorum aliorum ind ab a.367 usque ad a. 513 datae Avellana quae dicitur collection*, (ed.) Otto Günther, CSEL 38 (Vienna, Prague, Leipzig, 1895–98), ep. 38 at pp. I:85–8; Zosimus, *Histoire Nouvelle*, (ed.) François Paschoud (Paris, 1971–89), book 5, ch. 23, in vol. 3/1, pp. 34 f.; Socrates, *Historia ecclesiastica*, PG 67 (Paris, 1859), book 6, ch.18 f. at pp. 715-724; Karl Baus and Eugen Ewig, *Die Kirche von Nikaia bis Chalkedon. Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Großen. Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte 2/1*, (ed.) Huber Jedin (Freiburg, Basel, Vienna, 1973), pp. 266 f.; Schwarcz, *Reichsangehörige*, pp. 186 f.

[10] *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae*, (ed.) Isidor Hilberg, CSEL 54–6 (Vienna and Leipzig, 1910–18), ep. 123, ch. 15 f., at 56/1: pp. 91-93.

This adventure, meant to bolster the claim of the Western Empire to have control over the whole of Illyricum, came to nothing, because the promised support by the Western praesental field army never materialized. Honorius had to solve his differences with the East and shelved his plans in the autumn of 407 AD because of the usurpation of Constantine III in Gaul. Alaric had to retreat from Epirus by the military road through Emona and went to Noricum, which actually may have been under his command when he was given the Illyrian magistracy. When his negotiations with the court at Ravenna broke down after the downfall and liquidation of Stilicho, Alaric started his second invasion of Italy from Noricum in October 408 AD.[11]

While the court at Ravenna negotiated with Alaric after the end of his first siege of Rome in 409 AD, the emperor Honorius also reorganized the defense of Italy in the North. Zosimus records the creation of a regional command to strengthen the hold on the Eastern Alps and the Danube. This command was intended to reach from Raetia to Dalmatia and included also Noricum and Pannonia, and was given to Generidus, an experienced professional soldier of barbarian origin and, moreover, an adherent of the ancient gods. The office conferred on him may be considered as the function of a *Comes Illyrici*. Alaric reacted to this in his negotiations with the *Praefectus praetorio* Iovius in Ariminum by demanding not only payment of *annonae*, regular army payment and regular provisions and supplies for his Gothic army, but also that it should be stationed in Venetia, Noricum and Dalmatia. This would have meant not only the abolition of the newly created command for Generidus, but also a possibility for Alaric to exert permanent pressure on the imperial court in Ravenna. The alternative for him was elevation to the post of *Magister utriusque militiae*, in which case he was ready to diminish his demands.[12] The negotiations were broken off because the court was not prepared to give in to these conditions.

When they were taken up again, Alaric was ready to accept more moderate terms; he would have been content with the settlement of his army in the two provinces of Noricum, *annonae*, and a *foedus*, but Ravenna rejected this also. The consequence was the siege of Rome at the end of 409 AD and the elevation of Priscus Attalus as emperor, who actually made Alaric his *Magister utriusque*

[11]   Zosimus, *Histoire Nouvelle*, book 5, ch. 29 f.; Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, book 8, ch. 25.3 f. and book 9, ch. 4.4; *The Fragmentary Classicizing Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, (ed.) R.C. Blockley (Liverpool, 1981 and 1983), Olympiodorus frag. 5 f. at pp. II:156–9; Herwig Wolfram, *Die Goten. Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer historischen Ethnographie*, 3rd edn. (Munich, 1990), p. 161; Schwarcz, *Reichsangehörige*, pp. 90 f.

[12]   Zosimus, *Histoire Nouvelle*, book 5, chs. 36.1 and 48.1–3; Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, book 9, ch. 6.2; On Generidus see J.R. Martindale, *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II A.D.395–527* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 550 f; Wolfram, *Goten*, pp. 161–3.

militiae praesentalis and his brother-in-law Ataulph *Comes domesticorum*.[13] While these dramatic events were happening in Italy, Generidus actually seems to have exerted his regional command in the Eastern Alps and along the Danube, according to the testimony of Zosimus, and to have stabilized the situation there. Unfortunately we do not know how long he held this post, and we do not know the names of direct successors to him.

The sources do not tell us much about Noricum and the upper Danube during the subsequent decades. The most remarkable event in this period was an incursion of the Juthungi into Raetia and Noricum, which was joined also by rebellious provincials. This uprising was quelled by Aetius and troops from Gaul in 431 AD.[14]

In any case, the first half of the fifth century saw a deep-reaching change in the ethnic situation north of the Danube. Markomanni and Quadi disappear from the written sources, which know only Suebians in the second half of this century. We find Sciri, Heruli and Gepids already around 400 AD. The *Cosmographia Iulii Caesaris* of Iulius Honorius give us "*Marcomanni, manni* (*Alamanni*?), *Heruli, Quadi, Sarmatae, Basternae, Carpi, Gothi, Duli* (*Vanduli*?), and *Gippedi*."[15] The *Liber Generationis* has "*Marcomanni, Vanduli, Quadi, Heruli*, and *Hermunduri*."[16] The *Laterculus Veronensis*, edited by Otto Seeck, together with the *Notitia dignitatum* give us the Heruli twice: "*Scoti, Picti, Calidoni, Rugi, Heruli, Saxones*, and *Franci*," and "*Marcomanni, Quadi, Taifruli, Hemundubi, Uandali, Sarmatae, Heruli, Rugi, Sciri, Carpi, Scitae, Taifruli*, and *Gothi*."[17]

The dominance of the Huns also influenced the material culture of these neighbors. Attila's attacks against the Western Empire, especially his invasion of Gaul in 451 AD, may have involved Noricum too, but this finds no echo in the written sources. Priskos records an encounter with a Western embassy in his report about his diplomatic mission to the court of Attila (447 AD). A member of this embassy was a *Comes* Romulus, the father-in-law of Orestes and grandfather

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[13]   Zosimus, *Histoire Nouvelle*, book 5, ch. 48.5 and book 6, ch. 6 f.; Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, book 9, ch. 7 f.; Wolfram, *Goten*, pp. 162–5.

[14]   Hydatius, *Chronica*, in *The Chonicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantino-politana. Two Contemporary Accounts of the Final Years of the Roman Empire*, (ed.) R.W. Burgess (Oxford, 1993), Ol. 302.6 f., at p. 90; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Poèmes*, (ed.) André Loyen (Paris, 1960), vol. 1, Carm. 7, ll. 233 f. at p. 63; Herwig Wolfram, *Grenzen und Räume. Geschichte Österreichs vor seiner Entstehung*. Österreichische Geschichte 398–907 (Vienna, 1995), p. 38.

[15]   *Cosmographia Iulii Caesaris*, in *Geographi Latini Minores*, (ed.) Alexander Riese. (Heilbronn, 1878), p. 40. The dating given as before 376 (Same citation, XXI) is not acceptable because of the mention of " … Franci, Alani … " for Gaul. Greater groups of Alans in Gaul are probable only after Gratianus's *foedus* with the Goths, Huns, and Alani under the leadership of Alatheus und Saphrac in 380 AD, or even after the big incursion of the *gentes* from Pannonia in 406 AD.

[16]   Liber Generationis, in *Geographi Latini Minores*, p. 169.

[17]   Laterculus Veronensis, in *Notitia dignitatum accedunt notitia urbis Constantin-opolitanae et latercula provinciarum*, (ed.) Otto Seeck, 3rd edn (Frankfurt, 1983).

of Romulus Augustulus. As the *Praeses* of Noricum (Mediterraneum) Promotus and another high-ranking officer named Romanus also belonged to this embassy, Romulus may have been the Western *Comes Illyrici*. *Praeses* and *Comes* had their seat of office south of the Alps at Poetovio-Ptuj at this time.[18]

The written sources give us another glimpse on the ethnic distribution along the upper Danube after the death of Attila and the battle of Nedao. When Eparchius Avitus made his "Revocatio Pannoniarum," this may have included a renewal of the treaties with the federates north of Noricum: " … et cius solum amissas post saecula multa/ Pannonias reuocavit iter … "[19] This was the basis which enabled Maiorianus to use the western part of Pannonia and the region north of the Danube as recruiting grounds in 458 AD. Sidonius Apollinaris records Suebians, Pannonians, Huns, Getae, Dacians, Alans, Rugi, Ostrogoths, and Sarmatians from the Danube in Maiorianus's army marching to Gaul and also gives us the story of the rebellion of Tuldila, who led a group consisting of Goths and Huns, when this army started from Italy. Tuldila's people had shortly before lost their lords, the sons of Attila.[20]

The *Vita Severini* and Jordanes, our most important sources for this region up to 488 AD, record Alamans, Heruli, Rugi, Sciri, Thuringians, Suebi, Ostrogoths, and Sarmatians as neighbors menacing the provincials. The latter had their most intensive relations with their direct neighbors north of the Danube, the Rugi, according to the *Vita Severini*. Both the king of the Rugi, Feletheus, and the king of the Alamanni, Gibuld, were federates of the Empire and therefore Roman officials. They are acknowledged as such by the Saint when he accords them an *Introitus*.[21]

The *Vita Severini* also informs us about the decay of the Roman military organization along the Danube. When Severinus arrived in the region, probably already in 454 AD, just after the battle at the river Nedao,[22] regular military units were still garrisoned in the towns along the Danube. The last unit of this kind is mentioned *Vita Severini* ch. 20 at Batavis. The troops dissolve when regular payment stops. Commagenis also still had a garrison consisting of barbarian federates in the 450's. The *Vita* records as a miracle that they killed each other when an earthquake occurred, probably the one that destroyed Savaria on the tenth of September 454 AD.[23]

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[18]   Priscus frag.8. See Ekkehard Weber, "Der letzte Statthalter von Noricum," *Jahrbuch des Oberösterreichischen Musealvereins* 149 (2004): pp. 277–83.

[19]   Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm*. 7, ll. 589 f. (ed.) Loyen, p. 77.

[20]   Andreas Schwarcz, "Die Goten in Pannonien und auf dem Balkan nach dem Ende des Hunnenreiches bis zum Italienzug Theoderichs des Großen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 100 (1992): pp. 50–83, at p. 52.

[21]   Eugippius, *Vita S. Severini*, chs. 19 and 31 from Eugippius, *Das Leben des Heiligen Severin. Lateinisch und Deutsch*, (ed.) Rudolf Noll (Passau, 1981), pp. 84 f.

[22]   Andreas Schwarcz, "Bedeutung und Textüberlieferung der Historia persecutionis Africanae provincia des Victor von Vita," in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, (ed.) Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter (Vienna, 1994), pp. 115–40, at p. 130 f.

[23]   Eugippius, *Vita S. Severini*, ch. 2.

If we analyze the historical events, the disintegration of the Roman defenses seemed to have proceeded so far in the 460's that the barbarian neighbors tried to establish a direct rule over the towns of Noricum on the basis of their *foedus*. An attack of the Ostrogoths on Noricum in 467 AD did not particularly succeed, if we are to believe the *Vita Severini* and the *Panegyric on Anthemius* by Sidonius Apollinaris. They could only take some smaller places along the Danube and concluded a treaty with Teurnia, which accorded them the *Canon vestium*, a form of supply with clothing for soldiers. As long as Pannonia was a matter of debate and conflict between the East and the West, the Pannonian Ostrogoths could count on political support from Constantinople when they attacked Noricum. When they got the news that Anthemius, who had successfully fought against them in 459 AD, had arrived in Italy on April 12, 467 AD and had been proclaimed as emperor in the West with the backing of the East, the Ostrogoths had to retreat.[24]

As a matter of fact, the Rugi also waited until their king Flaccitheus had died, and only then his son Feletheus extended his rule south of the Danube over Favianis and the neighboring towns.[25] This may be dated to sometime after the coup d'état of Odoacer in Italy according to *Vita Severini* ch. 32. Heruli and Thuringians seem to have reached the Danube around the same time. The Heruli, still pagans, surprised and plundered Ioviaco, took most of the inhabitants away as prisoners, and hanged the presbyter Maximianus.[26] Quintanis had to be left under the pressure of the Alamanni, and also Batavis, whose last inhabitants fell into the hands of the Thuringians.[27] The survivors from the towns along the upper Danube fled first to Lauriacum and were distributed among the towns already under the rule of the Rugi afterwards.[28]

The end of the organized co-existence of barbarians and Romans in Noricum was brought about by Odoacer's attack on the kingdom of the Rugi in 487 AD and the forced resettlement of the civil urban elites to Italy by the *Comes* Pierius in the next year. But life did not cease. The cemetery of Lauriacum on the brick field (Ziegelfeld) shows continuous use into the sixth century,[29] and Noricum Mediterraneum was integrated into Ostrogothic Italy, which spread its zone of influence up to the Baiuvarii and Alamanni. But it no longer exerted any direct control over the forts of the Danube *limes* in Noricum Ripense.

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[24]   Eugippius, *Vita S. Severini*, chs. 1–4; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* 2, l. 377; Schwarcz, *Goten in Pannonien*, p. 59.

[25]   Eugippius, *Vita S. Severini*, chs. 31. f.

[26]   Eugippius, *Vita S. Severini*, ch. 24.

[27]   Eugippius, *Vita S. Severini*, ch. 27.

[28]   Eugippius, *Vita S. Severini*, ch. 31.

[29]   Gassner-Jilek-Ladstätter, *Am Rande des Reichs*, p. 315.

Chapter 2

War and Peace in the *Acta* of the Merovingian Church Councils

Gregory I. Halfond

In November 567, nine Gallic bishops assembled in the *civitas* of Tours with the permission of King Charibert I (r. 561–567).[1] Tensions between the king and the episcopate of the Merovingian Kingdom of Paris had been worsening in recent months. First, Charibert had a falling out with the influential Bishop Eufronius of Tours over the *villa* of Nazelles, claimed by both the king and the Church of St Martin.[2] Then, even more seriously, Charibert took as his latest wife a former nun named Marcovefa. In council, the bishops attempted to use both moral and legal persuasion to convince Charibert to abandon his wife, but to no avail. Shortly after the council concluded its business, an exacerbated Bishop Germanus of Paris excommunicated the king and queen.[3]

Although the Council of Tours failed to relieve the tensions between Charibert and his bishops, as both parties had hoped, the synod's lengthy canonical *acta* reveal an effort by the episcopate of the *regnum* of Paris to use its corporate voice to negotiate *consensus* with the king on issues beyond simply the Marcovefa affair.[4] Among the bishops' chief legislative concerns were the *necatores pauperum*, who

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[1]   Tours (567), *praefatio*: "Quapropter Christo auspice in Toronica civitate consilio concordante iuxta conventiam gloriosissimi domni Chariberthi regis … " The Merovingian conciliar acts are cited from the edition of Charles de Clercq, (ed.) *Concilia Galliae A. 511—A. 695*, CCSL 148A (Turnhout, 1963).

[2]   Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, (eds) Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH SRM 1.1 (Hanover, 1937–51), 4.26.

[3]   On these events, see Gregory Halfond, "Charibert I and the Episcopal Leadership of the Kingdom of Paris (561–567)," *Viator* 43, no. 2 (2012): pp. 1–28.

[4]   On conciliar *consensus*, see Hans Barion, *Das fränkisch-deutsche Synodalrecht des Frühmittelalters* (Bonn, 1931), pp. 97–110; Klaus Oehler, "Der Consensus Omnium als Kriterium der Wahrheit in der antiken Philosophie und der Patristik," *Antike und Abendland* 10 (1961): pp. 121–2; Karl Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church: 300–1140* (Princeton, 1969), pp. 4–5, 195–7; Hermann Josef Sieben, *Die Konzilsidee in der Alten Kirche* (Paderborn, 1979), pp. 103–170; Jürgen Hannig, *Consensus Fidelium* (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 64–79; Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633* (Ann Arbor, 2000), pp. 1–25; Hamilton Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 29–33; Gregory Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, AD 511–768* (Leiden, 2010), pp.

challenged the inalienability of ecclesiastical property.[5] As the opening lines of canon 25 attest, threats to Church property generally peaked during times of war: "While our lords fight amongst themselves, encouraged by the prodding of evil men, and one greedily invades the possessions of the other, so that they should not presume to appropriate or defile the rural churches by this futile action which they pursue amongst themselves we decree that [the following] must be observed as inviolable … "[6] Most probably, the rural churches in question lay within the territory of the *regnum* of Paris, which may explain the canon's unusual candor in its critique of royal policy.

Nevertheless, it is also possible that the bishops were articulating in this canon their frustration that the Merovingian *reges* had not taken seriously enough previous censures. Several years prior to the Council of Tours (ca. 561/564), many of the same bishops, assembled in council at Paris, had critiqued those land usurpations that coincided with the territorial *divisio* of 561 and the round of civil war that followed. In order to attract military supporters, Charibert and his brothers Sigibert (r. 561–75), Chilperic (r. 561–84), and Guntram (r.561–92), had permitted their *fideles*, either explicitly or tacitly, to alienate church property without the approval of the episcopate. Thus, it was not only land that was at stake; the events of 561 had fundamentally challenged the Gallic bishops' administrative *auctoritas* over ecclesiastical property. Instead of seeking episcopal approval before seizing Church lands, the *necatores pauperum* based their claims of ownership solely on royal *largitas*. Despite the seriousness of the situation, the bishops at Paris had studiously avoided criticizing Charibert himself, preferring instead to direct their ire towards the secular *fideles* of the king and his brothers, and even their own episcopal colleagues.[7]

87–9 and 153–4. On councils as the corporate voice of bishops, see J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), p. 102.

[5] On *necatores pauperum*, see Barbara Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1999), pp. 42–7; Olivier Guillot, "'Assassins des pauvres': une invective pour mieux culpabiliser les usurpateurs de biens d'église, aident à resituer l'activité conciliaire des Gaules entre 561 et 573," in *La culpabilité: actes des XXèmes Journées d'histoire du droit,* (eds) Jacqueline Hoareau-Dodinau and Pascal Texier (Limoges, 2001), pp. 329–66; Michael E. Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom: Bishops and the Rise of Frankish Kingship, 300–850* (Washington, D.C., 2011), pp. 194–9.

[6] Tours (567), c. 25: " … dum inter se saeviunt domni nostri ac malorum hominum stimulo concitantur et alter alterius res rapida cupiditate pervadit, non ista caduca actionem, qua inter sese agunt, ecclesiastica rura contingere aut contaminare praesumant, inviolabiliter observandum censenmus."

[7] Paris (561/564), cc. 1–3 and 6. For a reading of these canons, see Halfond, "Charibert I," pp. 17–20. On the dating of the council, see Halfond, "Charibert I," pp. 6–8. On the *divisio* of 561, see Eugen Ewig, "Die fränkischen Teilungen und Teilreiche (511–613)," in *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien*, (ed.) Hartmut Atsma (Munich, 1976–2009), pp. I:114–71, at I:135–8.

So, when the Council of Tours assembled only a few years later, the bishops of the Kingdom of Paris found themselves having to repeat the same arguments all over again.[8] Their earlier efforts to negotiate with Charibert had not halted the usurpation of ecclesiastical property, nor had it encouraged an end to hostilities between the king and his brothers.[9] The harsh language of canon 25 explicitly blames the Merovingians for creating a context for the alienation of Church property, and implicitly includes them in its definition of the protocol by which the property would be redeemed and its purloiners punished.[10]

Church Councils and War

Despite the obvious implications of royal military action for the administrative and fiscal well-being of the Gallo-Frankish Church, there are surprisingly few direct references to *bellum* in the Merovingian conciliar corpus. As suggested by the acts of the Councils of Paris (561/564) and Tours (567), this scarcity was not due to the Gallic bishops' unwillingness to address matters of secular concern. On the contrary, the Gallic bishops asserted their right to meet in council *pro causis publicis*, and their canonical *acta* frequently addressed worldly concerns from a practical, and not merely theoretical, perspective.[11] Nevertheless, the acts of the Councils of Paris and Tours are very unusual in their unequivocal acknowledgment of interregnal warfare's effects on the Gallo-Frankish Church. More often than not, references to war in the Merovingian conciliar corpus are implied rather than explicit.

In 535, for example, the bishops at the Council of Clermont composed an *Epistola ad regem Theodebertum*, in which they asked the king to respect the property rights of those lay and ecclesiastical landowners who became subjects

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[8]   They would do so literally by epitomizing the first canon of the acts of the Council of Paris as canon 26 in their own acts. See Halfond, "Charibert I," p. 7.

[9]   Although Tours (567), c. 25, explicitly notes the occurrence of a prior civil war, our knowledge of specific military campaigns of the mid-to-late 560s is negligible. On these years, see Bernard S. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751* (Minneapolis, 1972), pp. 36–7.

[10]   The canon targets those who claim ownership of alienated property by usurpation (*pervasio*), and then "delay in making restitution" (*restitutionem distulerit*). This would include not only the kings themselves, but also those royal *fideles* who gained possession of Church property through either royal grants or violent seizure. See Elisabeth *Magnou-Nortier,* "The Enemies of the Peace: Reflections on a Vocabulary, 500–1100," in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Responses in France around the Year 1000*, (eds) Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 58–79, at p. 62.

[11]   Mâcon (581/3), *praefatio*. On conciliar concern with real-world issues, see Walter Ullmann, "Public Welfare and Social Legislation in the Early Medieval Councils," *Studies in Church History* 7 (1971): pp. 1–39; Odette Pontal, *Histoire des conciles mérovingiens* (Paris, 1989), p. 305; Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils*, pp. 99–130.

of rival monarchs following territorial partitions.[12] No mention is made in the letter of either specific agreements or campaigns. However, about a year before the council assembled, following Childebert I and Chlothar I's unsuccessful attempt to depose their nephew, Theudebert had made a treaty with Childebert that confirmed those *civitates* under Theudebert's rule.[13] Similarly, Merovingian-era councils frequently affirmed the ransoming of captives as a necessary act of episcopal *caritas*, although the circumstances of the captures are generally left unexplained, and not all of these captives were necessarily prisoners of war.[14]

In general, conciliar legislation was concerned predominantly with addressing the impact of military action and violence on the Church itself, rather than with dictating or critiquing specific military policies. The episcopal attendees of these councils were eager to minimize the damage caused by the civil wars of the Merovingians on the wealth and administration of the Gallo-Frankish Church, as well as on the Church's more defenseless members, such as captives and the poor, who were supported by the profits derived from ecclesiastical properties. But while bishops bemoaned in their canons the devastation caused by the Merovingian civil wars, they were not naïve pacifists. Although Frankish Gaul was not demonstrably more violent than other post-Roman societies, violence nevertheless was a political reality.[15] Merovingian bishops, who were often scions of aristocratic families, and whose local *auctoritas* necessitated their regular interaction with royal officials,

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[12] Council of Clermont (535), *Epistola ad regem Theodebertum*. On the epistle, see Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, "A propos des rapports entre l'Eglise et l'Etat franc: La lettre synodale au roi Théodebert (535)," in *Societa, Istituzioni, Spiritualita: Studi in Onore di Cinzio Violante* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 1:519–34; Heike Grahn-Hoek, "Quia Dei potentia cunctorum regnorum terminos singulari dominatione concludit. Kirchlicher Einheitsgedanke und weltliche Grenzen im Spiegel der reichsfränkischen Konzilien des 6. Jahrhunderts," in *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Matthias Werner zum 65. Geburtstag*, (eds) Enno Bünz, Stefan Tebruck and Helmut G. Walther (Cologne, 2007), pp. 3–54, at pp. 11–16; Chlothar II, 'Edictum,' in *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, (ed.) Alfred Boretius, MGH Leges 2.1 (Hanover 1883), ch. 17 reiterated this principle following Chlothar's unification of the Frankish *regnum*.

[13] Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 3.23–4. See also Ewig, "Die fränkischen Teilungen und Teilreiche," pp. I:130–31.

[14] Orléans (511), c. 5; Lyons (567/570), c. 3; Lyons (581/3), c.2; Mâcon (585), c. 5; Clichy (626/627), c. 25; Chalon (647/653), c. 9. On the ransoming of captives, see William Klingshirn, "Charity and Power: Caesarius of Arles and the Ransoming of Captives in Sub-Roman Gaul," *Journal of Roman Studies* 75 (1985): pp. 183–203.

[15] Paul Fouracre, "Attitudes towards Violence in Seventh- and Eighth-Century Francia," in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, (ed.) Guy Halsall (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 60–75. On Gregory of Tours' role in establishing the image of Merovingian Gaul as unusually violent and savage, see Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History*, paperback edn (Notre Dame, 2005), pp. 230–231. C.f. Wolf Liebeschuetz, "Violence in the Barbarian Successor Kingdoms," in *Violence in Late Antiquity*, (ed.) H. A. Drake (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 37–46.

were not unfamiliar with political and military violence.[16] Indeed, prelates were expected to contribute ecclesiastical resources to help cover military expenditures.[17]

In some cases, however, their experiences with violence were more immediate. Despite conciliar efforts to prevent ecclesiastics from possessing and employing arms, social realities sometimes trumped canonical ideals.[18] Additionally, bishops sometimes lost their own lives, or were responsible for the deaths of others, due to their participation in political factions.[19] In short, bishops were very aware of war's social, economic, and political ramifications. Consequently, their canonical criticisms were not so much of war itself, the necessity of which they reluctantly conceded, but rather of the unnecessary disorder that wars could cause, and the implications of this disorder for the peace of the Church.[20] From the episcopal perspective, war, especially civil war, was antithetical to socio-religious order, as it threatened the unity and tranquility associated with the *pax ecclesiae*.

The Restoration of Public Order

The necessity of public order was an ideal on which both kings and bishops could agree. The Merovingian kings, like the episcopate, recognized the twin virtues of domestic peace and administrative order (*pax et disciplina*), and identified bishops

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[16] On the aristocratic heritage of some members of the Merovingian-era Gallic episcopate, see Martin Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien* (Munich, 1976); Martin Heinzelmann, "L'aristocratie et les évêchés entre Loire et Rhin jusqu'à la fin du VII siècle," in *La christianisation des pays entre Loire et Rhin (IV–VII siècle)*, (ed.) P. Riché (Paris, 1993), pp. 75–90; Georg Scheibelreiter, *Der Bischof in merowingischer Zeit* (Vienna, 1983), pp. 9–50; Ian Wood, "The Ecclesiastical Politics of Merovingian Clermont," in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, (eds) P. Wormald, D. Bullough, and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 34–57, at pp. 37–40; Raymond Van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley, 1985), pp. 133–4 and 202–29; Ralph Mathisen, *Roman Aristocrats in Barbarian Gaul* (Austin, 1993), pp. 89–104. C.f. Steffen Patzold, "Zur Sozialstruktur des Episkopats und zur Ausbildung bischöflicher Herrschaft in Gallien zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter," in *Völker, Reiche und Namen im frühen Mittelalter*, (eds) Matthias Becher and Stefanie Dick (Munich, 2010), pp. 121–40.

[17] Bernard S. Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 60.

[18] Friedrich Prinz, *Klerus und Krieg im früheren Mittelalter: Untersuchungen zur Rolle der Kirche beim Aufbau der Königsherrschaft*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 2 (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 5–8. See e.g. Mâcon (581/3), c. 5; Bordeaux (662/675), c. 1; St Jean-de-Losne (673/675), c. 2.

[19] Paul Fouracre, "Why were so many Bishops Killed in Merovingian Francia?" in *Bischofsmord im Mittelalter*, (eds) Natalie Fryde and Dirk Reitz (Göttingen, 2003), pp. 13–35.

[20] On episcopal attitudes towards military violence in general, see Laury Sarti, *Perceiving War and the Military in Early Christian Gaul* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 86–90 and 300–07.

as useful partners in their promotion.[21] Since wars, by their nature, created temporary public disorder, it was not uncommon in Merovingian Gaul for ecclesiastical synods to be convoked on episcopal or royal authority at the conclusion of military campaigns, as was the case with both the Councils of Paris (561/564) and Tours (567). Additionally, as the bishops who assembled at the Council of Orléans (538), concluded, provincial councils too could only safely meet during periods of *tranquilitas*.[22] From the royal perspective, conciliar convocation signified the restoration of regional stability, and fostered *consensus* with the local episcopate. For bishops, councils provided the opportunity to respond productively to the changed circumstances resulting from political violence.

The very first Gallic synod held under Frankish auspices, for example, gathered only after the victory of Clovis I over Alaric II at Vouillé in 507. The Council of Orléans (511), which met along the frontier of the former Visigothic Kingdom, was convoked in order to facilitate the corporate unification of the northern and newly-acquired southern ecclesiastical provinces of Gaul under Frankish rule. The assembled bishops, working from *tituli* supplied by Clovis, addressed in their acts issues arising from the incorporation of formerly-Visigothic Gaul into the Frankish *regnum*, including the redemption of captives by the Gallic episcopate and the absorption of Arian clerics and basilicas into the Nicene Gallo-Frankish Church.[23]

Similarly, the Council of Paris (614), convoked by Chlothar II (r. 584–629), assembled only one year after the king had finally rid himself of his old enemy Brunhild of Austrasia, and brought all of the Frankish sub-*regna* under his own rule.[24] The council was attended by dozens of bishops from all over Frankish Gaul, and met in conjunction with an assembly of Chlothar's *optimates* and *fideles*.[25] The council's legislation was revised (in some cases dramatically) for inclusion in a royal *edictum*, following the conclusion of the council's business. Although

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[21]   Alexander C. Murray, "*Pax et Disciplina*: Roman Public Law and the Merovingian State," in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, (eds) Kenneth Pennington, Stanley Chodorow, and Keith H. Kendall (Vatican City, 2001), pp. 269–85; Thomas Renna, "The Idea of Peace in the West," Journal of Medieval History 6 (1980): pp. 143–67, at pp. 148–50; Paul Kershaw, *Peaceful Kings: Peace, Power and the Early Medieval Political Imagination* (Oxford, 2010), pp. 119–31; Sarti, *Perceiving War and the Military*, 144–50.

[22]   Orléans (538), c. 1: "Quod si intra biennium divinitus temporum tranquillitate concessa admonitis conprovincialibus a metropolitano synodus indicta non fuerit, metropolitanus ipse pro evocationis tarditate anno integro missas facere non praesumat."

[23]   Orléans (511), cc. 5 and 10. See Gregory Halfond, "Vouillé, Orléans (511), and the Origins of Frankish Conciliar Tradition," in *The Battle of Vouillé, 507 CE: Where France Began*, (eds) Ralph Mathisen and Danuta Shanzer (Berlin, 2012), pp. 151–66. C.f. William M. Daly, "Clovis: How Barbaric, How Pagan?" *Speculum* 69, no. 3 (1994): pp. 619–664, at pp. 657–8.

[24]   As recounted by Fredegar, *Chronica*, MGH SRM II, (ed.) Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1888), 4.39–42.

[25]   Chlothar II, *Edictum*, in *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, no. 24.

Chlothar moderated those episcopal jurisdictional claims articulated in the conciliar *acta*, his intention in convoking the council and promulgating variations of its legislation seems, in part, to have been to acculturate the Gallic episcopate to the new political order, and to reach a *consensus* regarding the Church's rights within this order.[26]

The restoration of public order following a military conflict typically involved the discipline of those individuals who had supported the losing side. Church councils offered a suitable forum in which to pursue such judicial vendettas, as one of the primary functions of synods was to adjudicate legal cases involving clerics, monks, and even sometimes laypersons.[27] Although such cases permitted the Gallic Church to exercise its jurisdictional claims in the enforcement of law, royal involvement in conciliar trials was not unusual. Prosecutions often were initiated at the behest of kings, who theoretically were not supposed to intervene in proceedings, but still occasionally did.[28] Royal convokers thus could use councils as a means of disciplining clerics, and even powerful laypersons, who had supported their political enemies during periods of military conflict.

Guntram of Burgundy, for example, frequently used ecclesiastical councils to target his political enemies both within, and outside of, the Church. He encouraged the bishops attending the Council of Mâcon (585) to penalize those among their colleagues who had colluded with the recently-defeated royal pretender Gundovald.[29] Several years later, in 588, after a Visigothic army had defeated Guntram's forces in Septimania, the king convoked a council of bishops to investigate whether Brunhild of Austria had instigated the alliance between her son Childebert II and the Visigothic king Reccared. Guntram blamed his defeat on this alliance, but ultimately cancelled the council after Brunhild swore an oath as to her innocence.[30] A short time thereafter, ca. 589/590, Guntram and his nephew Childebert II (r. 575–596), convoked still another council, this time in Poitiers, in the aftermath of the violent revolt that had broken out at the Convent of the Holy Cross. At the council, the revolt's ringleaders, Chlothild and Basina, were excommunicated with royal approval.[31]

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[26]   Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils*, pp. 143–4. Several chapters in Chlothar's edict refer explicitly to peace: Chlothar II, *Edictum*, chs. 11 and 14.

[27]   Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils*, pp. 10–12 and 89–93.

[28]   E.g. Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 5.18, 5.27, 5.49, as well as the examples cited below.

[29]   Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 8.20. Those bishops identified for punishment by the council include Ursicinus of Cahors, Bertram of Bordeaux, Orestes of Bazas, and Palladius of Saintes. On the Gundovald conspiracy and episcopal involvement therein, see Bernard S. Bachrach, *Anatomy of a Little War: A Diplomatic and Military History of the Gundovald Affair (568–586)* (Boulder, 1994).

[30]   Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 9.32

[31]   Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 10.15–17.

In pursuing judicial vendettas against his enemies, Guntram relied heavily upon the cooperation of his episcopal supporters. Individual bishops, to be sure, were not always eager to participate in the prosecution of their ecclesiastical colleagues. Gregory of Tours' *Historiae*, for example, offer several accounts of conciliar trials in which bishops felt unfairly pressured by royal convokers to convict their colleagues.[32] Still, judicial proceedings of this sort necessitated the willing participation of at least some members of the episcopate, not only to provide legitimacy to the occasion, but also to facilitate the desired outcome for the case. When Chilperic convoked the conciliar trial of Bishop Praetextatus of Rouen in 577, those bishops who already enjoyed close relations with the royal court, such as Bertram of Bordeaux and Ragnemodus of Paris, assisted in bringing about the predetermined verdict.[33]

Conciliar trials thus can reveal the existence of political loyalties, and even political factionalism, within the Gallic episcopate. Although councils were intended to promote a corporate spirit within the episcopate, the administrative and political responsibilities of Gallic bishops in the Merovingian era sometimes had the opposite effect.[34] When councils assembled in the aftermath of military actions, political loyalties were made transparent through judicial inquiry and prosecution. Those bishops identified as insufficiently loyal during wartime were not only singled out for prosecution, but even in some cases blamed for instigating or supporting an unjust war. For example, the council that assisted in

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[32]   E.g. Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 5.18, 5.49, and 10.19. For another example, see Sisebut, *Vita vel Passio Sancti Desiderii Episcopi Viennensis*, MGH SRM 3, (ed.) Bruno Krusch (Hanover: Hahn, 1896), ch. 4.

[33]   Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 5.18.

[34]   On Gallic bishops adopting civic functions following the disintegration of Roman imperial institutions, as well as the concept of Bischofsherrschaft, see Friedrich Prinz, "Bischöfliche Stadherrschaft im Frankenreich vom 5 bis zum 7 Jahrhundert," Historische Zeitschrift 217 (1974): pp. 1–35; Reinhold Kaiser, *Bischofsherrschaft zwischen Königtum und Fürstenmacht: Studien zur bischöflichen Stadtherrschaft im westfränkisch- französischen Reich im frühen und hohen Mittelalter* (Bonn, 1981); the contributions of Friedrich Prinz, Martin Heinzelmann, and Reinhold Kaiser to Friedrich Prinz, (ed.), *Herrschaft und Kirche. Beiträge zur Entstehung und Wirkungsweise episkopaler und monastischer Organisationformen* (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 1–108; Jean Durliat, "Les attributions civiles des évêques mérovingiens: l'exemple de Didier, évêque de Cahors (630–655)," Annales du Midi 91 (1979): pp. 237–54; Edward James, "Beati Pacifici: Bishops and the Law in Sixth-Century Gaul," in *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, (ed.) J. Bossy (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 25–46; Ian Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms* (London, 1994), pp. 75–79; Nancy Gauthier, "Le réseau de pouvoirs de l'évêque dans la Gaule du haut Moyen Âge," in *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, (eds) G. P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, and N. Christie (Leiden, 2000), pp. 173–208, at pp. 188–95.

the prosecution of Bishop Egidius of Rheims in 590 at the behest of Childebert II charged the bishop with encouraging *bellum civile*.[35]

Although Egidius was no innocent, if Gregory of Tours is to be believed, there were cases in which councils could offer only dubious moral justifications for prosecutions that were transparently politically-motivated. For example, ca. 677/679, a council assembled at the royal villa of *Masolacus* (Malay-le-Roi) "pro statu aeclisiae vel confirmacione pacis," and charged Bishop Chramlinus of Embrun with political disloyalty.[36] The council ostensibly had been convoked on the command of King Theuderic III (r. 673, 675–690/691), who had been placed on the throne several years earlier by the Neustrian mayor Ebroin. After Theuderic's enthronement, Ebroin had forbidden Burgundian nobles from attending the Neustrian court in order to limit the opposition to his unlawful monopolization of political power.[37] An opposing aristocratic faction that included Bishop Leudegar of Autun deposed Theuderic, and placed his brother, Childeric II of Austrasia (r. 662–675), on the throne in his place. However, by failing to keep his promise to respect the particular legal customs and traditions of the three sub-kingdoms under his authority, and by allowing Austrasians to dominate his court, Childeric invited his own assassination in 675. The assassination allowed both Ebroin, who in the meantime had raised a *comitatus*, as well as Theuderic himself, to regain their former positions.[38] Ebroin then set about eliminating by deposition or violence his former enemies. While Ebroin's targets included the bishops of Autun, Sion, Embrun, and Maastricht, as well as the abbot of Jumièges, the mayor's motivations were not anti-clerical *per se*; his victims were singled out not because of their profession, but because of their prior political activities and loyalties.[39]

In pursuing his ecclesiastical enemies at the Council of Malay, Ebroin had the support of the metropolitans of Lyons, Vienne, Besançon, Sens, and

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[35]   Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 10.19.

[36]   *Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, (eds) C. Brühl, T. Kölzer, M. Hartmann, and A. Stieldorf (Hanover, 2001), no. 122 (pp. 310–12). The date of the Council of Malay has been much debated because of the uncertainty surrounding the royal diploma's dating to the fifth regnal year of Theuderic III. Pontal, *Histoire des conciles mérovingiens*, p. 232, for example, prefers 677 or 678. The editors of the diploma, in contrast, prefer 679. Hubert Mordek, "Bischofsabsetzung in spätmerowingischer Zeit: Justelliana, Bernensis, und das Konzil von Mâlay (677)," in *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, (ed.) Hubert Mordek (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 31–53, at pp. 38–9, argues for 677.

[37]   *Passio Leudegarii Episcopi et Martyris Augustodunensis I*, MGH SRM 5, (ed.) Bruno Krusch (Hanover, 1910), chs. 4–5.

[38]   *Passio Leudegarii*, chs. 5–13. On the Austrasian dominance of Childeric's court, see Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, p. 228.

[39]   Wood, *The Merovingian Kingdoms*, pp. 230–31.

Bourges.[40] He also enjoyed episcopal support in his prosecution of Leudegar of Autun, who would ultimately be executed for his political activities.[41] In light of the transparently political circumstances of these two synodal trials, "pro statu aeclisiae vel confirmacione pacis" reads more like a feeble justification than an accurate description of a conciliar agenda. But the bishops at these two trials were not mere mayoral puppets, dancing to Ebroin's tune. As criminal charges against episcopal defendants suggest, sixth- and seventh-century bishops did not necessarily join political factions simply out of compulsion. Egidius of Rheims and Leudegar of Autun had both played leading roles in their respective factions, and their trials were the result of changing political winds, not a moral reformation of the Gallic episcopate.[42]

While councils could serve the dubious agendas of competing political factions that sometimes counted bishops among their members, their recognized ability to promote *consensus* did encourage royal convokers to consult with them in the promotion of peace.[43] Several councils, in their *acta*, explicitly declare *pax*

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[40]   On the identification of "Chadune" with Ado of Bourges, see Mordek, "Bischofsabsetzung in spätmerowingischer Zeit," pp. 38–9, note 36.

[41]   *Passio Leudegarii*, ch. 33. Mordek, "Bischofsabsetzung in spätmerowingischer Zeit," pp. 39–42, argues that it was the Council of Malay that formally deposed Bishop Leudegar of Autun, as the council described in Leudegar's *Passio* shares a similar date, location, agenda, and Burgundian focus with the Council of Malay. Mordek's theory is problematic because of a second royal diploma issued in the fifth regnal year of Theuderic III on September 12th, three days before the diploma announcing Chramlinus' judgment was issued (*Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, no. 121). Both documents were written by the same hand, and there is no reason to suppose that they were not both produced in the context of the same council (*Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, pp. 309 and 311). In the earlier document, Theuderic III donated property near Meaux to the deacon Chaino, the future abbot of St Denis, for his private use. According to the diploma, this property had belonged to Detta, the widow of Chrodobert, count of the palace. According to Leudegar's *Passio* this same Chrodobert was that bishop's executioner, who later repented of his deed, and whose wife had Leudegar's body buried in an oratory. It would seem then that the Council of Malay took place following Leudegar's trial, which probably assembled ca. 677. On the difficulty of dating Leudegar's trial and execution, see Paul Fouracre and Richard Gerberding (eds), *Late Merovingian France* (Manchester, 1996), p. 250, note 217.

[42]   On Egidius' role in various political conspiracies, including the Gundovald affair, see Walter Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius and Maurice: The Pretenders Hermengild and Gundovald (579–585)," *Traditio* 13 (1957): pp. 73–118; Bachrach, *Anatomy of a Little War*, pp. 48–9, 78–81, and 107–08; Ian Wood, "The Secret Histories of Gregory of Tours," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 71 (1993): pp. 253–70 at pp. 267–8. On Leudegar's faction, see Fouracre and Gerberding, *Late Merovingian France*, pp. 197–8.

[43]   Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450–900* (London, 2003), p. 141.

to be among their legislative goals.[44] Even so, it could be difficult to persuade royal convokers to take the necessary steps to achieve this lofty goal. In 573, for example, Guntram convoked a council of bishops in Paris to adjudicate in a military conflict between himself and his brother Sigibert, but neither Guntram nor Sigibert could be persuaded to put aside their differences.[45] Similarly, a Lyonnais synod, convoked in the year 581, also by Guntram, counseled the king regarding the fallout from the recently-severed alliance between Burgundy and Austrasia.[46] However, tensions between Guntram and his nephew persisted for several more years, as Childebert formed an alliance with his uncle Chilperic against Guntram, and clashed with the King of Burgundy over the latter's occupation of part of Marseilles.[47]

Although in these two cases it seems that the culpability for continued hostilities lay with the monarchy, the conciliar attendees' own disparate political loyalties may very well have diminished their moral, as well as practical, authority as adjudicators. For individual bishops, however, the duties to honor political loyalties and to promote peace were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Domestic peace necessitated an end to political factionalism and violence, a goal that in turn necessitated the victory of one partisan faction over another. Domestic peace, as the Gallic bishops understood well, ironically could be the result of military violence.[48] From the perspective of the episcopate, a king's ability to bring peace, even by force of arms, was a virtue to be commended and encouraged. When the poet Venantius Fortunatus attended the conciliar trial of his friend and patron, Bishop Gregory of Tours, at Berny in 580, he lauded Gregory's prosecutor, Chilperic, as one who had restored peace to his *regnum* through both his faith and his military deeds.[49] Martial heroism in pursuit of domestic peace or religious orthodoxy merited praise, such as the inscription of *victor* found on the coinage of

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[44] E.g. Clichy (626/7), *praefatio*; Tours (567), *praefatio*; Bordeaux (662/667), *praefatio* (and c. 4).

[45] Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 4.47.

[46] Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 6.1.

[47] Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 6.3, 6.11, 6.31, 6.33.

[48] Roger Bonnaud-Delamare, *L'idée de paix* à *l'époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1939), p. 87; J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, "War and Peace in the Earlier Middle Ages," in *Early Medieval History* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 24–6; Phillip Wynn, "Wars and Warriors in Gregory of Tours' Histories I–IV" *Francia* 28, no. 1 (2001): pp. 1–35, at pp. 6–8.

[49] Venantius Fortunatus, *Carmina*, (ed.) F. Leo, MGH AA 4.1 (Berlin, 1881), 9.1.63–6: "Altior adsiduis crescis, non frangeris armis, et belli artificem te labor ipse facit. Fortior efficeris per multa pericula princeps ac per sudores dona quietis habes" (see also 9.1.41–52). On Fortunatus' praise of Chilperic, see Judith George, *Venantius Fortunatus: A Latin Poet in Merovingian Gaul* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 48–57; Brian Brennan, "The Image of the Frankish Kings in the Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus," *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984): pp. 1–11, at pp. 7–8.

King Theudebert I.[50] Martial heroism for its own sake, however, was no virtue.[51] Ultimately, for the Gallic bishops, domestic peace was measurable by its impact on the Church. When the personnel, property, dependents, and institutional integrity of the Church were safe, only then could it be said that domestic peace had been preserved.

Pax Ecclesiae

Closely related to the ideal of domestic peace was the peace of the Church itself, the *pax ecclesiae*. This was understood to be a state of *unitas* and *tranquilitas* enjoyed by those who demonstrated obedience to the Church by recognizing its autonomy and moral authority.[52] Although both *episcopi* and *reges* bore responsibility for enforcing the domestic peace, ultimately the *pax ecclesiae* could be granted only by God.[53] Nevertheless, threats to the domestic peace could have significant implications for the *pax ecclesiae*. In times of war, when the Church's rights and property were threatened, so by extension was the peace of the Church. While neither kings nor bishops could create this state of tranquility, it was their responsibility to ensure the temporal conditions that allowed the *pax ecclesiae* to be enjoyed by ordinary Christians.

One of the primary means by which bishops sought to preserve the *pax ecclesiae* was through their promulgation of canonical legislation, which they hoped would be sanctioned and enforced by royal authorities. Despite their occasional personal familiarity with political violence, the Gallic episcopate of the Merovingian-era corporately affirmed via canonical legislation that *pax*, not *bellum*, was the natural state of the Church. Although the concept of *pax ecclesiae* had late antique origins, and appeared with relative frequency in papal correspondence, Gallic

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[50]   Roger Collins, "Theodebert I, 'Rex Magnus Francorum'," in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, (eds) P. Wormald, D. Bullough, and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), pp. 7–33, at pp. 28–9.

[51]   Marc Reydellet, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire* à *Isidore de Séville* (Rome, 1981), p. 336; Walter Goffart, "Conspicuously Absent: Martial Heroism in the Histories of Gregory of Tours and Its Likes," in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, (eds) Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (Leiden, 2002), pp. 365–93; Michael Roberts, *The Humblest Sparrow: The Poetry of Venantius Fortunatus* (Ann Arbor, 2009), pp. 59–60.

[52]   For definitions of *pax ecclesiae*, see Delamare, *L'idée de paix*, pp. 84–9; Magnou-Nortier, "Enemies of the Peace," pp. 60–63; Moore, *A Sacred Kingdom*, pp. 281–2. As Catherine Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 680* (London, 1995), p. 176, observes, Alcuin's definition of a peaceful society followed the traditional conception of *pax ecclesiae*. For a helpful, but now somewhat dated, bibliography of scholarship on peace in the European Middle Ages, see Udo Heyn, *Peacemaking in the Middle Ages: A Historical and Bibliographical Guide* (Claremont, 1997).

[53]   Delamare, *L'idée de paix*, pp. 86 and 89. C.f. Renna, "The Idea of Peace in the West," pp. 144–6. See also Orléans (549), c. 23; Clichy (626/627), *praefatio*.

references to it only began to proliferate in the early sixth century.[54] In this era, the expression appears first in an epistle addressed to Bishop Caesarius of Arles by Pope Symmachus (AD 513). Written in response to a petition by Caesarius that the pope condemn in writing perceived violations of canon law, Symmachus' letter associates obedience to canon law with the "peace of the churches." The act of obedience itself is not identified as the cause of peace; rather, Christians are required to obey Church law for the sake of peace.[55]

Four years later, the Burgundian Council of Epaone (517) ordered senior clerics who had dined with heretics to be denied the peace of the Church for one year.[56] It is unlikely that the bishops at Epaone were consciously adopting their phraseology from Symmachus' letter. Since 513, relations between the recipient of Symmachus' epistle, Caesarius of Arles, and the presiding bishop over the Council of Epaone, Avitus of Vienne, had been in decline due to the pope's support for Caesarius' jurisdictional claims in the province of Vienne.[57] Although Symmachus' correspondence may very well have found its way to Vienne, it is unlikely that it received a welcome reception. Avitus instead may have adopted the phrase from Hilary of Poitiers' *In Matthaeum*, a work with which the Bishop of Vienne seems to have been familiar, or perhaps from a *collectio* of papal epistles.[58] Whatever the case, the phrase's inclusion in the influential *acta* of Epaone, more so than its appearance in Symmachus' epistle, was responsible for its increasingly frequent appearances in Merovingian-era canonical literature.[59]

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[54] Delamare, *L'idée de paix*, p. 85. The earliest Gallic reference to the Peace of the Church that I have been able to locate is Hilary of Poitiers, *In Matthaeum*, PL 9, Col. 1003. Papal references to the peace of the Church include, but are by no means limited to, Liberius to Ursacius Valens and Germinius, PL 8, col. 1368–1371 [JK 218]; Celestine I to Theodosius II, PL 50, col. 511–512 [JK 380]; Leo I to Marcian, PL 54, col. 1098–1100 [JK 510]; Hormisdas to the Legates, PL 63, col. 467–468 [JK 838].

[55] *Epistolae Arelatenses Genuinae*, MGH Epp. 3, (ed.) Wilhelm Gundlach (Berlin, 1892), no. 26 (p. 39): "Ortamur itaque, ut pro catholicae religionis intuitum et ecclesiarum pace haec universi fideli et devote mente custodiant." On this epistle, see William Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles: The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 127–9.

[56] Epaone (517), c. 15: "Si superioris loci clericus heretici cuiscumque clerici convivo interfuerit, anni spatio pacem ecclesiae non habebit."

[57] Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles*, pp. 127–32.

[58] The letters of Leo I, for example, in which the phrase *pax ecclesiae* appears with relative frequency, seem to have been circulating in Gaul from an early date: Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 41–53.

[59] The phraseology of *pax ecclesiae* also was reiterated in subsequent papal letters addressed to Gallic recipients, e.g. *Epistolae Arelatenses* nos. 43 and 54. It also appears in Columbanus, *Columbae sive Columbani Abbatis Luxoviensis et Bobbiensis Epistola*, MGH Epistolae 3, (ed.) Wilhelm Gundlach (Berlin, 1892), no. 5.

The first Frankish council to refer explicitly to *pax ecclesiae* was the Council of Orléans (538), which threatened the loss of the peace of the Church for one year as a penalty against bishops who knowingly entered into communion with ravishers of nuns or women otherwise under the protection of the Church.[60] As at the Council of Epaone, the loss of *pax ecclesiae* was associated with the state of excommunication. Three years later, at the Council of Orléans (541), Gallic bishops once again threatened exclusion from the *pax ecclesiae* as a canonical penalty, only this time for lay offenders who failed to respect the exclusion of clerics from public service.[61] In such canons, the Gallic bishops were seeking to clarify in legal terms those conditions in which individuals were to be deprived of the Church's *unitas* and *tranquilitas*. It is thus not surprising when later councils refer to their promulgation of conciliar legislation in terms of ensuring the peace of the Church, as such legislation defined in legal terms the standards of ecclesiastical obedience.[62]

But while the phraseology of *pax ecclesiae* frequently was utilized to describe individuals' state of communion with the Church, the concept of the Church's peace did have practical implications for the ecclesiastical institutions and hierarchy of Merovingian Gaul. The Gallic bishops recognized, for example, that peace *within* the episcopate was not only a divine mandate, but a practical necessity in order to ensure that the Church's governors could effectively carry out their pastoral and administrative duties.[63] Furthermore, it was not only the clerical elite who were responsible for ensuring the peace of the Church. A tithe on lay members of the Church was justified by the Council of Mâcon (585) by the argument that "the priests, in spending it for the care of the poor and the redemption of captives,

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[60]   Orléans (538), c. 19: " … Quod si quis sacerdos sciens huiusmodi personis communicaverit, anno integro pacem ecclesiae non habebit."

[61]   Orléans (541), c. 13: " … si a sacerdote commonitus emendare noluerit, cognoscat se pacem ecclesiae non habere." Similarly, c. 26 associates the *pax ecclesiae* with the end of a period of excommunication.

[62]   Tours (567), *praefatio*: "Quapropter Christo auspice in Toronica civitate consilio concordante iuxta coniventiam gloriosissimi domni Chariberthi regis adventis coadunate pro pace et instructione ecclesiae opportunum credidimus … "

[63]   See e.g. Tours (567), c. 2: "Item decernitur propter illud coeleste mandatum: pacem meam do uobis, ut pontificalis affectus inter consacerdotes inuiolabiliter conseruetur. Verum si pro peccatis, ut assolet, ex causa liuor emerserit, ut pendente certamine sibi inuicem reconciliare non possint, electis ab utraque parte fratribus, id est presbyteris, praeponderante dulcidine litis iacula finiant et uota pacis adquirant. Nam qua fronte festucam de alterius oculo uelit eruere, qui in suo trabem non respicit imminentem? Aut quid in aliis arguit, a quo uitii fons inundat? Si quis autem ab utraque parte, ut dictum est, electis presbyteris, hoc est suis membris, atque mediantibus se fratri reconciliari neglexerit, cum ad synodum uenerit, non solum reatum coram coepiscopis se cognuscat incurrere, uerum etiam congruae poenitentiae intelligat uindictam subire. Opportunum namque est illum animaduersione succumbere, qui intelligendo peccauit et, quod doceri debuit, in sese neglexerit."

obtain by their prayers *pax* and *salus* for the people."[64] The tithe thus benefits even those who pay it, by allowing them to partake in the peace enjoyed by all contained within the *unitas* of the Church.

It was not only individuals, but also the physical space and property of the Gallic churches that was covered by the peace. Canonical legislation, for example, prohibited armed men from entering churches for the purpose of attending mass, as their presence was an affront to the tranquility of sacred space.[65] Additionally, in their assertion of the Church's right of asylum, Gallic bishops assumed that the physical space of a place of worship was closed to royal agents seeking fugitives from justice.[66] The notion that violations of Church property rights constituted a threat to peace even found its way into secular law: the Bavarian *leges* order those who steal ecclesiastical property to reestablish the *pax ecclesiae* through the act of restitution.[67]

Although the Merovingians themselves were inconsistent at best in their respect for ecclesiastical space, they did at least recognize a boundary that divided sacred from secular space, as in their allowance that monastery walls not only barred royal agents from entering, but also political prisoners from escaping.[68] However, as the acts of the Councils of Paris (561/564) and Tours (567) suggest, the Merovingians also repeatedly failed to respect ecclesiastical claims of autonomy in matters concerning ecclesiastical property. But while the Gallic bishops regularly expressed their displeasure at the alienation of Church property through their canonical legislation, and imposed ecclesiastical sanctions on both lay and clerical *necatores pauperes*, with the exception of Tours (567), c. 25, they usually stopped short of threatening the Merovingians themselves with the loss of the *pax ecclesiae*.[69]

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[64]   Mâcon (585), c. 5: "Unde statuimus ac decernimus, ut mos antiquus a fidelibus reparetur et decimas ecclesiasticis famulantibus ceremoniis populus omnis inferat, quas sacerdotes aut in pauperum usibus aut captiuorum redemptionem prerogantes suis orationibus populo pacem ac salutem impetrent."

[65]   Orléans (538), c. 32; Chalon (647/653), c. 17.

[66]   On ecclesiastical asylum, see Karl Shoemaker, *Sanctuary and Crime in the Middle Ages, 400–1500* (New York, 2011); Rob Meens, "The Sanctity of the Basilica of St Martin. Gregory of Tours and the Practice of Sanctuary in the Merovingian period," in *Texts & Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, (eds) Richard Corradini, Rob Meens, Christina Pössel, and Philip Shaw (Vienna, 2006), pp. 277–87; Rob Meens, "Violence at the Altar: The Sacred Space Around the Grave of St Martin of Tours and the Practice of Sanctuary in the Early Middle Ages," in *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Frances Andrews (Donington, 2011), pp. 71–89; James, "*Beati Pacifici*," pp. 36–40.

[67]   *Leges Baiwariorum*, MGH Leges 5.2, (ed.) Ernst Maria Augustin Schwind (Hanover, 1926), 1.6.

[68]   Mayke De Jong, "Monastic Prisoners or Opting Out? Political Coercion and Honour in the Frankish Kingdoms," in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, (eds) Frans Theuws, Mayke De Jong, Carine Van Rhijn (Leiden, 2001), pp. 291–328.

[69]   Magnou-Nortier, "Enemies of the Peace," pp. 60–63.

Why this was the case is not immediately clear. Certainly, political expediency on the part of the bishops cannot be discounted; it was an easier matter to penalize a king's *fideles* than the king himself. However, while one need not accept the argument that the Frankish government had a legitimate claim to all Church property in times of national emergency,[70] it is significant that those canons in which the Gallic bishops directly challenge royal actions generally are more concerned with the lack of episcopal involvement in the decision to alienate property than with the act of alienation itself.[71] Although canon law placed conditions on the freedom of bishops to administer Church property, the principle that bishops were responsible for its management was reiterated frequently over the course of the Merovingian era.[72] At Paris and Tours, the bishops of the *regnum Chariberthi* explicitly blamed the Merovingians for creating the conditions in which bishops lost their control over Church property, but they understood that Charibert and his brothers ultimately had just as great an interest in restoring *pax* as they themselves did. The most effective means by which a king could ensure the integrity of ecclesiastical property—and, by extension, the Church's autonomy and the *auctoritas* of its episcopate—was by preventing or terminating domestic conflict. Refusing a king the *pax ecclesiae* would only foment greater conflict, and thus could only be used as a last resort.

Indeed, the *pax ecclesiae* required peace not only within the Church, but between the Church and its royal patrons. Since the reign of Clovis I, the Gallic episcopate had urged the Frankish monarchy to rule in consultation with bishops.[73] This ideal was not always realized, of course, in part because the bishops imagined a deferential monarchy, while the Merovingians typically assumed a paternalistic attitude towards the Church. Furthermore, there were cases in which bishops believed they had no choice but to directly challenge kings for violating the *pax ecclesiae*. During the final years of Avitus of Vienne's episcopate, for example, the Burgundian king Sigismund angrily objected to the excommunication of his treasurer, Stephanus, on the charge of incest. The bishops of the kingdom, under the direction of Avitus' successor Julianus, assembled at a council in Lyons (ca. 518/522), where they declared their intention to cloister themselves in monasteries until the king promised to restore a *pax integra* with the Church.[74]

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[70]   As argued by Jean Durliat, *Les finances publiques de Dioclétien aux Carolingiens (284–889)* (Sigmaringen, 1990), pp. 148–9. On this question, see also the contributions of Michel Rouche, Jean Heuclin, and Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier to Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, (ed.) *Aus sources de la gestion publique* (Lille, 1993), pp. II:125–69. For the traditional view of the royal threat to ecclesiastical property, see Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France* (Lille, 1910), pp. I:439–52.

[71]   Halfond, "Charibert I," pp. 17–21.

[72]   Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils*, pp. 111–12.

[73]   Halfond, "Vouillé," pp. 161–2.

[74]   Lyons (518/522), c. 1. On these events, see Paul Mikat, *Die Inzestgesetzgebung der merowingisch-fränkischen Konzilien (511–626/27)* (Paderborn, 1994), pp. 106–115;

But despite unresolved tensions, as well as repeated cases of overt hostility, both the episcopate and the Frankish monarchy recognized that a mutually-antagonistic relationship threatened both domestic and ecclesiastical peace, and consequently sought to minimize conflict with each other. *Pax* through *consensus* remained the ideal, albeit one often unrealized.

Conclusion

The Merovingian Church councils, with their legislative interest in public affairs broadly defined, as well as their proven ability to produce consensus, were well situated to address the impact of war. In practical terms, they could express in a corporate voice the necessity of limiting the destructive impact of war on the Church and lay society alike. More importantly, the bishops who assembled in these forums understood war's impact went beyond the loss of life and property. War, particularly civil war, threatened the autonomy and moral authority of the episcopate that permitted the *pax ecclesiae* to endure. Through their canonical legislation, judicial verdicts, and admonitions to the Merovingian kings, the Gallic bishops sought to ensure that military violence did not fundamentally disturb the peace of the Church.

Their success, therefore, should not be measured by their ability to prevent war in the *regnum Francorum*, as that was never their objective. Instead, their ability to maintain the institutional integrity of the Church, its metropolitical hierarchy, property, and moral authority over the course of the Merovingian era offers a much better measure of the episcopate's ability to promote peace.[75] Over the course of more than two centuries, Frankish ecclesiastical institutions enjoyed a surprising degree of stability in the face of increasingly frequent political instability.[76] Nevertheless, maintaining the conditions in which the peace of the Church could thrive required constant vigilance on the part of prelates and kings alike. Thus, when the Carolingians assumed the role of ecclesiastical patrons beginning in the eighth century, they too, like their Merovingian predecessors, recognized that this

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Ian Wood, "Incest, Law and the Bible in Sixth-Century Gaul," *Early Medieval Europe* 7, no. 3 (1998): pp. 291–303, at pp. 299–301. Similarly, when Charibert I refused to end his own uncanonical marriage to Marcovefa, he was excommunicated by Bishop Germanus of Paris; Gregory of Tours, *Decem Libri Historiarum*, 4.26. See also above.

[75]   On the continuity of ecclesiastical institutions, see Halfond, *The Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils*, pp. 185–211.

[76]   Paul Fouracre, "The Nature of Frankish Political Institutions in the Seventh Century," in *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective*, (ed.) Ian Wood (Rochester, 1998), pp. 285–301, at p. 285, makes a similar observation regarding political institutions.

responsibility necessitated ensuring that the *pax ecclesiae* would continue to unite their subjects in a tranquil state of spiritual peace.[77]

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[77] See e.g. *Annales Bertiniani*, MGH SRG 5, (ed.) Georg Waitz (Hanover, 1964), an. 873: "Quod ergo multi errant in regno Karoli, qui exspectabant, ut per Karlomannum adhuc rediviva mala agerentur, in sancta Dei ecclesia et in aliis regnis, de quibus regio ministerio, cum consilio fidelium suorum, secundum morem praedecessorum ac progenitorum suorum leges paci ecclesiae et regni soliditati congruas promulgavit et ab omnibus observari decrevit."

Reflections on Alfred the Great as a Military Leader

Richard Abels

Between 869 and 879, viking war bands conquered East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia and extinguished their royal houses. By 899, only one native kingdom and royal lineage remained. Wessex survived the onslaught because of the military and political genius of its king, Alfred the Great (871–899). He would leave his son Edward and daughter Æthelflæd the military, financial, and administrative resources not only to defend their patrimonies but to expand their rule over the Scandinavian-controlled territories and kingdoms to the north and east. This, along with the cultural and spiritual renaissance he sponsored, was to be Alfred's legacy and claim to historical greatness. From Charles Plummer to Simon Keynes, Alfred Smyth, and David Pratt, historians of Anglo-Saxon England have studied extensively Alfred's contributions to the literary and political foundations of what was to be the English nation. While not neglected, Alfred's military achievement has largely been told in the form of narrative, and a narrative much influenced by unspoken nineteenth- and twentieth-century assumptions about vikings and the nature of medieval warfare.[1] This is not surprising given how little attention had been paid to early medieval warfare in general before 1972, when Bernard S. Bachrach published *Merovingian Military Organization, 481–751*, the opening

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[1]   The two exceptions are Ryan Lavelle's *Alfred's Wars: Sources and Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Warfare in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge, 2010) and John Peddie's *Alfred, Warrior King* (Stroud, 1999). The former is both a historiography of Alfred's and his successors' wars against the vikings and a compendium of sources that admirably fulfills the author's goal to investigate "the current state of scholarship and key points of its development." Although there are points at which I disagree with Lavelle's interpretations of specific matters, his book is by far the best general introduction to Anglo-Saxon military history. Peddie's account represents a military professional's assessment of Alfred as a commander. As such, it asks the types of practical questions about warfare that non-military historians often ignore. Peddie, unlike Lavelle, was not a specialist in Anglo-Saxon history. Although his book offers a number of valuable insights about the importance of logistics and lines of communication, some of Peddie's fundamental assumptions about Anglo-Saxon and viking military organization appear to me to be mistaken. The following article is a distillation of my previous scholarship on Alfred and the vikings. It draws heavily upon *Alfred the Great, War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1998) and "Alfred the Great, the *Micel Hæthen Here* and the Viking Threat," in Timothy Reuter, (ed.) *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conference* (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 265–79.

salvo in what has become a truly remarkable corpus of works on Merovingian and Carolingian warfare. My first book, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (1988) owed a great intellectual debt to Bernard Bachrach's pioneering work.[2] It was Bachrach's insistence upon the Roman foundations for Merovingian military organization and strategy, coupled with Edward Luttwak's analysis of the grand strategy of the Roman Empire, that led me to conceive of King Alfred's boroughs and military reorganization of Wessex as constituting a "defense in depth" strategic system. A *Festschrift* is an occasion to reflect upon the scholarly achievements and influence of a scholar. In my three-decade-long friendship with Bernie Bachrach, we have sometimes disagreed about historical interpretation. I am perhaps less persuaded than he about the imprint of Rome upon Anglo-Saxon military organization and warfare. But we agree that successful early medieval military leaders understood strategy and approached warfare as an intellectual endeavor that required planning, study, and thought. This certainly was no less true for Alfred the Great than for Charlemagne. This paper will offer a brief overview and analysis of Alfred as a military leader and an explanation of why he succeeded where his contemporaries, including the Carolingian Charles the Bald, did not.

What set Alfred apart from his contemporaries and made him a great warlord and king was a combination of stubborn resolution born, I believe, from a conviction of divine providence, and a pragmatic flexibility that led him to adapt to his own uses the methods of the invaders and, eventually, to devise a grand strategy that revolutionized the military organization of his kingdom. Despite the praise of his Welsh mass-priest and biographer, Asser, Alfred was not "a very great warrior [*nimium bellicosus*] and victorious in virtually all battles."[3] If Alfred were to be judged purely on the basis of his battlefield skills, one would have to conclude that he was an unremarkable military commander. His career was marked by a number of serious defeats and near disasters; indeed, the only battlefield victory that he could claim as a commander was Edington (878).

Frankly, it is difficult to discuss ninth-century English tactics and battlefield command given the nature of our sources. Unlike the detailed accounts of battle from the Classical world, the main contemporary sources for Alfred's reign, Asser and *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, are laconic records of victory and defeat.[4] Even so, a careful reading of these sources can reveal some of Alfred's qualities–and

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[2]   Bernard S. Bachrach, *Merovingian Military Organization* (Minneapolis, 1972); Richard Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1988).

[3]   *Asser's Life of King Alfred Together with the Annals of Saint Neots Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*, (ed.) W.H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904), ch.42. Translation: *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. with an introduction and notes by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (London, 1983), pp. 80–81.

[4]   The best general discussion of Anglo-Saxon battles and battlefield tactics is by Lavelle, *Alfred's Wars*, pp. 264–86.

defects–as a battlefield commander. In his very first battle as king, at Wilton in 871, Alfred apparently "snatched defeat from the jaws of victory" because of his inability to control his troops.[5] Despite Asser's desire to enhance his hero's reputation, his account of the battle suggests that the new king had failed badly in his first sole battlefield command. The battle of Wilton was a see-saw affair, with the West Saxons dominating early on, only to lose in the end. As would happen to another English army in the Battle of Hastings two centuries later, the West Saxons at Wilton, sensing victory and booty, abandoned the safety of their shield wall to pursue an apparently routed foe, and paid for their rashness when the enemy reformed and rounded upon them.

No ninth-century general could be expected to control the movements of his troops during the chaos and confusion of battle. The battles that Alfred fought were similar to the hoplite engagements of the Classical Greeks. Though the wealthy would possess swords, helmets, and, perhaps, even mail coats, the ordinary English combatant may well have gone into battle armed only with a 2 meter-long spear made of wood and surmounted with a leaf-shaped iron head, his sole means of protection a large flat, round shield, made of wood with an iron boss to protect the hand.[6] Vikings, as befitted their profession, may have been better armed. Many probably possessed a sword as well as a spear.[7] The shield-wall appears to have been the standard formation though, at this time, it was anything but static.[8] It limited the tactical options of a battlefield commander, but it had the virtue of requiring little drill or training.[9] The heroic model of leadership dictated

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[5]   Asser, *Life of Alfred*, ch.42; trans. Keynes and Lapidge, p. 81.

[6]   On Anglo-Saxon weaponry, see *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, (ed.) Sonia Chadwick Hawkes (Oxford, 1989); Nicholas Brooks, "Weapons and Armour," in *The Battle of Maldon, A.D. 991*, (ed.) Donald Scragg (Oxford, 1991), pp. 208–19. Ben Levick provides a nice overview in his web article "Anglo-Saxon Weapons and Armour," for *Angelcynn* at http://www.angelcynn.org.uk/. Most of the archaeological evidence is pre-700, when pagan burial practices included grave goods. Literary and material evidence for the panoply of the ordinary English combatant in the late ninth century is scanty.

[7]   On viking weaponry, see P.G. Foote and D.M. Wilson, *The Viking Achievement* (London, 1980), pp. 272–82. Paddy Griffith's discussion, *The Viking Art of War* (London, 1995), pp. 162–81, relies too heavily on the sagas. The viking use of swords in battle is perhaps suggested by the remains of six men from a Middle Saxon cemetery in Eccles, Kent. These men, interred at the same time, in the late ninth or tenth century, had been killed by sword cuts to the head. S. J. Wenham, "Anatomical Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Weapon Injuries," in *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 123–39.

[8]   Asser, *Life of Alfred*, chs. 38 and 56. Interestingly, Asser uses the Classical term *testudo* for the shield-wall. The implication is that Asser modeled his accounts of battle upon a Latin source, perhaps Sallust.

[9]   Bernard Bachrach has argued persuasively that Carolingian mounted troops received extensive training, citing for this both Rhabanus Maurus' *De procintu romanae miliciae*, a military handbook closely based upon Vegetius, and an eyewitness account by the lay intellectual Nithard in his *History* to teams of Saxons, Gascons, Austrasians, and

that a commander fight in the front lines, risking his life with the same abandon he expected from his followers, and even if he had the technical means to convey orders during battle and men trained to respond to them, a commander would have had little leisure to do so once the thrusting and parrying began. A good commander, however, needed to be aware of his men's morale and take steps to maintain battle discipline in the face of sudden panic or elation. In a shield-wall, as with the hoplite phalanx, a premium was placed on the self-restraint necessary for maintaining the integrity of the formation. Alfred at Wilton apparently was unable or unwilling to restrain his men from breaking ranks to chase the enemy.

Indeed, if one strips away the myth-making of Asser and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Alfred's elder brother, King Æthelred, may have been his superior as a tactician. Alfred's court historians shaped their narratives of the battle of Ashdown, Alfred's first great victory over vikings, to highlight his audacity in attacking the Danes before his brother Æthelred had arrived on the field.[10] Halfdan's and Bacgsecg's Danish forces had recently turned back Æthelred's attempt to dislodge them from their stronghold at Reading. Now, the forces met once again, this time on the Berkshire Downs near or on the Icknield Way. The Danes arrived on the battlefield first. Seizing the high ground, and the advantage that it offered for shock combat, they deployed their forces in two contingents, probably to facilitate tactical control. Halfdan and Bacgsecg shared command of one. The other they entrusted to their jarls. When King Æthelred was informed of this by his scouts, he too divided his forces. The plan, according to Asser, was to have Æthelred engage Halfdan and Bacgsecg, while Alfred took on the jarls. But things did not work out as planned (at least according to Asser). Rather than attack the enemy, King Æthelred retired to his tent to pray, while Alfred, presumably assuming that his brother would follow, advanced. As a result, Alfred and his men arrived on the battlefield before the king. Faced with the entire Danish army, Alfred considered retreating but "finally deployed the Christian forces against the hostile armies, as

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Bretons engaged in equestrian military exercises at Worms in 842 as the kings Charles the Bald and Louis the German prepared for war. See his *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 121–30. There is, on the other hand, no evidence for military training and drill in ninth-century England, other than the training that came from the aristocracy's obsession with hunting. Hunting served to teach young thegns the use of weapons and horsemanship, as well as the importance of cooperation and group maneuvers. Perhaps as importantly, it helped inure them to the gore of the battlefield. See Lavelle, *Alfred's Wars*, pp. 80–81; Guy Halsall, *Warfare and Society in the Barbarian West, 450–900* (London and New York, 2003), p. 117. The difference may be that Carolingian armies included mounted troops who would fight on horseback, whereas Anglo-Saxon armies, at least in the ninth century, fought on foot. Alfred famously ordered the *fyrd* to be mounted, but this was simply to provide tactical mobility. In battle, Alfred's troops dismounted to fight. But cf. Halsall, *Warfare and Society*, pp. 181–5.

[10]   Asser, *Life of Alfred*, chs. 37–8; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 871, from the edition *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, (ed.) Charles Plummer, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892, 1899, reprinted 1952).

he had previously intended (even though the king had not yet come), and acting courageously, like a wild boar … when he had closed up the shield-wall in proper order, he moved his army without delay against the enemy."[11] As the battle raged around a solitary thorn tree on the hill, Æthelred suddenly appeared with his troops. Taken by surprise, the vikings panicked. They fled the field, pursued by the victorious English forces. The slaughter continued until the remnants of the Danish army reached their stronghold at Reading.

The story Asser tells is exciting but muddled. King Æthelred's lingering at his devotions is clearly derived from a miracle topos, which ought to make the king the hero of the battle, rewarded by God for his piety. But Asser awards the praise to Alfred instead. If, however, we consider the events of the battle, King Æthelred's delayed arrival on the battlefield can be seen as a form of echelon tactics, with the king's troops serving as a tactical reserve thrown in while the battle was raging to shatter the morale of the enemy. One suspects that this was, indeed, King Æthelred's tactical plan. Alfred, in other words, had a subordinate role in the battle. The victory truly belonged to his brother. Edington (878) is another matter. There Alfred was clearly in command. Our sources, however, provide few details for the battle, describing it only in general, heroic terms. Even the site of the battle is still a matter of debate.[12] My sense is that Alfred's impressive and decisive victory over Guthrum had less to do with tactical brilliance than military intelligence, surprise, and mobility.

While it is possible that Alfred's encomiasts robbed King Æthelred of credit for the victory at Ashdown, it is even more likely that they slighted the military achievements of Alfred's son Edward in favor of his father. The Latin translation of the Chronicle by the late tenth-century ealdorman Æthelweard differs significantly from the surviving versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in highlighting the military activities of the young Edward during the critical years 892–895 when vikings returned to Wessex in force. Thus, only Æthelweard names Edward as the victor of Farnham (893).[13] But even the Chronicle's account leaves little doubt that Alfred's contribution to the victory was more strategic than tactical. Though it fails to acknowledge Edward's role, it cannot conceal that Alfred was not present at Farnham, nor that he failed to exploit his son's victory.[14] Both Æthelweard and the

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[11]   Asser, *Life of Alfred*, ch. 38; trans. Keynes and Lapidge, p. 79.

[12]   Peddie, *Alfred, Warrior King*, pp. 124–47.

[13]   *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, (eds) Keynes and Lapidge, pp. 189–90.

[14]   *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 893. The *Chronicle* explains that the survivors of Farnham trapped on the isle of Thorney were able to escape because the English forces besieging them left before Alfred arrived to relieve them, as "they had completed their term of service and used up their provisions" while the king was still on his way. One might detect here an attempt to shift blame away from Alfred. Translation from: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock with David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker (New Brunswick, NJ, 1961).

Chronicler credit Alfred's son-in-law Æthelred and his other ealdormen for driving the vikings out of their strongholds at Benfleet and Buttington, while Alfred was tied down in Devonshire, besieging the opportunistic joint Northumbrian-East Anglian expeditionary force that had attempted to seize Exeter. He succeeded, but, tellingly, the Chronicle is silent about his victories in the west. There was little glory to be won in the type of drawn out siege war that he fought there.

Nonetheless, Alfred deserved credit for victory in 895, for he was its architect. Alfred's ultimate success was due to a radical reorganization of the military resources of his kingdom into a defense-in-depth system. Over a twenty year period, he recreated the ad hoc levy of king's men and their retainers, the *fyrd*, into a standing, mobile field force, and dotted Wessex with a network of garrisoned fortified towns positioned on all the major arteries of communication, navigable rivers and Roman roads, throughout his kingdom. Most importantly, Alfred devised a defensive strategy that employed *fyrd* and *burh*, "army" and "fortification," as parts of a cohesive military system, one designed to meet specifically the threat posed by the hydra-headed enemy he faced in the vikings.

To appreciate Alfred's accomplishment, we need to consider both the military threat posed by vikings and the West Saxon military establishment that he inherited.[15] The traditional account of Alfred's dealings with vikings as exemplified by Sir Frank Stenton's magisterial *Anglo-Saxon England*, is, I believe, fundamentally wrong. This standard account emphasizes that Alfred successfully weathered three major invasions of Wessex by a ruthless, capable, and disciplined enemy.[16] The nature of "the viking threat" in England, asserts Stenton et al., changed radically in 865 with the advent of what the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle termed "a great heathen army" (*micel hæðen here*). What had hitherto been local, uncoordinated raids by small bands of vikings now coalesced into a viking army bent on conquest. Over the next thirteen years this force, led by the supposed sons of Ragnar Lothbrok, Ivar the Boneless, Halfdan, and, perhaps, Ubbe, changed the very fabric of English politics and society.[17] In part because of this army's "remarkable unity of command,"[18] cohesion, and discipline, the great army was able to systematically

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[15]   The discussion that follows draws heavily upon my "Alfred the Great, the *Micel Hæthen Here* and the Viking Threat," pp. 265–80.

[16]   Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), pp. 245–55; Michael Wood, *In Search of the Dark Ages* (New York, 1987), pp. 104–25. See also Nicholas Brooks, "England in the Ninth Century: Crucible of Defeat," TRHS, 5th series, 29 (1979): pp. 1–20; Patrick Wormald, "The Ninth Century," in *The Anglo-Saxons,* (eds) James Campbell, Patrick Wormald, and Eric John (London, 1982), pp. 144–51; Alfred Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 51–146.

[17]   Smyth, *King Alfred the Great*, p. 63: "[Halfdan] was a most formidable migratory king, who together with his brothers were [sic] bent on irrevocably changing the political geography of Britain and Ireland."

[18]   Stenton *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 246. But cf. the more cautious assessment of Henry Loyn, *The Vikings in Britain*, Historical Association Studies (Cambridge, MA, 1994), p. 40.

defeat and conquer Northumbria (867), East Anglia (869), and Mercia, where they first established a "puppet ruler," Ceolwulf II, before taking control of the eastern half in 877. The only native kingdom and royal house to survive was that of Wessex, and this was due to King Alfred, who much like Winston Churchill in 1939, stood alone against an ever more threatening and dangerous foreign invader. Stenton, indeed, may have had this comparison in mind; the first edition of *Anglo-Saxon England*, after all, was published in 1943. Michael Wood in his popular 1979 BBC program, *In Search of Alfred*, made the parallel visually explicit by introducing Alfred to his viewers while standing in Churchill's communication center for the Battle of Britain.

Viking activity in England in the second half of the ninth century, however, was less organized and systematic than the Chronicler and most modern historians would lead one to believe. The fuller contemporary Frankish sources present a far different vision of the vikings, one that invites us to rethink Alfred's dealings with the vikings. The Annals of St Bertin, St Vaast, St Wandrille, and Fulda reveal a Francia beset with numerous different viking bands in various locales under a multitude of leaders, who occasionally joined forces. A careful reading of the Annals of St Bertin and other Frankish sources suggests that various and disparate companies of vikings operated along the rivers of Francia in the second half of the ninth century. These often acted individually, but on occasion joined forces, at least temporarily, to seize larger prey, as is attested by the well-recorded siege of Paris in 886.[19] For the most part, the chroniclers merely recorded the presence or activity of Northmen or Danish pirates in a region, but, on occasion, they indicate that they were composite forces.[20] The Frankish chroniclers were also capable of distinguishing between the kings and princes of their neighbors to the north, the Danes, and those Danes, including royalty, who had turned to piracy.[21]

The relevance of these Frankish sources to Alfred's reign ought to be clear. The same vikings who established strongholds on the Seine, Loire, Somme and Meuse crisscrossed the Channel in search of plunder; we have no reason to believe that they organized their forces any differently when they reached British shores. If so, the so-called Great Heathen Army that "systematically conquered" most of England between 865 and 878 and its successor, "the Army" that left Fulham in 879,

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[19]   *Annals of St-Vaast*, (ed.) B. von Simson, MGH SRG (Hanover 1909), s.a. 885–6; Abbo of St Germain-des-Prés, *Bella Parisicae Urbis* [*Le siège de Paris par les Normands*], (ed.) H. Wacquet (Paris, 1964).

[20]   In 858, while Bjorn, "*dux* of a part of the pirates on the Seine" [*partis piratarum Sequanae insistium*], was swearing fidelity to Charles the Bald at his palace of Verberie, another "part" of those "pirates" was capturing the abbot of St-Denis: *Annals of St-Bertin*, (ed.) F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clémencet (Paris, 1964), s.a. 858; translation: *Ninth-Century Histories: the Annals of St-Bertin*, trans. Janet Nelson (Manchester, 1991), p. 86.

[21]   E.g., *Annals of St-Bertin*, s.a. 831, 834, 839, 847, 854, 855. Cf. *Annals of St-Bertin*, s.a. 838, 841, 846, 847. *Annals of Fulda*, (eds) G. Pertz and F. Kurze, MGH SS 7 (Hannover, 1891), s.a. 852, 873.

campaigned throughout Francia in the 880s and returned to England for yet another go in 892, may be the inventions of historians influenced by preconceptions about "the vikings" and early medieval "armies" and misled by the narrative strategy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. (The authors of the Alfredian Anglo-Saxon Chronicle clearly intended their readers to think that a single large band of marauders, *se micel here*, operated in England between 865 and 878, and that this same *here* returned to England in 892. But this had more to do with the desire to shape a particular image of their hero than with the military reality.) Nor is it even accurate to say that the vikings who attacked Northumbria, East Anglia, Mercia and Wessex in the 860s and 870s were "bent on conquest." Certainly, Scandinavian-dominated kingdoms emerged in the north and eastern parts of England in the mid and late 870s, but these represent a new phase of viking activity distinct from the initial military incursions. As on the Continent, the first impulse of viking leaders was not to conquer and settle but to negotiate with local nobles. Rather than view Ceolwulf II of Mercia as a "viking puppet king," perhaps one ought to think of him more along the lines of the unfortunate Pippin of Aquitaine, who attempted to use viking allies against his native rivals. It was only after the weakness of their native English allies was fully exposed that the leaders of the *micel here* moved to take over their kingdoms directly.

If we reconsider Alfred's dealings with vikings in light of the Frankish sources, we can see that the actual threat he faced was different from what has often been depicted. For one thing, the Chronicle's "Great Heathen Army" may have been less well organized and cohesive than Stenton, Keynes, Smyth, Peddie and others thought. The "Army" was probably constantly changing in terms of its personnel and leadership from the time it first began to gather in East Anglia in 865. Even before the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* has the *here* "sharing out" the kingdoms of the Northumbrians, East Anglians and Mercians, individual vikings bands probably departed with their loot, with newly arrived vikings taking their place. What Alfred and his contemporaries faced, then, was not a single army with a cohesive leadership bent on conquest, but waves of individual war bands from the Continent that joined together for mutual profit in East Anglia in 865–866, as other bands would outside of Paris twenty years later. Alfred's military reorganization of his kingdom, I believe, was designed to meet this specific type of military threat. It had to be sufficiently flexible to counter, on the one hand, large composite forces of a few thousand, and, on the other hand, swift moving raiding parties of a few hundred men.[22]

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[22]   The actual size of viking war bands is still controversial. For a time Peter Sawyer's argument for small viking raiding parties, numbering at most a few hundred men, threatened to become the new orthodoxy. Peter Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London, 1962), 117ff. But the pendulum seems to have shifted away from Sawyer's more extreme view. My own sense is that Nicholas Brooks was right in thinking that "the 'large' Danish armies of 865 and 892 numbered a few thousand." Nicholas Brooks, "England in the Ninth Century: Crucible of Defeat," TRHS, 5th series, 29 (1979): pp. 1–20. Archaeology may

Alfred's great victory at Edington in 878 won him no more than a respite. That the battle proved decisive was a consequence of the diplomatic and military decisions that Alfred made after his victory. Let us consider first Alfred's diplomatic policy after Edington. As is well known, Alfred insisted upon Guthrum's conversion to Christianity, and even stood sponsor for him. He then entered into a treaty with his erstwhile enemy that recognized the viking chieftain as the lawful king of the East Anglians. These events, I believe, were not a sign of Alfred's Christian naïveté, weakness, or even mercy. It was part of a grand strategy to protect his kingdom from future Guthrums. By converting Guthrum and establishing him as a fellow Christian king, Alfred was creating a buffer zone along the mouth of the Thames that would, he hoped, defend against renewed viking raiding of Wessex.[23] In short, he established Guthrum in East Anglia much as Carolingian rulers in the ninth century entrusted the marcher region of Frisia to Danish royal exiles and warlords.

His negotiations with Guthrum were complemented by diplomacy with the Mercians and the Welsh. In neither case did Alfred attempt, as had his grandfather Egbert, to gain recognition from his neighbors as king. Rather, he won their voluntary submission to his lordship. The Welsh kingdoms remained under the rule of their native kings, and Mercia, though not under a king, continued under the rule of a native prince, Alfred's son-in-law, ealdorman Æthelred. Though Alfred expected his Mercian and Welsh allies to aid him militarily, he left the responsibility—and expense—for the defense of the territories north of the Thames to them. This I believe is why the Burghal Hidage records only West Saxon and not Mercian fortifications. Similarly, the absence of Canterbury and Rochester from that document is a reminder that during Alfred's reign Kent had not yet become fully absorbed into Wessex. Alfred's father Æthelwulf had treated it as a sub-kingdom, over which he placed one of his sons as king, and there is some reason to believe that Alfred continued his father's policy, elevating Edward to its kingship in the late 890s.[24]

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help determine the matter. The viking defenses excavated at Repton enclosed an area of only 1.46 ha. (3.65 acres). Martin Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, "Repton and the Vikings," *Antiquity* 66 (1992): pp. 36-51; idem, "Repton and the 'Great Heathen Army,' 873–4," in *Vikings and the Danelaw*, (ed.) James Graham-Campbell (Oxford, 2001), pp. 45–96. The Biddles contend, however, that the entrenched area at Repton ought to be thought of as an emergency fortress rather than the winter camp itself. Cf. Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, ch. 35, where it appears that Haldan and Bagsecg had their entire camp at Reading defended with a rampart built between the Thames and Kennet.

[23]   Alfred's intent is suggested by the movements of a "great raiding force" that entered the Thames at this time and wintered at Fulham. The *Chronicle* states that it arrived in 879, when Guthrum's forces vacated Chippenham, and departed Fulham in 880 for the continent. Asser (ch. 58) adds that the new Viking force joined with Guthrum, but states contradictorily that they wintered at Fulham. See J. Baker and S. Brookes, "Fulham 878-79: A New Consideration of Viking Manoeuvres," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 8 (2012): pp. 23-52.

[24]   See Simon Keynes, "The Control of Kent in the Ninth Century," *Early Medieval Europe* 2 (1993): pp. 111–31.

If Edington highlighted Alfred's ability to inspire and lead troops, the events preceding the engagement illustrated just as dramatically the limitations of the military system Alfred had inherited. The West Saxon military establishment had been shaped by the kind of warfare that prevailed among the kingdoms of early England. Although the vikings' objectives were familiar to equally predatory Anglo-Saxon kings, the manner in which they waged war was new and disconcerting. While Anglo-Saxon commanders sought battle, vikings avoided it. As we have seen, their *modus operandi* involved seizing a defensible site, often a royal estate, and fortifying it further with ditches, ramparts and palisades. From that base they would ride through the countryside, plundering as they went. If confronted by a superior military force, they would retreat to their camp. As slight as its makeshift defenses were, they nonetheless proved effective against an enemy unfamiliar with siege warfare and saddled with a logistical system designed only for short, decisive campaigns. A besieged viking army would try to outwait the enemy, knowing that once the besieging force exhausted its supplies, it would either have to leave or offer a profitable peace. Or, if the besiegers grew careless, the vikings might burst out suddenly from behind their defenses in a furious counter-attack or sneak away under cover of night. Anglo-Saxon commanders often found themselves outmaneuvered or stalemated. The logistical inadequacies of the existing West Saxon military system were further exacerbated by the manner in which armies were raised. Assembling levies of local landowners and their followers was time-consuming; viking raiders could ravage an entire region before the king's army appeared in the field.

Alfred's near disaster in 878 impressed upon him the need to reorganize the military resources of his kingdom. And this he did. Thirteen years later, when the vikings returned in force, they found the kingdom defended by a standing, mobile field army and a network of garrisoned fortresses that commanded its navigable rivers and Roman roads. Alfred had analyzed the problem and found a solution. If under the existing system he could not assemble forces quickly enough to intercept mobile viking raiders, the obvious answer was to have a standing field force. If this necessitated transforming the West Saxon royal army from a sporadic levy of king's men and their retinues into a mounted standing army, so be it. If his kingdom lacked strong points to impede the progress of an enemy army, he would build them. Characteristically, Alfred's innovations were firmly rooted in traditional West Saxon practice, drawing as they did upon the so-called "common burdens" of bridge work, fortress repair and service on the king's campaigns that all holders of bookland and royal loanland owed the Crown. Where Alfred revealed his genius was in designing the field force and "burhs," as these fortified sites were called, to be parts of a coherent military system. Neither Alfred's reformed army nor his burhs alone would have afforded a sufficient defense against the vikings. Together, however, they robbed the vikings of their major strategic advantages:

surprise and mobility. In the parlance of modern strategic studies, Alfred created a "defense-in-depth" system.[25]

The transformation of the *fyrd* was an enormous challenge in itself. The king's household had always been, in a sense, a standing army, although its numbers were insufficient for major military actions. Alfred intended to make the rank and file of his army, the landowners and their followers, equally battle-ready. It was one thing to call upon landowners to fight battles as needed, quite another to command them to leave home and family for extended tours of duty upon a regular basis. Only a threat as severe as the viking invasions could have persuaded the nobility of the realm to submit to such radically increased demands. To ensure that the localities continued to be defended, and to moderate the demands a standing army made upon the *fyrd*-worthy, Alfred split "his army into two, so that always half of its men were at home, half on service."[26] Dividing the *fyrd* into rotating contingents was the only way of guaranteeing continuity of military action. Rather than responding to viking incursions with ad hoc levies which would disband once the crisis had passed, the West Saxons would now always have a force in the field. The *fyrd*-men who waited their turn at home also filled a necessary defensive function. It was essential that some king's thegns and their retainers remain behind to guard their lands and those of their neighbors, if for no other reason than the obvious one that landholders would have been reluctant to leave their estates and families totally undefended. The division of the *fyrd* preserved local administration even in wartime.

Alfred's innovations did not affect the basic makeup of the *fyrd*, which remained composed of nobles and their lesser-born followers. He did, however, make greater demands upon the resources of those called to fight. They had always been responsible for arming themselves, though the king's personal followers did so with weapons received as gifts from their royal lord. Now they were also asked to supply horses and sixty days' worth of provisions as well. The latter was a consequence of fighting a defensive war which precluded living off the land. In horsing the *fyrd* Alfred emulated the Danes. As a result, his army became as mobile as the enemy they pursued. The *Chronicle* consistently describes Alfred's armies during the 890s as "riding after the Danes," and at one point reports that the English *fyrd* besieging a viking army in Chester used the crops in the field as fodder for their horses.[27]

Alfred's mounted infantry was designed to act in concert with permanent garrisons that the king had settled in newly constructed or refurbished fortresses. The concept of fortresses was not original to Alfred. Decades earlier Pope Leo IV had ordered the construction of the fortified Leonine City to protect Rome from Saracen raids, and in the 860s Emperor Charles the Bald had spanned the Loire

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[25]   Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, pp. 58–78.
[26]   *Anglo-Saxon* Chronicle, s.a. 893.
[27]   *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 893. On the vikings' use of horses, see J.H. Clapham, "The Horsing of the Danes," *English Historical Review* 25 (1910), pp. 287–93.

and the Seine with a number of fortified bridges.[28] The Danes themselves routinely fortified their camps. Many if not most royal residences in Wessex would have had palisades and defensible gates, as evidenced by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's story of King Cynewulf's death at the hands of a rebel ætheling Cyneheard who took the king by surprise while he was visiting his mistress at the royal villa of Meretun.[29] Whether or not pre-Alfredian Wessex had *burhs*, Mercia certainly had; at least one historian believes that these Mercian *burhs* formed a system of fortifications in the eighth century, although the archaeological evidence for this is slight.[30] What was unique about Alfred's scheme was its sheer scale, the strategic disposition and purpose of the burhs, and the administration through which he manned and maintained them. Alfred's intention was not merely to fortify a few towns. He planned the construction of a *network* of burhs, and for this he could find no model in Britain, except perhaps for the ancient Roman forts of the "Saxon Shore."

Under Alfred's direction, thirty fortified centers of varying sizes were either built or refurbished and situated in such a way that no place in Wessex was more than twenty miles, a day's march, from a burh.[31] These forts were situated so as to command all the major navigable rivers, estuaries, Roman roads, and track-

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[28]   In terms of physical characteristics and methods of construction, the closest Continental analogues are the Carolingian and Ottonian *Burgen* of the German marches, although these tended to be quite a bit smaller than Alfred's burhs. The similarities, however, may be due less to cultural transmission and conscious imitation than a shared environment and similar threats. See Edward J. Schoenfeld, "Anglo-Saxon *Burhs* and Continental *Burgen*: Early Medieval Fortifications in Constitutional Perspective," *The Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1995): pp. 49–66, at pp. 59–60, and 65–6.

[29]   *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 757, referring to an event of 786.

[30]   Stephen Bassett, "Divide and rule? The Military Infrastructure of Eighth- and Ninth-Century Mercia," *Early Medieval Europe* 15 (2007): pp. 53–85. In this article Bassett surveys the archaeological evidence for pre-Alfredian Middle Saxon defenses at the Mercian burhs of Tamworth, Winchcombe and Hereford. Based on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 868, Nottingham probably also had defenses. The same is true of Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, and Stamford, which together with Nottingham were called the "Five Boroughs" of the Danelaw by the early tenth century, although their defenses may have been Danish in origin. Bassett's argument, however, for an eighth-century Mercian burghal system is highly speculative.

[31]   David Hill, "Gazetteer of Burghal Hidage Sites," in *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications*, (eds) David Hill and Alexander R. Rumble (Manchester, 1996), pp. 189–228, provides an excellent overview. For the military perspective, see Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation*, pp. 68–71, 236 nn. 67 and 68; idem, "English Logistics and Military Administration, 871-1066: The Impact of the Viking Wars," in *Military Aspects of Scandinavian Society in a European Perspective*, ed. A.N. Jørgensen and B.L. Clausen (Copenhagen, 1997), pp. 256-65, at pp. 260-1. On the siting of the burhs and their archaeology, see David Hinton, *Alfred's Kingdom: Wessex and the South, 800–1500* (London, 1977), pp. 29–58. There are puzzling omissions in the document, notably London and all of Kent. London may have been omitted as a "Mercian" burh, but why Canterbury and Rochester were not included is difficult to understand.

ways crossing or leading into his kingdom. A viking fleet rowing up the Thames would encounter no fewer than five burhs in succession.[32] Raiders sailing along the southern coastline of Wessex or the northern shores of Devonshire or Somerset would find few places where they could beach their ships without a fight. An extensive network of roads and track-ways connected the burhs to one another, making it possible for the garrisons to support one another and to work in tandem with the field force, while an integrated beacon system permitted the defenders in these burhs to be apprised of and respond to enemy movements well in advance. If, as seems likely, Alfred used the burhs to store his food rent, his field forces would never be more than a day's march from food and supplies.[33]

New light has been shed upon the development of Alfred's burghal system by a team of archaeologists at UCL headed by John Baker and Stuart Brookes, who over the last few years have been exploring civil defense in viking era England. Integrating archaeological, toponymic, geographical/topographical, and documentary evidence for civil defense systems in early England, Baker and Brookes add to our understanding about how Alfred's burhs and the West Saxon beacon system were interrelated and how both fitted in with the military topography of Wessex.[34] Pointing out, for example, that the Thames was probably not navigable beyond Oxford—if that far—they conclude that the burhs in the Thames River valley, with the exception of Sashes, were sited not to impede attacks up the Thames but to deter invasion from the north. The Thames in western Wessex formed a natural barrier to invasion, but it was a permeable frontier that could be crossed at fords or bridges. Cricklade, Southwark, Sashes, Wallingford, and Oxford "formed a blockade against movement along important roads, either standing at Thames crossing points or at network hubs which an invading army might exploit … [and] blocked a large number of points of access to the West Saxon road network, including both ends of the strategically important route from London to Cirencester."[35] The reason that a burh was built at Cricklade was not to protect against vikings coming up the Thames, but to control the main Roman

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[32]   Assuming, of course, that Oxford was one of Alfred's burhs. Oxford lay within Mercia and belonged to Ealdorman Æthelred until his death in 911, when Edward the Elder assumed control over both it and London (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s.a. 911). See Jeremy Haslam, "The Origin of the Two Burhs of Oxford," *Oxoniensia* 75 (2010): pp. 25–34. Coins were struck in Alfred's name at Oxford, perhaps as early as the 880s. See M. A. S. Blackburn, "The London Mint during the Reign of King Alfred," and Simon Keynes, "King Alfred and the Mercians," in *Kings, Currency, and Alliances: The History and Coinage of Southern England, AD 840–900*, (eds) M.A.S. Blackburn and David Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 105–23 and 1–45. Cf. C.S.S. Lyon, "Historical Problems of Anglo-Saxon Coinage (4), the Viking Age," *British Numismatic Journal* 39 (1970): pp. 196–7.

[33]   Barbara Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), p. 121.

[34]   John Baker and Stuart Brookes, *Beyond the Burghal Hidage: Anglo-Saxon Civil Defence in the Viking Ages* (Leiden, 2013). I would like to thank Dr Baker and Dr Brookes for allowing me to read the manuscript of their book in advance of publication.

[35]   Baker and Brookes, *Beyond the Burghal Hidage*, p. 293.

road connecting Cirencester to Silchester where that road crossed the river, which was one of the major routes into Wessex from Mercia. Wallingford, possibly a double burh, and Oxford, which lay on the river's north bank, were similarly well placed to police the Icknield Way and the several river crossings that lay between them. The vulnerability of this area to attack is underscored by the seven *herepaths* (military roads) that lie in that area. Wallingford's strategic importance is attested by 2400 hides allocated to its defense. Sashes is the one clear exception, an island fort that lay upriver of London, Sashes impeded viking fleets coming from the mouth of the Thames. That the burghal system on the Thames looks toward the north is an argument for the implementation of that system of fortifications at time when invasion from Mercia was still a threat. One might date this to the period between Alfred's victory at Edington in the spring of 878 and the "renovation" of London in 886 and establishment of Alfred's son-in-law Ealdorman Aethelred as ruler of Mercia.[36]

Alfred intended his burhs to work in tandem with the *fyrd* and with each other. To do this effectively required a "carefully planned system of communication, based on the established routeways, with observation and signaling posts."[37] An Anglo-Saxon beacon system can be reconstructed from OE place-names with the element *bēcun, weard-, tōt*, and nodes [atten ad, at the fire]. The UCL team and a private enthusiast Keith Briggs examined these sites for intervisibility. The

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[36]   Jeremy Haslam in a series of articles has argued strenuously for the dating of the entire Alfredian burgal system outlined in the Burghal Hidage (and the Burghal Hidage itself) to the period 878–879. Haslam, "King Alfred and the Vikings—Strategies and Tactics, 878–886," *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 13 (2006): pp. 121–53; "The Origin of the Two Burhs of Oxford;" and "King Alfred, Mercia and London, 874–886," *Studies in History and Archaeology* 17 (2011): 120–46. (These articles are posted on his website at http://jeremyhaslam.wordpress.com/.) Haslam summarizes his thesis as follows: "Following his defeat of Guthrum's army at Edington in 878, King Alfred put in place the system of forts and fortresses in Wessex and eastern Mercia which is listed in the contemporary Burghal Hidage document, which system reflected a policy both for the defence of the West Saxons as well as a strategic offensive against the viking presence in Mercia and in London. The construction of this burghal system was arguably one of the principal factors which forced Guthrum to retreat from Mercia and London to East Anglia in late 879, their respective spheres of influence being redefined by a new boundary to the east of London which was set out in the contemporary Treaty between Alfred and Guthrum." See "King Alfred, Mercia and London," p. 120 for the quotation. Although Haslam demonstrates that it is physically possible for the 30 burhs of the Burghal Hidage to have been built in a single year, his thesis has not achieved wide acceptance. Many question whether Alfred would have had the power and wherewithal to launch so ambitious and labor intensive an effort so soon after Edington. Based on their research, Baker and Brookes believe that the burghal system as depicted in the Burghal Hidage only gradually took shape. Guthrum's sojourn at Cirencester in 878–879, however, provides an attractive historical context for Baker and Brookes' findings about the northern orientation of Alfred's civil defense system in the Middle Thames.

[37]   Baker and Brookes, *Beyond the Burghal Hidage*, p. 312.

results indicate that the beacons in Wessex (but, interestingly, not in Kent) formed a single coherent system in which Cricklade played a critical role as a nodal point connecting Malmesbury to Chisbury or Wallingford.

Alfred's burh and *fyrd*, supported by a network of beacons and roads, formed in practice an integrated system. Alfred's strategic plan required that the burhs be garrisoned. Not only did this protect them against seizure by enemy forces, but it provided them with an offensive dimension that is too often ignored. For Alfred, battle remained at the heart of warfare.[38] Tactically the burhs supplemented the field forces, allowing the latter to pursue the main body of the enemy without exposing the various localities to a secondary attack. The presence of well-garrisoned burhs along the primary travel routes presented a major obstacle for viking invaders. Even if a viking force avoided the English field army and successfully raided the interior, the booty-laden marauders would face borough garrisons as they attempted to return to their ships or strongholds. To man and maintain thirty burhs, however, was a formidable task that required Alfred to develop a sophisticated and effective administrative system, which is outlined in an early tenth-century text known as the "Burghal Hidage."[39] To go by the evidence of the Burghal Hidage, Alfred garrisoned some 27,071 men among the thirty burhs, an enormous manpower drain upon a population that could not have much exceeded a half million.

The defensive system that Alfred created in the 880s and 890s was designed to defend against the simultaneous attacks of a number of different *heres*, precisely as happened in 892–895. Alfred did not design this system so much to prevent conquest as to minimize the possibility of raiding. *Heres* could enter his kingdom, but if they did, they were unlikely to make it back to their ships with their booty. As a result, Alfred was able to fight vikings simultaneously in the eastern, northern, and western frontiers of his kingdom. These new viking raiders discovered that English towns were no longer easy prey. It was dangerous to leave a garrisoned burh intact, but it was equally dangerous to attempt to take one. Possessing neither siege

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[38]   Battles rather than raiding and sieges were at the heart of pre-viking Anglo-Saxon warfare. 37 of the 58 references to warfare in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Latin sources for the period 600–835 specifically refer to battles. There are only two references to sieges, and both are in Bede. John Gillingham's "Vegetian strategy" was alien to Anglo-Saxon military commanders, including Alfred.

[39]   David Hill, "The Burghal Hidage: the Establishment of a Text," *Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1969): pp. 84–92; and *The Defence of Wessex*. The text provides a formula for calculating both the number of men needed to garrison a length of wall and the taxable land, i.e. hides, required to produce those men: "For the maintenance and defense of an acre's breadth of wall [4 poles or 22 yards], sixteen hides are required. If every hide is represented by one man, then every pole [5½ yards] of wall can be manned by four men." For the quotation, see *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, (ed.) A. J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1956), Appendix II, no. 1, pp. 246 and 247. For what the manning of the Burghal Hidage meant in practical military terms, see Bernard Bachrach and R. Aris, "Military Technology and Garrison Organization: Some Observations on Anglo-Saxon military thinking in light of the Burghal Hidage," *Technology and Culture* 31 (1990): pp. 1–17.

engines nor doctrine, they could not storm burhs protected by ditches, earthworks strengthened by wooden revetments, and palisades. If they attempted to starve a town into submission, the hunter was likely to become the hunted, as the *fyrd* and garrisons from neighboring burhs would come to the relief of the besieged. Alfred's system, in short, had worked precisely as he conceived it would. The very geography of his last war attested to its effectiveness. In 871, 876, and 878, the "Great Heathen Army" had attacked and ravaged the very heartland of Wessex. In 892–894, an even larger army, with allies in Northumbria and East Anglia, had to content itself with raiding along the frontiers of Wessex and Mercia. Only once had viking raiders penetrated the countrysides of Surrey or Hampshire, and those marauders had paid for their daring at Farnham. When the men of Somerset and Wiltshire fought, it was well beyond the borders of their shires. Alfred had proved to his enemies and his friends alike the wisdom of his demands "with regard to the building of fortresses and the other things for the common profit of the whole kingdom."[40]

What set Alfred apart as a military leader was his strategic vision and his political ability to persuade his nobles and Churchmen to accept extraordinary new financial burdens that taxed not only their monetary resources but the manpower of the kingdom. For his encomiast Asser, Alfred was "a very great warrior [*nimium bellicosus*] and victorious in virtually [*prope*] all battles." This was hyperbole with just enough truth in it to pass muster, the military analogue to Asser's characterization of Alfred in his dedication as "ruler of all the Christians of the island of Britain."[41] But even Asser had to acknowledge that Alfred was only "victor prope in omnibus bellis."[42] Neither Asser nor the Alfredian annalist who constructed a narrative of Alfred's reign designed to represent him not only as king of the West Saxons but, after 886, as lord and ruler of the *Angelcynn*,[43] could completely ignore Alfred's spotty record as a battlefield commander. In his very first battle as king, at Wilton in 871, Alfred's inability to maintain discipline in the ranks when it appeared that the Danes would flee cost him victory. In fact, the only battle that Alfred won while in tactical command seems to have been Edington. But Edington was enough. Asser and the Chronicler, perhaps reflecting Alfred's own belief, represented the battle as a victory for Christianity over paganism, with Alfred serving as the hand of Divine Providence. Politically, Edington gave Alfred the credibility that he needed to undertake an ambitious and expensive civil defense program that transformed the military landscape of Wessex and laid

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[40]   Asser, *Life of Alfred*, ch. 91; EHD 1, no. 7, p. 299.

[41]   Asser, *Life of Alfred*, Preface; Keynes and Lapidge, p. 67.

[42]   Asser, *Life of Alfred*, ch. 42.

[43]   For the ideological agenda of the "Alfred annalist" responsible for the entries from 60 B.C. to 891, see Alice C. Sheppard, *Families of the King: Writing Identity in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Toronto, 2004), pp. 26–70. See also Sarah Foot, "The Making of Angelcynn: English Identity before the Norman Conquest," TRHS 6th series, 6 (1996): pp. 25–49.

the institutional foundations for what would become the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of England.

Archaeologists and historians over the last few generations increasingly have come to appreciate the complexity of the military system that Alfred created, with its garrisoned burhs connected by roads and beacons, designed to operate in tandem with a mobile standing expeditionary force, and eventually complemented by a small royal navy to guard the coasts. Alfred continued to lead troops, as was expected of ninth-century English kings, both on sea and on land,[44] but the victories that preserved his kingdom from the "Great Heathen Army" in the crisis of 892–896 were won by his son Edward the Elder and by his ealdormen. Nonetheless, the architect of victory was Alfred, whose strategic vision, adaptability, and perseverance as a military leader amply justify his characterization as "the Great."

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[44] For Alfred's naval battles, see Abels, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 171–3. The expectation that kings and ealdormen should lead from the front is reflected in records of the deaths of commanders in Anglo-Saxon battles. In 20 of the 37 battles recorded in the English sources for the period 600–835, one or more king, *ætheling*, or commanding ealdorman is noted as having been killed. Ælfric of Eynsham's famous homiletic fragment, *Wyrdwriteras*, has been interpreted as an *apologia* for Æthelred the Unready's policy of delegating military command to subordinates. See Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred the Unready, 978–1016: A Study of their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 206–8; M. Clayton, "Ælfric and Æthelred," *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy*, (eds) J. Roberts and J. Nelson, (London, 2000), pp. 82–6.

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Chapter 4

Conrad II (990—1039), the First Medieval Emperor of Three Kingdoms

Herwig Wolfram

Writing a life has always been a challenge, in the past as well as in the present.[1] Take, for example, the biography of a millionaire born to a poor family, who seemingly overnight makes it from a shoeshine-boy to one of Henry Ford's competitors. At first glance, Conrad II's life seems to have been a street-child`s success story, for which his contemporaries had an easy explanation: his friends saw his success as being caused by divine grace and miracles,[2] his enemies by the devil's cunning and magic power.[3] Born probably on 12 July 990 to an ancient noble family who had not yet started calling themselves the Salians, he was named after his great-grandfather. This Conrad the Red was a war-hero who fell in action in the pitched battle his father-in-law, King Otto I, won against the Hungarians on the banks of the Lech river on August 10 955.

But the Salian family tree does not only include the Ottonian dynasty, it also goes back to the Carolingians, if not the Merovingians, too. Conrad's father was Henry, son of Otto of Worms who owned so many counties on both sides of the river Rhine that he was considered a *dux Francorum*, although his "real" duchy lay far away in the south-east corner of the East Frankish-German kingdom. Otto of Worms was Duke of Carinthia, which then covered at least one third of what is now Austria. He also was responsible for the better part of present-day Slovenia and North-Eastern Italy including the peninsula of Istria. Henry's nearest brother was Pope Gregory V, and there were two more brothers, Conrad and William.

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[2]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 21 with n. 47.

[3]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. xviii with n. 27, 51, and 95 with n. 1.

Clearly, this was not the sort of family that produced shoeshine-boys. But Henry died early; Conrad lost his father as an infant, and his mother Adelheid left the family after her husband's death to marry a Saxon count. Thus, Conrad and his sister (whether older or younger than him we do not know) had become virtually orphans in the care of their grandfather. But Otto of Worms tried to establish a sort of tanistry in his family or, rather, a dynasty which meant that the boy Conrad lost most of his hereditary claims in favor of his namesake, his uncle Conrad. Fortunately, the latter had no male offspring when his brother Henry died, so for the moment the only male in the next Salian generation was the boy Conrad. The mighty grandfather Otto entrusted his sole grandson to the famous bishop Burchard of Worms (1000–1025) who was to provide for his education. The bishop's biography does not have it this way since its author hated the Salian family wholeheartedly. In his eyes it was bishop Burchard who, enlightened by God, took the initiative of becoming the foster-father of the family outcast Conrad.[4]

Little wonder, since there must have been some rumor that Conrad was not really the Salian Henry's son; instead he was considered a bastard fathered by the emperor Otto III. If it were true, this piece of evidence would explain a lot, including why the boy was not recognized a genuine Salian, why he was downgraded and not honored with the full family name Conrad, but was only called Cono, and why he did not inherit a single county of his grandfather's heritage, let alone one of the latter`s official functions. If this information were true Conrad really did come from the middle of nowhere to become king in late summer 1024. But this nice story can be refuted by simple common sense: Otto III was only ten years older than his allegedly illegitimate son Conrad.[5]

Having cracked the shell of this nut and found it empty, I will avoid further arguments regarding Conrad's illegitimacy in particular and his having been brought up as a street-child in general. It is true, however, that he obviously was no longer considered the Salian heir apparent after around 1002/03 when his uncle Conrad became father of a son, also tellingly called Conrad. But, again, divine grace protected Conrad: his grandfather died in 1004, and his uncle in 1011, so that at an age of about twenty-one he became the head of the Salian family which included the guardianship over his much younger cousin Conrad. Besides, Conrad the Elder, as he is called in Wipo's biography[6] as well as in modern literature, was no longer a minor. He had grown up to be a man in his prime who could ride on horseback for 24 hours without break, covering a distance of 90 miles. He was a man who stood somewhere between six and seven feet high and could resist an

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[4]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp.15–20 and 36 ff.

[5]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 29 f.

[6]   Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, in *Die Werke Wipos (Wiponis Opera)*, (ed.) Harry Bresslau, MGH SRG 61 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1915; rpt. Hannover, 1994), ch. 2; *The Deeds of Conrad II*, in *Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century*, (ed.) Robert L. Benson, trans. Theodor F. Mommsen and Karl F. Morrison (New York, 1962; rpt. 2000), 52–100

enemy even on marshy ground with water and mud up to his hips. A valiant fighter and reliable fellow prepared to participate in any feud his family fought against anybody including the king's men. Conrad sported a long beard, and had probably already fathered a son called—I have to admit—Wolfram.[7]

Conrad belonged to a family which the Emperor hated, feared, and fought at the same time. There was another family, or rather dynasty, which Henry II equally detested: the dukes of Alemannia/Swabia whom modern genealogists label the "Conradines" since they traced their origins back to the East-Frankish King Conrad I (911–18). After the death of Otto III in 1002 both Otto of Worms and Hermann of Swabia claimed the throne and gave Henry II a hard time before he overcame their resistance. Consequently, both dukes became allies. Such a coalition was traditionally sealed by a wedding: Conrad's uncle and namesake was married to Hermann's daughter Mathilde. Immediately, the newly-wed couple became a target for Henry II, since he pretended that they were near relations, and that their marriage was therefore an incestuous bond.[8]

To make matters worse, the king succeeded in taking away first the duchy of Carinthia from the Salians[9] and some years later the duchy of Swabia from the Conradines.[10] As a modern corporation lacking business in no time finds itself in the red, both families came close to bankruptcy. Before this could happen, however, there occurred an event with long lasting consequences: Ernest I, whom the king had appointed duke of Swabia, was shot by his hunting partner on May 31 1015, and his widow Gisela was free to marry Conrad. Gisela was another daughter of Hermann of Swabia. The renewed unification of the most powerful East Frankish-German dynasties led to the accumulation of material wealth based on a family tree that could boast Ottonians and Carolingians on both sides and, at least claim, Merovingian origins. Of course, there were people who were scandalized by the fact that Gisela's marriage was already her third, and that she was almost as closely related to Conrad as her sister Mathilde was to his uncle. But the discussion was brought almost to a complete halt when she gave birth to a son, Henry, no later than October 1017. As a matter of fact, this certainly decided the election in favor of Conrad the Elder when in September 1024 a general assembly made him king, since Conrad the Younger had no offspring at all.[11]

Besides, Conrad was somebody who listened to his counselors, his fellow-noblemen, to bishops, abbots and abbesses, not to mention his wife. She was his *comes necessaria*,[12] the necessary helper and follower he could and would not do without. Conrad's diplomas abound with her name in the intervention formulas, which means that the queen at least in theory directly participated in public

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[7]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 25, 27 f., and 37.

[8]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 32–6.

[9]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 25 and 40.

[10]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 33.

[11]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 34–41

[12]   Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 4.

affairs. She even served as the king's deputy[13] and decided on appointments and promotions.[14] She taught her son Henry written law, which his father was barely able to do since his literary education was incomplete to say the least. An Italian chronicler even calls Conrad *rex idiota* which does not mean an idiotic, but rather illiterate, king.[15] Such a king was exactly what the lay aristocracy of the East Frankish-German kingdom looked forward to as an alternative to Henry II. They expected Conrad to become a king who would end his predecessor's "conflictual kingship" (per Stefan Weinfurter) and favoring of the imperial church at their expense. And they were not wrong.[16]

Conrad was elected king of the East Frankish-German kingdom at Kamba on the right bank of the Rhine south of Mainz. The general assembly took place on 4 September 1024; four days later, on the Birthday of the Holy Virgin, he was anointed king by the archbishop Aribo of Mainz in the latter's cathedral.[17] On 25 March 1026, on Lady Day/Annunciation, Conrad became King of the Lombards, that is to say King of Italy.[18] On 26 March 1027, Easter day, Conrad and Gisela were crowned and anointed emperor and empress by the Pope in Rome.[19] On 2 February 1033, the Purification of the Virgin, Conrad was elected and crowned King of Burgundy at the monastery of Peterlingen-Payerne in what is now Western Switzerland.[20] He had his son Henry designated king in February 1026, had him made Duke of Bavaria in June 1027,[21] and crowned and anointed king at Aix-la-Chapelle at Easter 1028.[22] He gave him the duchy of Swabia in July 1038[23] and had him made King of Burgundy in the fall of the same year.[24] In June 1039 Conrad died "unexpectedly"—of gout at Utrecht and was buried in the crypt of the cathedral of Speyer, which he had started building for the purpose.[25]

Of course, putting together such data as recounted above is not writing a biography, and nobody would accept as an excuse the fact that the scarce evidence does not tell us more about the events, let alone about the motivations of the people involved. But, as in the case of Conrad's allegedly illegitimate birth, one can make the sources speak if one discovers gaps and contradictions and asks the right questions.

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[13]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 344.

[14]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 260 (Bardo of Mainz) and 299 (Richer of Montecassino).

[15]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 22 with nn. 56–8

[16]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 41 and 341 with n. 119 (*conflictual kingship*).

[17]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 42–5.

[18]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 97.

[19]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 102.

[20]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 240.

[21]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp.114 and 187 f.

[22]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 112 and 154 with n. 66

[23]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 143 with n.13 and 188 with n. 115

[24]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 143 with n.14 and 246 with n. 43

[25]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 159–64 and 345–7.

The Archbishop of Mainz was more than just vital to Conrad's election, and he crowned and anointed him. But Aribo refused to do the same with Gisela, and we do not really know why. Perhaps he took offence at Gisela's three marriages, a question that contemporary Byzantine theologians and lawyers quarreled about. But only 13 days later, Archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne crowned and anointed her queen; a rather delicate decision for all parties involved. This is aside from the fact that the ceremony on Saint Matthew's (21 September) had long lasting consequences, depriving Mainz of its long-standing coronation rights. Aribo and Pilgrim were both Bavarian hotheads from the same family, and were fighting each other for precedence and preeminence in the imperial church. In addition, Pilgrim had the best of relations with the Pope, who less than two years later was happy to crown and anoint Gisela empress without further ado.[26]

On 4 September 1024 both Conrad the Elder and the Younger agreed to accept as king whomever the majority of the princes ("a new thing") would elect.[27] Both candidates talked it over in secret while still being visible to the whole assembly. Then the Conrads kissed each other to seal the treaty, and the younger was the first to elect his older cousin. All the same, the Lotharingians led by Pilgrim of Cologne and the Upper Lotharingian Duke Frederic, the younger Conrad's stepfather, did not participate in the election but withdrew from the assembly in anger. Seventeen days later, Pilgrim had completely changed sides, and, with his defection, the Lotharingian opposition started falling apart. In light of the extremely short period of time between withdrawal and coronation, the necessary conclusion is that there was a great deal of negotiation behind the scenes, and that Conrad and his wife were extremely politic and found a good politician in Pilgrim, who immediately understood how to take advantage of the stubbornness of his cousin or uncle in Mainz.[28]

Conrad's biographer Wipo pretends that all peoples belonging to the kingdom came to the general assembly at Kamba.[29] All peoples except those who did not come that is. These included the Saxons, most of the Lotharingians, the Bohemians, and above all five to six *duces,* who also did not participate in the election. In other words, probably three quarters of the leading stratum of the lay princes could not care less about ending the interregnum after Henry II's death. But their absence did not count. The royal election immediately became valid without their consent. Needless to say, Conrad had to make effective his election in the months to come by immediately starting his *iter per regna*, his progress through the East Frankish-German duchies. He and his queen had already completed the first round of this *iter* at Constance in spring 1025.[30]

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[26] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 102 (Gisela's coronation in Rome) and 263 f. (Pilgrim of Cologne)

[27] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 43.

[28] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 42–6 and 56 f.

[29] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 2.

[30] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 56–63.

It was from this imperial assembly at Constance that Conrad's first and probably best known dictum is recorded: The Lombard city of Pavia destroyed the royal palace when the inhabitants learned about Henry II's death in summer 1024. Conrad considered this action as rebellion and did not change his mind when he met the city's envoys at Constance. Their excuse ran as follows: When they tore down the building they did not have a king, so that they destroyed a private house and not a public palace. According to Wipo, the king dismissed this excuse, comparing the *regnum* with a ship that does not perish when the steersman (not the captain) dies.[31] Besides, *gubernator* recalls the Carolingian formula *Romanum gubernans imperium*.[32] Be that as it may, Conrad insisted on that action being a rebellion against his kingship, or in other words, the people of Pavia were guilty of lèse-majesté.[33]

This famous ship metaphor provides us with keys to two different locked boxes, one labelled "Conrad's sayings and his personality,"[34] the other "Conrad's impact on the transpersonalization of government." Of course, neither Conrad nor his advisors invented this process of transpersonalization on the spot. But the idea of rulership that does not die with its incumbent came into being in his reign. The *regnum* and its symbols gained a transpersonal quality. The imperial crown and the imperial cross were no longer the private property of a personal owner. Both Conrad's imperial cross and the crown as reshaped by him are the oldest insignia of this kind to have survived up to the present.[35] During his reign even the legal terminology of everyday life provoked the image of Charlemagne's eternal throne, symbolizing as it did the kingdom and its property, the *fiscus*.[36] Conrad's claim to Burgundy could not fall back on, let alone be legitimized by, hereditary law. There was only one way left, that is to say by institutional means: Conrad was to become the vassalitic lord of the Burgundian king. But Conrad also entered his claim because he considered himself an *augustus*, as somebody who had to *augment,* to increase rather than decrease the empire, the *res publica*.[37]

The term and concept *res publica* reappeared increasingly in Conrad's time. And again it is according to Wipo that Conrad "deeply and salubriously cut into

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[31]   Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 7.

[32]   Herwig Wolfram, *Intitulatio II: Lateinische Herrscher- und Fürstentitel im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, MIÖG, suppl. vol. 24 (Vienna, 1973), 19 ff.

[33]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 63 f. and 324.

[34]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 324 ff.

[35]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 143 ff.: Both insignia are on display in the Viennese Treasury.

[36]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 57, 115, and 324

[37]   Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 8. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 65 f. Of course, it was popular etymology to derive *augustus* from *augere* but a powerful political theory all the same.

(the traditions of) the *res publica*, the Roman Empire."[38] Thus, contemporaries already realized that Conrad's reign created a fundamental change in public life and its institutions. Conrad was the first king to grant a *nobilis viri mansus*, a nobleman's hide, to a serf and had diplomas issued for him. So, it is of little wonder that the origins of the oldest rights of *ministeriales* are allegedly traced back to him.[39] There is another example for the transpersonalization and for the increased rationalization of the law: When Otto I became king of the Lombards he had his new subjects adopt the traditional north-alpine status of royal charters. It was already the rule in the Merovingian period that a man who disputed a diploma had to either pay his wergild or fight a duel with his opponent to prove his point. In the middle of the tenth century, when Otto became King of Italy, the Lombards were confronted with this rather odd notion, which was not really to their taste. The Italian ecclesiastical princes especially tried to avoid this barbarian dispute settlement and circumvented it by an ingenious procedure: They left their diplomas and privileges in the archives but brought the issue before a royal *placitum,* the sentence of which would become indisputable by definition. In preparing the *placitum* the lawyers of the opponents as well as those of the ruler settled the issue well in advance so that during the process everybody knew which role he had to play. Conrad II not only used this procedure in Italy but also tried to transplant it to Germany, in particular to Bavaria. One can understand this procedure as a clear-cut move towards more legal security by removing any kind of ordeal and the mentality behind it.[40] Conrad also furthered the territorialization of Roman law in Italy and is said to have revitalized the old *Lex Gundobada* in Burgundy. However, it is hard to tell what he really did to improve law and order in this newly acquired kingdom.[41]

Wipo wrote about Conrad's *gesta*, his deeds. But deeds are not only remarkable actions, but also remarkable *dicta*, as Valerius Maximus taught. If a dictum is a good one it must hit the target, convince the audience and silence, if not conquer, the opponent. When Henry IV, Conrad's grandson, was shown the grave of the anti-king Rudolf of Rheinfelden his followers remarked that the burial was too precious, too royal. King Henry answered: "If only all my enemies would lie so honorably!"[42] There is another saying about Conrad, which seems to be authentic: "Conrad's stirrups hang on Charlemagne's saddle."[43] This means that Conrad's

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[38]   Wipo, *Epistola ad Heinricum regem*, in *Die Werke Wipos (Wiponis Opera)*, (ed.) Harry Bresslau, MGH SRG 61 (Hannover and Leipzig, 1915; rpt. Hannover, 1994).

[39]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 175 and 176 f.

[40]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 333–5.

[41]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 339.

[42]   Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici* I, (eds) Georg Waitz and Bernhard von Simson, MGH SRG 46 (Hannover, 1912; rpt. Hannover, 1997), ch. 7. *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. Charles C. Mierow and Richard Emery (New York, 1953; rpt. Toronto, 1994).

[43]   Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 6.

rulership was very soon considered to follow Charlemagne's example, and he himself to be in the great king's likeness.[44]

Conrad had a hard time overcoming the opposition of his own, as well as Gisela's, family. Above all, Gisela's son Ernest II Duke of Swabia, the legendary Duke Ernest of the Saga, rebelled against his stepfather over and over again. In 1030, Ernest lost his life.[45] When informed about the event, Conrad is said to have remarked: "Rabid dogs seldom have cubs." In Wipo one reads: *Raro canes rabidi foeturam multiplicabunt.*[46] Conrad certainly could not have uttered this sentence since he lacked the appropriate education to invent even this limping hexameter. But the sense of the sentence seems to have been authentic; it shows common sense, the experience of a skilled hunter and a man who understands nature. In a word, it reveals the world and motivation horizon of a lay nobleman of Conrad's time.[47] This was exactly what Conrad was. He lived according to the unwritten rules of the lay aristocracy. In the fall of 1031, the Czech prince Odalrich offered to extradite Conrad's enemy, the Polish prince Mieszko II, who lived as a refugee in Bohemia. But Conrad turned down the offer with the remark that he did not want to buy an enemy from an enemy. This would have been against the *honestum*, against the highest noble and knightly values.[48]

Conrad granted the lay nobility heredity rights over their fiefs and benefices. He fostered the *servi imperatoris* and the free *milites*. But he did not understand the *laboratores*, the peasants, even if they were free men. When he held an imperial assembly at Solothurn in the fall of 1038 the free men of Wohlen, a Swiss village east of Solothurn, tried to contact the emperor to complain about unjust oppression on the part of a local count. But their delegation did not succeed in meeting the emperor. They were chased away because they were not able to make themselves understood; a failure not due to their Swiss dialect (which was and still is Greek to a Rhinelander), but rather as a result of their ignorance of how to communicate by finding the right words. Before Conrad's coronation, hand-picked low-class people, a peasant, a widow, and an orphan, were introduced to ask the newly elected king to grant and secur them their rights. They must have been taught the "right words" well in advance.[49]

Between 1033 and 1038 Conrad fought by military and diplomatic means to acquire the kingdom of Burgundy. In achieving this goal he set the standards for the future although he himself might have understood his success as continuation of the Carolingian policy. Although Conrad badly wanted to become King of Burgundy he stayed there for only a short period of time and only one of his diplomas is known to have been issued for this kingdom. In contrast to Burgundy,

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[44] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 48 f., 57 f., 170, and 325.

[45] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 71 ff., esp. 76 ff.

[46] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 28. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 325.

[47] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 325

[48] Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, ch. 29. Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 327.

[49] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 49 f., 177 with n. 40, and 327 f.

Conrad spent almost one fifth of his whole reign in Italy; that is considerably more than Henry II did.[50]

Conrad was able to win over the Italian lay aristocracy at the cost of the episcopacy who had been Henry II's favorites.[51] In Germany, Conrad tried to establish peace with King Cnut of Denmark and England[52] and with the French king.[53] East of the Elbe and Saale rivers he waged war against Poland whose prince was incautious enough to break the peace of Bautzen, a treaty Henry II had settled in 1018. As a result, Poland fell apart, and the Poles withdrew from the Saale river eastward to the Oder. His relations with Bohemia were ambivalent but in the long run essentially peaceful. The pagan Elbe Slavs had become allies of Henry II in 1003 with whom they formed a coalition against Christian Poland which scandalized a great many European Christians. Conrad did not officially abandon this odd treaty, but did away with it by simply letting it fade away.[54]

There is some confusion over Conrad's policy toward Hungary and Venice, which certainly failed. He obviously did not like the alliance between Stephen I (997–1038) and the Venetian Doge whose son married the Hungarian king's sister in 1009. This alliance seemed to him all the more suspect since it fitted the prejudices and biases he had against his predecessor's people: Saint Stephen was the brother-in-law of Henry II. In Bavaria, Bishop Egilbert of Freising, another of Henry II's men, remained in charge of the duchy since Conrad had to accept him as guardian of his son Henry. There was even a rumor that Henry stood firmly under Egilbert's sway. Finally, Egilbert had many friends in the south-east corner of the Empire. One of the most powerful among them was Duke Adalbero II, again a man of the dead king, and, alas, Conrad`s brother-in-law. Adalbero had taken the duchy of Carinthia away from the Salians with the aid of Henry II. This was reason enough to hate him, thoroughly. And all of these men were allies of Stephen I, who obviously was on good terms with Venice and the Croatians. Conrad was a good politician as long as he did not lose his temper. This was exactly what happened when he tried to settle the dispute that arose in the south-eastern border region. As a result, Conrad failed, losing an imperial army at Vienna when he went to war against the Hungarians in 1030 without adequate preparations. Conrad also lost considerable prestige in 1035 when he toppled Adalbero of Carinthia and nipped the emergence of a strong border organization in the South-East in the bud.[55]

Another failure was Conrad's Byzantine policy, but probably only by our standards. Crowned emperor, he had to seek recognition from Constantinople as was usual since the time of Otto I. In the fall of 1027, an imperial embassy went off to Byzantium to ask for one of the emperor's daughters to marry Conrad's son

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[50]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 239–46.

[51]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 126.

[52]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 246 f.

[53]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 243 f.

[54]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 212 and 221–4 (Poland), 224–7 (Bohemia).

[55]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 84 ff., 228 ff., and 291 ff.

Henry. When the envoys arrived they discovered that there were three imperial daughters, still unwed, but all about fifty or well over fifty years of age. The head of the delegation was Bishop Werner of Strasbourg. He did the best thing he could do—he laid down and he died. There was no longer any question of asking for one of the ladies, nor did the Byzantine emperor offer any of his daughters for a marriage abroad. Nobody would expect any of them to be a match for a ten year-old boy who was the sole and unique hope of the Salians for the creation of a dynasty. All the same, the embassy was not considered a failure back home, as we perhaps would assume. Instead, the legation returned to Germany laden with relics, with splinters of the life-giving holy cross, with the stone from which Jesus rose to Heaven, with a precious staurotheca, and many other items. Each piece provided clear evidence that the elder Roman Empire of Byzantium had recognized the younger empire of the Salians. The way that Conrad responded to the embassy's achievements tells us something about his perception of success, which he often defined in terms of the result, and not the original intention, of his actions.[56]

Conrad II was not only the first medieval king of three kingdoms, but also an emperor. What did his Roman emperorship mean to him? In the spring of 1027, Conrad entered the eternal city to become *caesar et augustus* as Wipo put it. On this occasion Pope John XIX called him *domnus Conradus rex, divus augustus … in imperium Romani orbis electus et coronatus*. A divine Augustus was not something one would expect to hear from a pope in the eleventh century. This formula better fits Late Roman imperial language. The imperial coronation was attended by Cnut of Denmark and England and Rudolf of Burgundy together with Abbot Odilo of Cluny who had already participated in Conrad's German election and coronation. Although Conrad never again came to Rome, the idea of Rome and the Roman Empire was vital to him. In the summer of 1028, the legend on an imperial bull praised the young king Henry as the "hope of the empire," *spes imperii*, and in the summer of 1033, the second known imperial bull carries the famous formula *Roma caput mundi regit orbis frena rotundi,* "Rome, the head of the world, holds the reins over the globe." Among the many "first things" attributed to Conrad there is also a lead crown with which he was buried. This crown praises its bearer as sower of peace and benefactor of the City (of Rome).[57]

However, there are many questions that remain to be asked. First, was Conrad a brilliant general? He certainly was not. Like his predecessor Henry II, Conrad long believed in levying large armies that would succeed by their strength and numbers without being put to test in battle. This strategy worked quite well in Italy during the campaign of 1026–27, when Conrad and his family departed Germany to intervene in Lombardy and obtain the imperial crown in Rome.[58] This strategy of deploying overwhelming force did not work, however, when it came

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[56]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 197–203.
[57]   Wolfram, *Conrad II,* pp. 341 ff., cf. 102–10 and 156 (picture of the burial crown).
[58]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 95 ff. and 102 ff.

to capturing fortified cities, such as Pavia in the period 1026–28, or the enormous fortress city of Milan in 1037.[59]

Moreover, the traditional strategy of the previous Ottonian dynasty also did not work when Conrad waged war against the Slavs, mainly the Poles, or against the armies of the Hungarians. In 1029, the now Emperor Conrad followed the invasion route taken by Henry II against the Poles in 1017 and got stuck at Bautzen where his huge army suffered heavy casualties. Conrad was forced to withdraw in hopes of enjoying greater success the following year.[60]

But in 1030 the numerous imperial troops met an even worse defeat. For reasons that remain unclear, Conrad led an ill-prepared army in an invasion of Hungary, where he undertook a campaign against King Stephen I. Like Charlemagne's invasion army against the Avars in 791 Conrad's warriors were forced to turn back at the Rába river because they ran out of supplies. But unlike the Carolingian troops Conrad's army was not only threatened by starvation, but even suffered capture at the hands of enemy forces at or in Vienna.[61]

It seems that the Salian king finally learned his lesson in 1031. In the early autumn of this year, Conrad II was back in the mid-Elbe region ready for a direct attack on Polish territory. The force that he assembled was not a huge undisciplined host of fighters drawn from all corners of the German kingdom, difficult to provision and outfit properly, but a compact and battle-hardened cohort of well-armed mounted Saxons. This time Conrad succeeded. His opponent, the Polish prince Mieszko II, went into exile at the Bohemian court, and his kingdom toppled like a house of cards.[62] One may wonder why Conrad did not learn from this new experience when he again marched to Italy for a lengthy two year sojourn in 1036–38, a campaign that ended up in a catastrophe for his army, his family, and high nobility.[63] Overall, Conrad II may have been a "noble" knight, but he lacked talent as a military strategist, for which deficiency he compensated by excelling as a politician and a diplomat.[64] His greatest military victory was not won by himself, but by Duke Gozelo of Lotharingia, who defeated Odo II, Count of Champagne, in the battle of Bar on November 15 1037. Odo was killed as he fled in retreat. Thus, the dispute over Burgundy came to an end, and Conrad was the first emperor of three kingdoms.[65]

And what of Conrad's immediate familial relations? Did Conrad and Gisela love each other? Did they exercise birth control since they obviously did not have children after they had both reached 35 years of age? What was the couple's relationship with their son Henry? From 1028 onward his father called him "the

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[59]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 130 ff.
[60]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 218.
[61]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 231.
[62]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 219 and 237.
[63]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 136 f.
[64]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 236.
[65]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, p. 245.

only and unique son." But there were instances when Henry criticized his father and did not obey his orders without hesitation. Mother Gisela had a bitter quarrel with him after her husband's death and expected Henry to die before her: Henry III was then the only child left from among the six to whom she certainly gave birth.[66] There must have been some skeleton in the family's cupboard of which we remain ignorant.

An issue of enormous importance was the "care" the Salians took for their *memoria*. This idea is due to the invention of purgatory, as Jacques le Goff put it. Even after death there were still means left to get rid of one's sins so that one could finally go to heaven. The Romanesque cathedral of Speyer has clearly been bearing witness to this concept ever since Conrad decided to build a funeral place for himself and his nuclear family.[67]

Conrad and Gisela, in common with a great many contemporaries, showed a vivid veneration for the Holy Virgin. But their special attachment to Mary was also due to the fact that they had to secure a new dynasty, a dangerous endeavor and impossible without divine support. The glorious apsis painting in the Cathedral of Aquileia bears witness to this kind of religiosity and hope. Henry, Conrad, Gisela, in this order and guided by oversized local saints, humbly approach the majestically enthroned Virgin in the mandorla, which the boy even touches with his hands. All three are dressed in imperial garments, and the parents carry imperial crowns, Conrad's insignia is a bow-crown like the piece in the Viennese Treasury. Conrad and his family celebrated high feast-days with feast-coronations. Although the sources only mention three instances, feast-coronations were quite common and not only in Conrad's time. They were intended to display both the ruler's glory and humility as depicted on the wall-painting of Aquileia.[68]

Some remarks are required regarding Conrad's ecclesiastical policy. It is not true that he was uninterested in ecclesiastical affairs except to become rich at the expense of ecclesiastical property. To be fair, he was not the king of bishops and monks as his predecessor had been.[69] But he was no simonist either.[70] He participated in, and presided over, synods and councils rarely enough. He must have felt uncomfortable doing so.[71] But where ecclesiastical discipline was concerned to the extent that the people's daily religious life was affected, the emperor was only too quick to take the initiative to remedy abuses which would create confusion, the devil's worst temptation.[72]

Conrad judged an ecclesiastical functionary on the basis of the latter's contribution to the *regnum* or *imperium* as the king understood it. Although

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[66] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 38 and 86 f. (Henry against his father).
[67] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 162–8.
[68] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 109 f., 154–6, and 160
[69] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 252 ff.
[70] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 308–11.
[71] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 311–13.
[72] Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 272–3.

he appointed some incompetent people, the overwhelming majority of his and Gisela's appointees were excellent by any intellectual and spiritual standard. Of course, the pope did not yet play a role within the framework of the imperial church. The reform movement of the second half of the century was not yet up and running. But there was an astonishingly vivid pre-reform under way which created an intellectual, and above all spiritual, atmosphere that paved the way for the future. Everybody was concerned about the salvation of themselves and the world, uttering the battlecry "back to the roots," back to the Benedictine rule. However, no one composed written regulations, *consuetudines*, let alone new rules.[73] It was still an open society full of optimism as the enormous building activities showed. Perhaps this pre-reform spirit was exactly what attracted me to the topic "Conrad II and his Time" in the first place. A similar intellectual atmosphere was part of my experience when I started my academic career far back in the late 1950s. Therefore, the motto of my monograph on Conrad is: "L'historien choisit son histoire dans l'histoire, i.e. the historian selects his own history from within history."

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[73]   Wolfram, *Conrad II*, pp. 314–17.

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Chapter 5

Maps of French History before the Atlas of Auguste Longnon

Walter Goffart

This article recognizes the central role of medieval France in the research of Bernard Bachrach, whose friendship I am very happy to have enjoyed since we first met in Berkeley in 1965 and whose self-assurance, scholarship, and indefatigable industry continue to evoke my awe. Warmest wishes and congratulations on this jubilee.

Scholars assure us that the atlas of French history compiled by Auguste Longnon and published from 1884 to 1889 marks the real beginning of French historical atlases.[1] Longnon's greatest fame is as the apostle of historical geography in France. His atlas is often found in the reference rooms of major research libraries. The first copy I happened to consult was in the library of the University of Wisconsin in Madison: it was in lamentable condition, a sign of the intensive use to which it had been put over the years.

Among French historians of the Middle Ages, Auguste Longnon, who died in 1911, stands out for having had an unusual career. He was a shoemaker from his twelfth to his twentieth year, but also a fervent autodidact, who enrolled at the École Pratique des Hautes-Études in 1868, the year of its opening. Simultaneously he was employed at the Archives Nationales, whose director, Alfred Maury, long nursed his talents. Promoted to be "sous-chef" at the Archives and a director of studies at the École des Hautes-Études, he attained the beatitude of a chair at the Collège de France in 1892, where he remained until his death.[2] He admirably profited from the facilities that France offered at the time to private scholars desiring to follow a life of research outside the educational system.

For a shoemaker self-taught in philology and history, such a career was a prodigious performance. But our astonishment can be somewhat qualified. Longnon's father owned the largest boot factory in Paris. A native of Champagne,

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[1]   Auguste Longnon, *Atlas historique de la France: depuis César jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1885–89); *Texte explicatif des planches de 58 avant J.-C. jusqu'à 1380 après J.-C.* (issued in parts with the maps; also Paris, 1907). For the sake of simplicity, my discussion is documented by frequent references to my *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years, 1570–1870* (Chicago, 2003), on which much of the contents is based.

[2]   Jacques Chaurand, "Preface" to Auguste Longnon, *Les noms de lieu de la France*, (eds) Paul Marichal and Léon Mirot (1929, Paris, reprinted, 1999), pp. i-ii.

he was a passionate amateur historian and topographer of his native province, which he often took young Auguste to explore. The son definitely wished to escape a future among the paternal boots, but the means he sought to escape them was to embrace his father's hobby.[3]

Longnon's counterpart to our doctoral theses was a *Géographie de la Gaule au VIᵉ siècle*, published in 1878. A recent commentator ascribes to him the sole glory of having "created historical geography."[4] This is an exaggeration. A Danzig-born Leiden professor, Philippe Clüver, was already practicing this discipline in the early seventeenth century, and many Germans got into the act in the eighteenth. These antecedents, however, are not widely known.[5] As a result, Longnon won fame in France as the inventor of a new branch of historical knowledge, and was widely honored abroad.

Longnon's atlas of French history, consisting of forty-odd maps and a companion volume of explanations, extends from Roman Gaul to the death of the French Charles V in 1380.[6] The atlas prospectus had greater ambitions; it promised a conclusion in the mid-sixteenth century. (The atlas title envisages the even more ambitious scope, "to our days.") No explanation appears anywhere for the premature ending. Longnon himself lived for another twenty years and was not incapacitated.[7]

The quality of Longnon's atlas should not wholly eclipse earlier efforts to set out French history in maps. Historical atlases of France, and other countries, began to find a well-disposed public, and to multiply accordingly, only in the half-century before Longnon's. Nineteenth-century France surpasses all other European countries in the number of its national atlases, which are, admittedly, rather repetitive.[8] A more appealing subject is found in the remote beginnings of the effort to illustrate French history in maps—the awkward steps toward a specialized collection that took long to come into being. This is what I shall discuss here.

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[3]   Chaurand, "Preface," p. i: Longnon planned to but did not publish a monograph with his father.

[4]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 526, no. 430 (Émille van der Vekene). Camille Jullian, preface to August Longnon, *La formation de l'unité française*, (ed.) H.-F. Delaborde (Paris, 1922), p. v, rightly specifies that Longnon was not the creator but the *renovateur* of historical geography.

[5]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 99, 543 no. 566, and 210–22. Three distant antecedents are mentioned in *Noms de lieux*, p. v; but see also n. 8, below.

[6]   There is no question that the scholarly underpinnings of Longnon's atlas are unparalleled among his predecessors.

[7]   The editors of *Noms de lieux*, p. vii, note only that he "unfortunately" did not finish it. The aspiration of the title of Longnon's atlas (n. 1, above), to extend "to our days," must have died early.

[8]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 337–9, 348–9, and 405–10. Léon Mirot, *Manuel de géographique de la France*, 2 vols., 2nd edn (Paris, 1947), vol. 1, pp. xviii-xxiv, provides a judicious conspectus of Longnon's immediate predecessors.

A lack of history in earlier maps is not the explanation for Longnon's prominence. On the contrary, if we look at the maps and atlases published in the late sixteenth century, we realize that history was virtually ubiquitous. The motto of the great Abraham Ortelius was "geographia oculus historiae" ("geography is the eye of history").[9] In other words, history is the star; geography is only its assistant. But the history in question does not match our requirements for the subject; it lacks distinctness.[10]

A map of 1580 by the famous Gerard Mercator is entitled "Kingdom of Arles," a kingdom that existed from 933 to 1349, then became a part of France. Mercator evokes an ancient name, but simply shows us the southeast of France in his own time, that is, at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1671, Pierre Duval, nephew of the foremost French cartographer Nicolas Sanson, published a large, four-sheet map of France. We see in the upper margin, to the left, the title (here reduced to essentials) kingdom of "Neustrie;" to the right, kingdom of "Austrasie;" in the lower margin, left, kingdom of Aquitaine, and right, kingdom of Burgundy and Arles.[11] These titles evoke large slices of medieval French history. But do Mercator and Duval really offer us maps for history? Certainly, but only according to the standards of their day. The titles in the map margins show us where, vaguely, these kingdoms lay, but neither cartographer aspired to draw the ancient boundaries of these lands. Duval's map, like Mercator's, shows us the France of his time.

Nascent geography in about 1500 recognized only one chronological division, that between ancient geography, based on the works of "the ancients" (Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and other Greek and Latin geographers); and modern geography, based on recent texts and observations. Typically, Ortelius applied his motto about geography being the eye of history to both branches. In each of these compartments, the rule followed was "One-Size-Fits-All." Thus, a map of modern southeast France applied just as readily to the medieval kingdom of Arles as to current-day geography. A sixteenth-century reader, leafing through an atlas of the day, such as Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, did not gaze, in its maps, only upon the world of his own time, but also upon all of modern history,

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[9]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 13. Ortelius created the first modern world atlas. He is often credited with inaugurating historical atlases, but this is a mistake. To his "modern" atlas, he attached a collection of maps of "ancient geography" (the famous *Parergon*), but "ancient geography" is not a synonym for "history." Historical atlases as we know them do not descend from such collections. Their antecedents are mainly in the eighteenth century, as shown below.

[10]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, ch. 1 (whose last section is entitled "History Everywhere and Nowhere").

[11]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 66–7. Duval's 4-part map of France very closely anticipates Longnon, *Atlas historique*, nos. 7–10, a 4-part "Gaule à l'époque carolingienne et plus spécialement au dixième siècle." This is as close as Longnon comes to having a direct antecedent. The resemblance is remarkable, but probably coincidental.

including what we call the Middle Ages.[12] When that same reader turned to maps of "Ancient Geography," he was shown scenes that, though based on ancient works and observations, were no more (or less) historical because of their remote date than the geography called modern.

This proliferation of history in cartography was a major obstacle to the development of maps zeroing in on sharply defined periods or events. It is maps of this kind, i.e. historicizing maps, that we ourselves and Longnon are accustomed to. In the time of Mercator, Ortelius, and Duval, they were still far from being current coin in European mapmaking.

Was Charlemagne French or German? This silly question, which was still asked when I was in school, is posed in the text accompanying a map of "The Empire of Charlemagne" by the Fleming Petrus Bertius. The oldest map of a subject out of medieval history known to me is an English portrayal of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy dating from 1568.[13] More than a half century later, Bertius's "Empire of Charlemagne" is only the second map venturing to portray a moment of time between the Fall of Rome and the cartographer's lifetime.

Bertius, a professor at Leiden, took refuge in France in 1619, driven from Holland because of his long friendship with Jacob Arminius, a Calvinist heretic (d. 1609). Louis XIII gave the learned refugee a warm welcome. Bertius and his whole family converted to Catholicism, and, like Longnon long after, he obtained a professorship at the Collège de France (then called "Collège Royal"). The map of the empire of Charlemagne that Bertius published in 1623 in a single sheet format as well as a large form of four sheets, both very handsome, was offered to Louis XIII as a token of gratitude. This first portrayal of the Carolingian Empire is elementary and faulty. Its rightly appreciated beauty hides a multitude of faults.[14]

Where the kingdom of France properly speaking is concerned, the first map attempting to embrace its history appeared in 1641. Its title is "French Europe or General Description of the Empires, Kingdoms, States, and Great Lordships that have been Owned and Ruled from Time to Time by the Royal and very Illustrious Family of France" (*Europe françoise ou description générale des Empires, royaumes, estats, et grandes seigneuries, qui ont esté possédées et régies, en divers temps par les descendans de la royalle, et tres illustre famille de France*). The map soars very high over the lands governed at least once in history by a member "of the royal and very illustrious French House." The map tells us especially about French royalty on the thrones of Portugal, Poland, the kingdom of Jerusalem, the empire of Constantinople, etc. Nevertheless, the royal family is not exclusively featured. We also see the Sea of Azov, from whose environs, very long ago—so

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[12]   The bibliography of Ortelius is vast. For a modest listing, with indications of appropriate bibliographies, see Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 469 no. 28.

[13]   Walter Goffart, "The First Venture into 'Medieval Geography': Lambarde's Map of the Saxon Heptarchy (1568)," in *Alfred the Wise, Festschrift for Janet Bately*, (eds) Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 53–60.

[14]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 69–74. Illustration, 72.

we are told—the first Frenchmen (Franks, to us) set out on the long march to Gaul under their chiefs Sunno and Pantenor. So much for the distant past. Current affairs are not forgotten. An inset toward the left bottom margin shows Quebec "first dwelling of the Gentlemen of the Grand Company." Here, then, is wider France, with the birthplace of its stock and all the lands in which its sons took root. This example of patriotism saw the light when the rule of Cardinal Richelieu was at its height.[15]

French map sellers in the seventeenth century were less concerned with moments or scenes of history than with the interior and exterior boundaries of their country. For example, a Sanson atlas of 1665 contains maps with the following subjects, each outlined on separate sheets: "6. provinces; 7. gouvernements généraux; 8. généralités; 9. chambres des comptes et cours des aydes; 10. Parlements." This collection would certainly have been called "Historical Atlas" if this title had already been in circulation.[16] A particularly attractive atlas of this kind was done by Louis Courcillon de Dangeau, an abbé and member of an old noble family, elected in 1662 to the newly founded Académie Française. His atlas of 1693 is called "New Method of Historical Geography for Easily Learning and Long Remembering Modern and Ancient Geography, Modern and Ancient history, the Government of States, the Interests of Princes, their Genealogy, etc." (*Nouvelle metode de geografie historique pour apprendre facilement, & retenir longtemps / La geografie moderne et l'ancienne / l'histoire moderne et l'ancienne / Le Gouvernement des Etats / Les interets des Princes, leur Généalogie &c.*). Dangeau's atlas is probably incomplete. After maps of the world and Europe, it contains a very long series focusing on France—"Maps of civil and ecclesiastical administration in the 17th century" (in the description of a catalogue)—similar to those of Sanson, but more filled out. Quite of few of these maps are mere outlines, meant for school exercises; they have the bright and lively colors used in maps for youngsters. Except for a few portrayals of ancient Gaul, all of these maps show current day France; no thought is given to resurrecting the kingdoms of Hugh Capet or Philip-Augustus.[17] Although Dangeau's collection lacked maps depicting sharply defined historical moments, he had no doubt that he was carrying out a historical work, as he announces in his title. Where modern (that is, what we would call medieval and modern) geography was concerned, the principle that "one-size-fits-all" still applied.

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[15]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 85–6.

[16]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 28. Mirot, *Manuel de géographie historique*, vol. 2 (with maps in the text), is a direct descendant of this mapping of boundaries of internal administrative divisions. The Desnos *Tableau analytique* (n. 36, below) is also very much in the tradition of historical atlases of this systematic kind, whose importance and value for the study of French history are not in doubt. Mirot does not fail to supply extended historical explanations for the maps in question.

[17]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 29, 466 no. 10. Dangeau deserves special study.

The first map for French history in Longnon's sense and ours dates from 1696, bears the name of the engraver Nicolas Berey, and shows only the divisions of Gaul on the eve of Clovis' conquests (AD 480s). This map, found here and there as a single sheet in map collections, originally appeared in volume one of a *Histoire de France* by the Jesuit Gabriel Daniel, a famous work among histories of France. However minor the map is, it is a point of departure for historical mapmaking of the historicizing kind we expect.[18]

The oddity immediately striking us when looking at Berey's map is the outline of France. The body shown is remarkably obese, and Brittany droops down from the horizontal. This plump body was the normal shape of France in the seventeenth century, pursuant to the work of the dominant cartographer Nicolas Sanson. The close of the century rang down the curtain on this stocky France. Thanks to the Paris Observatoire, the Italian geometers who worked there, and other scientists, a new France made its appearance, both thinner and equipped with a straightened Brittany—the outline of France familiar to us today. Louis XIV complained that the cartographers had lost him much more territory than his armies had conquered.[19]

Having only just introduced Father Daniel, Jesuit author of a *Histoire de France* illustrated with the first map for French history, I will set him aside temporarily for a digression that eventually will return to his history and its cartographic apparatus.

Contrary to what is often said, the Middle Ages aroused much interest in the eighteenth century and did so from its beginnings. This interest in medieval times is how maps for modern history began to acquire the specificity needed to distinguish them from current cartography. "Ancient Geography," with its repertory of Ptolemaic maps and voyages of Abraham, Aeneas, and St Paul, did not have room for the fall of the Roman Empire and the beginnings of European history. But the public wanted to be shown these subjects even though it still cherished Antiquity. Little by little, a geography of the Middle Ages began to develop. The first book called "Geography of the Middle Ages" (containing no maps) was published in Germany in 1712. Frenchmen had worked on the subject somewhat earlier.[20]

A salient example is a work of 1705. Nicolas de La Mare, a high municipal official in Paris and expert on city management, published the four volumes of his *Traité de la police* in that year. Volume one is devoted to a chronological series of eight city plans of Paris, most of them concerned with the Middle Ages.

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[18]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 240.

[19]   The contrast between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century outlines of France is easily illustrated by maps of the appropriate times. See (out of innumerable examples) *Espace français. Vision et aménagement, XVIe-XIXe siècle* (exhibition catalogue) (Paris, 1987), pp. 61 (brief explanation), 64 (plate 64).

[20]   On the first steps toward maps portraying the Middle Ages, see Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 135–9; Christian Juncker, *Anleitung zu der Geographie der mittleren Zeiten* (Jena, 1712). Note also the quotations of Guillaume Delisle in Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 188–9.

This chronological sequence has long term importance: it affirms a historical consciousness that was only just coming into being. The need for a cartography capable of illustrating change—revolutions, as was then said—began very gradually to be felt.[21]

The most eminent French mapmaker of the time was Guillaume Delisle, one of the savants responsible for the reformed outline of France. Member of a cartographic family, Guillaume was the first geographer whose carto-bibliography includes a group of maps said to portray medieval subjects. Maps for history are only a small part of Delisle's production. Nevertheless, he was responsible for the first sketch of a historical atlas in the modern manner. This atlas stayed a mere project as a result of Delisle's premature death.[22]

In 1717, the already famous Delisle was named geography teacher to King Louis XV, then still a minor. Delisle's teaching in that year has left us a series of six colored maps in manuscript; they were meant for his royal teaching. France is shown successively in AD 482, 511, 561, and 639, followed by the empire of Charlemagne and, separately, by the Carolingian divisions of 843. These manuscript maps of Delisle's, although well known in the eighteenth century, have never been published.[23] Separated by a century and half from the atlas of Auguste Longnon, they anticipate it very precisely; Longnon's maps embody hardly any improvement in method. The superiority of the Longnon atlas is mainly visible in the number of place names it contains.

When Guillaume Delisle died unexpectedly in January 1726, a younger cartographer was beginning to be noticed; he was Bourguignon d'Anville, destined to become the most honored French mapmaker of the century. D'Anville's normal working days were 15 hours long, but his workaholic life was as extended as Delisle's was abridged.

Although d'Anville is an international hero of cartography and especially of ancient geography, his talents did not extend to maps for history of the kind discussed here. A suitable test is the nine pieces he furnished in 1719 to a highly reputed scholar (his mentor), the abbé Louis Dufour de Longuerue, to illustrate a "Historical and Geographic Description of Ancient and Modern France" (*Description historique et géographique de la France ancienne et moderne*). Six of d'Anville's maps for this book are regional and modern; another portrays ancient Gaul; the next-to-last (in my list) compares ancient and modern and sounds rather irredentist in its title, "France and its Neighboring Countries up to the Extent of Ancient Gaul" (*La France et les pais voisins jusqu'à l'étendue de la Gaule ancienne*); as shown here, France in 1719 fell considerably short of having the boundaries of Roman Gaul. None of these eight maps can pretend to

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21   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 110, 205–8; illustration, 206.
22   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 137–8, 254–6.
23   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 66, 138, 188, 241–2. The existence of these maps was well known at the time despite their being manuscript. They survive at the Archives Nationales.

portray the Middle Ages. This leaves only one map, "Ancient France," on which d'Anville incorporated all French history from ancient Gaul to Louis XIV. It contains a mish-mash of many epochs. For example, a Neustria that disappeared in the tenth century coexists with a Dauphiné that acquired this name several centuries later; both names are written in. It is hard to tell what this curious "ancientness" signifies.[24] In the 1760s, d'Anville, already famous for his very real accomplishments, finally became aware of a period that he called "the middling age between ancient and modern geography" ("l'âge mitoyen entre la géographie ancienne et la moderne"). A map of this middling age that he published in 1771 is a very handsome geographic portrayal of Western Europe. As history, however, it shows little progress by comparison with the "Ancient France" map of 1719.[25]

Closing this digression about Guillaume Delisle and d'Anville, I return to Gabriel Daniel. The first fascicule of his *Histoire de France*, that of 1696 with the Nicolas Berey map we saw, met with lively objections owing to its critical approach to the ancestors of Clovis; Daniel had the temerity to suppress King Pharamond. He kept out of trouble for close to twenty years, then published the rest of his history in 1713, including a revised beginning purged of his immoderate criticism. This was very well received. The revision became a standard work and was often reprinted. Its maps were augmented in the edition that appeared in the year after Daniel's death in 1728. According to the table of contents, the work was to obtain a map of France under Charlemagne and another for what was called "the middle times" (le moyen temps). The published book differed from this program. The *Histoire* of 1729 contains four maps: one is that of Berey, the fourth shows France under Louis XIV; the two others are new and invite examination. They were to have a better fate than they deserved. [26]

Their designer was Henri Liébaux, an able engraver, who (like several other mapmakers) had collaborated with Guillaume Delisle on orders for map illustrations for books. Because serious cartography did not pay, earnings from engraving were an essential complement for practicing cartographers. As a mapmaker, Liébaux never created anything particularly striking. The subjects for his two maps for Daniel's history cover a span of barely thirty years. The first is a reinterpretation of Berey's maps with minor changes. The second is situated after AD 511, the year of Clovis's death. It pushes ahead a little beyond AD 480, but the step forward is minute: for readers of Daniel's history eleven centuries between the death of Clovis and the reign of Louis XIV are left totally unmapped. Makers of maps for history shared the belief that starting was all that mattered; never mind the continuation. It was hard to discard the attitude that "one size fit[ted] all."[27]

The most striking feature of Liébaux's maps is the ribbon or arrow found in map one, an arrow marked "Route de Clovis." Departing from a locality in

24   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 135–8, 234–5.
25   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 237–9.
26   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 240.
27   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 242–3.

Thuringia called Dispargum it ends at Soissons, presumed site of Clovis's first victory in conquering a kingdom.[28] I was initially attracted to the study of maps for history by a very famous portrayal of the barbarian invasions from the fourth to the sixth centuries. Ribbons, arrows, lines of all kinds are often used to dramatize these movements.[29] The prototype of this dramatic barbarian invasion map dates, in fact, only from the start of the nineteenth century, but there are a few partial anticipations of it. One of them is this "route de Clovis" by Liébaux. Although appalling from the standpoint of factual history, Liébaux's arrow is precocious from that of mapping for history. Change and the passage of time are intrinsic to history. Certain historical maps, even the majority of them, are static—for example, a reconstruction of France in 1789 or of Europe in 1648. Despite the preponderance of static maps in historical illustrations, maps for history attract efforts at narrative or dynamism. The sets of successive, epoch-after-epoch maps by de La Mare and Delisle illustrate one way of achieving these aspirations at movement. Another way is embodied by Liébaux's dramatized route of Clovis.

The two designs by Liébaux for Daniel's history are mediocre to say the least; nevertheless, they are the only printed maps that we have for the history of France from the beginning of the century until the appearance in 1764 of the atlas by Rizzi-Zannoni published by Desnos. Delisle's maps for the king stayed manuscript. A while later, an atlas project in 15 sheets did not find enough subscribers to be carried out.[30] The French public in the first half of the eighteenth century clearly was not thirsting for maps of the history of their country. The second half would not be appreciably more interested.

In 1764 there appeared in Paris several almost identical atlases published by Louis Charles Desnos, a bookseller specializing in geography. The principal one of the four was announced to be a complement to the *Histoire de France* by Paul-François Velly and Claude Villaret, a work (rightly) disesteemed today but a best-seller at the time. This geographic complement was called *Atlas historique et géographique de la France ancienne et moderne* and consisted of no fewer than 60 maps in a quarto format. The author was Giovanni Baptista Rizzi-Zannoni, a native of Padua. The Desnos-Zannoni atlas, the most distant precursor of Longnon's atlas, deserves to be dwelt upon.[31]

For one thing, the work is remarkably extended. Until 1764 Liébaux's small maps were the only available aids to French history. In the interval, the first steps toward genuine historical atlases had taken place. An atlas featuring "The Greatest Empires" *(Imperia maxima)*, the posthumous work of a German mathematician, Johann Matthias Hase, appeared in Nuremberg in 1743. It was the first work whose

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[28] Liebaux's map is reproduced in Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 244–5.

[29] See Walter Goffart, "What's Wrong with the Map of the Barbarian Invasions?" in *Minorities and Barbarians in Medieval Life and Thought*, (eds) Susan J. Ridyard and Robert G. Benson (Sewanee, 1996), pp. 159–77.

[30] Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 161, 183 n. 82.

[31] On the Desnos-Zannoni atlases, see Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 161–7, 268–71.

contents approximate those of the historical atlases familiar to us. Even more important than Hase's work was the rather mysterious materialization in Paris of two anonymous atlases whose multiple maps proceeded interval by interval from the beginning of history to 1738. One such work stayed unpublished; the first to be marketed was the atlas in 30 intervals seen into print in 1763 by Jean Lattré (a major publisher) and called *Les révolutions de l'univers*.[32]

The "progressive" form of atlases of this type was very influential. For the better part of a century, from 1740 to 1830, historical atlases almost always consisted of collections in which a single map, frequently repeated, embodied boundaries that were redrawn successively from period to period. A German expert expressed the matter in the following way in 1804: "A historical atlas must … supply many maps, and they must succeed each other in chronological order, so as to present to the eye the progressive changes in the setting of events."[33] This atlas pattern endured for many decades but eventually lost its dominance; other designs intruded in the next century. Nevertheless, successive maps were the obligatory structure in the infancy of historical atlases, and were espoused by Desnos and Rizzi-Zannoni.

Anyone who decides to probe deeply into the genesis of the first historical atlas of France will have to spend time with the collection of Gérard Moise de Fontanieu at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (and hope that the search proves profitable). Desnos and Zannoni paid homage to this royal intendant and érudit, who had both inspired the atlas and placed his library at the compilers' disposal. Fontanieu wished especially to highlight the growth of the royal domain in the Middle Ages, a subject that even today has not ceased to fascinate historians of medieval France.[34]

The biography of Rizzi-Zannoni is elusive. He was a very reputable mapmaker, famous from the 1770s onward as director of the detailed mapping of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. After leaving his native Italy, he was active for a time with the great mapmaking firm of Homann Heirs in Nuremberg, then came to Paris in the late 1750s, when still short of age 30. His Paris years were full of activity, but did not result in the stable employment he hoped for. He cannot be relied on to tell the truth when speaking about his past. From time to time he frankly takes pride in his exploits, but never mentions his (pioneering) historical atlas of France. Was it the sort of undertaking not to be featured in one's portfolio of accomplishments? The making of maps for history had not yet graduated to the rank of serious work.[35]

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[32] Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 256–68. Both works are anonymous. My efforts to find the authors have been fruitless. Illustrations of the three: Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 150, 154, 158.

[33] *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* (Halle), no. 346, 4 (Dec. 1804), 522.

[34] Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 162 and 269.

[35] Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 162–3. Some makers of maps for history are taken seriously (viz. Longnon himself), but the profession itself is no guarantee of scholarly respectability.

In Desnos's publicity, Zannoni's atlas is presented as part one of a work whose complement was the *Tableau analytique de la France* published by Desnos in 1765; Zannoni had also contributed much to it. This "analytical tableau," full of all sorts of administrative maps, is descended from the atlases of Nicolas Sanson and Louis Dangeau that we have seen—a sort of atlas notable for its utility for the study of French history (by providing maps of many *ancien régime* administrative divisions), but also for its lack of historical perspective.[36]

In spite of these drawbacks, Zannoni's *Atlas historique* is a handsome production, ordered in successive intervals like the *Atlas des révolutions* published by Lattré. In order to illustrate several centuries of history, changes are indicated by coloring the alterations of frontiers over a long period on a single repeating map. Historical variations are indicated not only by different colors but also by changes in the basic map. A plate showing France and its neighbors seems to have been re-engraved several dozen times. The result is somewhat disappointing: the form and extent of the land remain the same, but from one map to the next the forests seem to grow, shrink, and grow again very rapidly, and even change place; and mountains seem astonishingly ambulatory (the atlas is firmly in a tradition of decorative maps). The total effect is not entirely negative. The multiplication of plates has the result that place names and frontiers are adapted to the conditions of each epoch.[37]

The Desnos-Zannoni atlas was well received by critics, but failed to become a publishing success. It was not imitated until 1820, more than a half century after its initial appearance. This was not the only atlas whose success was limited. France has a claim to being called the birthplace of the atlas for history because of the precocious appearance there of collections successively charting time.[38] Yet, this innovation quickly left its cradle and migrated to Germany. In the years to follow, readers of the *Histoire de France* of Velly and Villaret were invited to buy and consult an atlas different from Zannoni's. The new contender contains a very unhistorical set of maps drawn from a world atlas.[39] Among the few historical atlases seeking a place in the European book trade in the late 1700s there was one of universal history (Lattré), another of France (Rizzi-Zanoni), and a third of medieval history (Gatterer).[40] The French public remained indifferent to all these subjects.

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[36]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 29, 302 n. 206, 342, 482–3 no. 103. Note also what is said of Mirot, *Manuel,* in n. 8, above.

[37]   Sample illustration, Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 164.

[38]   The first atlas with maps set out in chronological order seems to be the 6-map Holy Land compilation of Philippe de la Ruë (1651): Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 105–6, 352 no. 660; illustration, 108. A different (and broader) criterion for the genesis of our kind of historical atlas would award the palm to Hase (n. 32, above).

[39]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 498–9, no. 201.

[40]   For the last of these (a German product), see Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 168–73, 272–4. Also Goffart, "The Plot of J. C. Gatterer's 'Charten zur Geschichte der

As though by a miracle, the nineteenth century opened in France with an atlas unequaled in the past. It merits discussion even though French history is not its focus. This is the *Atlas historique, généalogique, chronologique et géographique* of Émmanuel de Las Cases. The family name is well known for another reason. In 1823, Las Cases published the *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, a best seller recognized even today as the cornerstone of the Napoleonic legend. Less known is the fact that Las Cases had a previous best seller to his credit. His first success was a historical atlas first published in English in London in 1801 under the pseudonym Lesage and then published in French in Paris (with the same pseudonym) between 1803 and 1804. These beginnings were followed by multiple editions and translations that continued to have an enthusiastic public for 40 years.[41] The brand name "Lesage atlas" remained even after the real author was revealed.

Las Cases's atlas only just ranks as a work of geography. The maps, barely one dozen in number, are often very simple and even lack a grid. They have been dubbed "poster maps" because of their simplified lines and the ribbons and other narrative effects incorporated in them.[42] Las Cases found a public ready to acquire an historical atlas in which geography was secondary. He disregarded the atlas type consisting of a progressive succession of identical maps. In its place, he organized his atlas according to the principles of geography books—first the world, then the continents, finally individual countries. In this way, Las Cases's atlas was geographic in form and historical in substance. It proved to be a winning formula and made Las Cases rich. The maps accompanying Las Cases's account of French history date from the London edition. They form a diptych portraying, on the left, the ancient provinces and, on the right, what the French call "réunions," that is to say the crown's accessions of territory. These maps need not be dwelt on. It is the atlas itself whose importance deserves emphasis.[43]

Almost 20 years after Las Cases's first edition, and more than a half century after Zannoni's atlas of 1764, we finally reach a new historical atlas of France. The author, Adrien Hubert Brué, is one of the tiny minority of cartographers who personally engaged in extensive travel. A volunteer sailor at age 12, he was at Mauritius three years later when the French navy recruited him for a voyage of exploration. This difficult cruise broke his health and brought him to Paris, where he found employment as a mapmaker at the Dépôt de la Marine (the naval mapmaking office). The work of his of interest to us is an *Atlas géographique, historique, politique et administratif de la France*, published from 1820 to 1828. Its last plate shows the kingdom of Louis XI. A continuation was promised in

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Völkerwanderung,'" in *Geschichtsdeutung auf alten Karten. Archäologie und Geschichte.* Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 101, (ed.) Dagmar Unverhau (Wiesbaden, 2003), pp. 213–20.

	[41]	Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 301–6. The entire atlas can be consulted on the web: www.euratlas.net/cartogra/lesage/index.html.

	[42]	By Johannes Dörflinger (Vienna); see Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 123 n. 85, 312, 366 n. 42.

	[43]	Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 392.

the prospectus, but various troubles got in the way. Brué, who had no historical training, was assisted by Joseph Guadet, an experienced medievalist. The Brué atlas acknowledges Guadet's contribution.[44]

Brué's atlas has very clean sheets, free of any attempt to show physical details. The only concession to decoration shows us the fleet of William the Conqueror in bird's eye view crossing the Channel in early nineteenth-century three-masted men-of-war. Rizzi-Zannoni had been the initiator of this miniature scene, but in a less ordered and more impressionist manner.[45] Elsewhere, the program of 1820 closely approximated that of 1764, though Brué is better in details. Jeremy Black comments, "the Brué [atlas] was a more impressive work [than Rizzi-Zannoni's], conveying far more information and doing so clearly." It is also true that 65 years had gone by and that Brué, who had an historian adviser, benefited from being able to follow the tracks of a precursor. It is easy to disparage a pioneer.[46]

Between Brué's work and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870, at least 14 large atlases of French history were published. Whereas Zannoni and Brué are separated by a half century of indifference, the shorter interval after Brué shows a vastly increased volume of production. From about 1830, historical atlases no longer inched ahead; they acquired a firm place in book production, if not necessarily in geography.[47]

How may Longnon's atlas be bridged to its near predecessors? Indisputably, Longnon's work is more scholarly (most of all in the handling of place names) and more lavish; an eminent physical geographer was lent to him to perfect the properly geographical aspect of the atlas.[48] There was no way in which simple atlases meant for the book trade could compete with Longnon's in quality. Nevertheless, Longnon had predecessors. Perhaps what he did had never been done so well, but this was not due to laziness or neglect on the part of the competition. Quite a few geographer-historians in the mid-nineteenth century addressed the same subject matter as he. I will limit myself to three near anticipators of Longnon. Maxime Auguste Denaix, chief of military cartography and a founding member of the Paris Société de Géographie, compiled historical atlases after his retirement from the army. His well-regarded atlas of Europe was precocious in the amount of space allotted to thematic maps. Denaix and his admirers had learned in the revolutionary era that the frontiers of countries were not immovable, and so ceased to treat political borders as fundamental in geography. Thematic maps seemed

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[44]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 375 n. 134, 406. Guadet produced editions of Gregory of Tours and Richer, and later compiled a French atlas of his own: Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 514 nos. 338–9.

[45]   For this narrative detail, with illustration, see Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 406–7.

[46]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 338–9, 405–6. For the quotation, see Jeremy Black, *Maps and History* (New Haven-London, 1997), p. 56.

[47]   For the list, see Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 473 n. 83.

[48]   Franz Schrader, himself the compiler with a team of a major historical atlas: *Atlas de géographie historique* (Paris, 1896, 1907, 1911, 1924).

more certain; thus one of Denaix's maps presents a "tableau of the peoples who [inhabit Europe], classed in relation to the relative dependence of the nations and the affiliation of languages."[49] In 1836, Denaix published a "major" (*grand*) atlas of France, followed two years later by a *Petit atlas*, incorporating the maps of the major edition. Here, regrettably, the Denaix of thematic maps is not found. The subject that obsessed France, or perhaps only French mapmakers, was the drama of territorial losses and gains, from the allegedly deplorable successive divisions of the Merovingians down to the supposedly glorious "Grand Empire" of Napoleon in 1813. This specter of territories, somewhat diluted in Denaix's major atlas, becomes suffocating in the minor atlas of 1838.[50] The extreme case of this predilection occurred in Louis Dussieux's *Géographie historique de la France, ou Histoire de la formation du territoire français*; the title theme was the formation of the nation's territory. Dussieux, a serious cartographer, meant his historical atlas of France, dated 1843, for school use.[51]

The history pictured in the atlases of Denaix and Dussieux is rudimentary and traditional, showing little progress by comparison with Rizzi-Zannoni's; basically, the same narrative is simply deployed in fewer maps. The French tale of territorial aggrandizement was remarkably well suited to simple political cartography. However naïve, the theme of the decline of central power and its resurgence, could be firmly elaborated; the idea of lost and regained strength appeared in these portrayals to have guided more than a millennium and a half of national effort. The multiplication of historical atlases of France no doubt reflects a profound patriotism, but seems also to owe its inflated extent to the specially visual and geographical adaptability of the French tale of territorial growth.

I close with an exception to this monotony. Toward 1860, the society of Dutch engineers published a very useful critical repertory of recent cartography (they were even kind enough to write it in French). As regards French history, the engineers' choice went unequivocally to the *Atlas historique de la France* by Victor Duruy: "a very learned work, of great merit. We consider it preferable to [all the] other historical atlases of France."[52]

Victor Duruy is a well-known figure of the Second Empire; his accomplishments as minister of education are comparable to Baron Haussmann's great program of public works in Paris. The Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue of printed books devotes an extraordinary number of pages to Duruy's writings. These innumerable

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[49]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 341–2

[50]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 348–9, and 408.

[51]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, p. 511 no. 309.

[52]   Institut royal des ingénieurs néerlandais (Koninklijk Instituut van Ingenieurs Netherlands), *Répertoire de cartes*, 2nd edn, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1854–67). This work, issued in fascicules, is rare. WorldCat lists the Library of Congress, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Linda Hall Library (Kansas City), and some others. But it is necessary to check how many of the nine parts are in each copy. I have no record of where I consulted it, and, unfortunately, cannot verify the quotation or indicate its precise place.

books are mainly pedagogic and probably earned him a lot of money; born to genteel poverty, Duruy had a fortune to make and made it.[53] But becoming rich was not his only object. His atlas of the history of France, whose volume of maps is accompanied by a volume of explanation, is by far the best work of its kind before Longnon.[54]

Duruy's atlas has some 15 maps, with many complementary insets. The beginning is thematic, presenting all sorts of useful information, such as the limits for the cultivation of olives and other essential plants. The seven medieval maps, from Roman Gaul to Louis XI, are chosen with great care and admirably succeed in surveying the most notable periods of French history without thought for national territorial growth. The Dutch engineers chose well.

I have tried to counteract the belief that Longnon inaugurated the historical geography of France. It is possible that he disregarded his predecessors (although I doubt it). What I suspect is that the scholars who proclaim the primacy and uniqueness of Longnon have not had the opportunity to explore the maps for history that preceded his. All honor, then, to the shoemaker-medievalist; but let us not fail to notice that his predecessors in making maps for French history reach as far back as the sixteenth century.

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[53]   Sandra Horvath-Peterson, *Victor Duruy and French Education* (Baton Rouge, 1984); Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 351–2, and 511 no. 307 (my date for the atlas is 1846; Harvard's 1849). Under Victor Duruy the Yale library catalogue lists 50 items, many of them translations into English. Harvard lists 95, including the atlas (with many repeats and translations). Both are better provided than the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress (which, however, has an interesting additional item relating to Duruy's atlas, also dated 1849). The printed Paris catalogue is the best source.

[54]   Goffart, *Historical Atlases*, pp. 408, 415, 511 no. 307.

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PART II
Warfare in the East in the Crusading Era

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Chapter 6

A Medieval Siege of Troy: The Fight to the Death at Acre, 1189–1191 or The Tears of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn[1]

John H. Pryor

In the prologue to the *Historia Peregrinorum*, its author wrote: "For if Dares of Phrygia is to be trusted more about the overthrow of Troy for the reason that the hearsay that others reported he saw, being present himself, equally with us relating the history of Jerusalem it ought be worthy of belief … " Later he returned to the same theme: "For if the ten-year war made Troy famous, [and] if the triumph of the Christians [on the First Crusade] made Antioch more illustrious, eternal fame will surely extol Acre, for which in like manner the whole world flowed together."[2]

The siege of Acre became an epic to rival the siege of Troy, a monumental struggle in which both sides threw everything they had at each other for almost two years. The nature of the fight to the death at Acre is reflected clearly in the sources, both Arabic and Western, which really do remind one of the *Iliad* in this respect.

There was an extraordinary reaction in the West to the disasters of 1187: the battles of the Springs of Cresson and Ḥaṭṭīn, and the loss of the Holy Land and Jerusalem, the inheritance of the Crucified One. Letters certainly were sent from the East but they were 'doctored' in the West to produce *excitationes* for a new Crusade. Some were read aloud to gatherings in the context of Crusade sermons and takings of the cross. As they survive, none are genuine originals. Some are undoubted forgeries; some may be based on genuine originals. One is the letter from brother Thierry, the so-called Grand Preceptor of the House of the Temple in Jerusalem, to the Templars of the West which opens, in the version of Roger of Howden: "Quot quantisque calamitatibus ira Dei, nostris peccatis exigentibus,

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[2] *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, (ed.) Hans Mayer, MGH Schriften 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), Prologus (p. 246), I.xxxii (p. 317).

nos in præsenti flagellari permiserit … ”[3] The unbearable sense of loss of the inheritance of Christ produced a massive response in the West that saw tens of thousands take the cross.

Around midday on Friday 12 July 1191, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was encamped at Tall al-ʿAyyāḍīyya, some seven kilometres east of Acre, when the Muslim forces saw Frankish banners hoisted on the walls of the city. Ibn Shaddād, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's *qāḍī al-ʿaskar*, conveys the enormous sense of grief in the Muslim camp: "The Franks as one man gave a great shout, while the Muslims were overcome by the disaster. The grief of the true monotheists was intense and the wise amongst them limited their utterances to the recitation of 'To God do we belong and to Him do we return.'[4] Great perplexity and confusion overwhelmed our people and the army resounded with cries, moans, weeping and wailing. Every man's heart shared in this according to his faith. Indeed every person had a share according to the strength of his religion and sense of pride … I was present in attendance on the sultan, who was more affected than a bereft mother or a distracted love-sick girl."[5] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn remained for a while at Tall al-ʿAyyāḍīyya but the fight was lost and he moved south to Shafarʿam on the night of the 13th-14th July.

His secretary, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, waxed lyrical in an encyclical letter announcing the city's fall:

> The fate of Acre is now known: the enemy set out to break it, scouted how to take it; camped against it and campaigned; came at it and overcame; fell upon it and savaged it, in vast hordes they ravaged it; their soldiers came on endlessly, corps after corps, carried by the swell of the high sea like billowing waves onto our shore; they crouched before the city like beasts of prey, and pitched their tents there for the fray; their hearts consumed with burning fire, from the fuel of their desire; two long years the siege endured, and with each new tide floods of reinforcements were procured; their infernal sea-borne army set the waves alight, with a sea of hard steel weapons flashing bright; like tall black peaks and towering waves their ships approached in lines, unfurling their white battle-

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[3]   "*Quot quantisque calamitatibus*," in *Chronica magistri Rogerii de Hovedene*, (ed.) William Stubbs, 4 vols., Rolls Series 51 (London, 1868–71), pars posterior, vol. 2, pp. 324–5. See John H. Pryor, "Two Excitationes for the Third Crusade: The Letters of Brother Thierry of the Temple," in *Mediterranean Reflections: Studies in Honour of David Abulafia*, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25.2 and 26.1 (December 2010, June 2011); part 1, pp. 147–68.

[4]   *Qur'ān*, 2.152: a conventional response to bad news.

[5]   Ibn Shaddād, Bahā' al-Dīn Abū 'l-Maḥāsin, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya wa'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya*, trans. Donald S. Richards, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya wa'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya by Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 161–2.

ensigns, mountainous vessels, serried as a thicket intertwines; this resplendent fleet outshone the morning light, yet made the ocean seem as dark as night.[6]

Acre is on a small peninsula jutting south-south-west into the Bay of Haifa. The walls today are much later Ottoman work and research has revealed eastern walls enclosing a much larger area during the Frankish period.[7] There is a question over when these were built, however, whether in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. The Pisan *Liber de existentia riveriarum et forma maris nostri Mediterranei*, dated to ca 1160–1200, described the port of Acre thus: "Unde [Mt Carmel] uoluitur sinus usque ad aliud caput ml. .x. In quo capite ciuitas illa [Acre] sita est habens ante se ab austro in sinu portum bonum quod etiam infra muros ciuitatis ab austro in ciuitatem dilatator … "[8] The author pictured the harbor enclosed by extensions of the land walls and sheltered from the south by the eastern mole, which had been extended to the Tower of the Flies in the ninth century. The entrance was between the Tower and a square tower at the end of the southern mole, a gap of only around 85 metres. A chain ran from the Tower of the Flies to a tower at the western end of the southern mole, which the Franks called the *Porte Ferree* or *La Chaine*. The Tower, moles, and chain made the harbor impenetrable.

The harbor was quite small, around 300 metres across at the mouth narrowing to only around 150 metres at its back, and only around 400 metres from mouth to back: perhaps around 90,000 square metres. It also was quite shallow. The shoreline has changed since the Middle Ages, the harbor has silted up, and there has been tectonic subsidence. But the archaeological record suggests that in the Middle Ages the middle of the harbor may have had a depth of only around 1.5 metres.[9] Large sailing ships could not use it and any attempting to run in would ground and be dismasted. Ibn Jubayr, who passed through Acre in 1184, wrote: " … Acre resembles it [Tyre] in situation and description, but cannot take *sufun*

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[6]   'Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī fī 'l-fatḥ al-qudsī*, (ed.) Carlo de Landberg, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Ṣalâḥ ed-dîn*, vol. I: texte arabe, (Leiden, 1888), A.H. 587 (p. 359). I am indebted to Michael Carter for his translations here and elsewhere.

[7]   On the topography of Acre see Ruthy Gertwagen, "The Crusader Port of Acre: Layout and Problems of Maintenance," in *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–5 juin 1995)*, (ed.) Michel Balard (Paris, 1996), pp. 553–82; David Jacoby, "Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography," *Studi medievali*, 3a serie, 20 (1979): pp. 1–45; Benjamin Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," *'Atiqot* (English series) 31 (1997): pp. 157–80.

[8]   *Le liber de existencia riveriarum et forma maris nostri Mediterranei (Pise, circa 1200)*, in *Carte marine et portulan au XIIe siècle*, (ed.) Patrick Gautier Dalché, Collection de l'École française de Rome 203, (Rome, 1995), ll.613–16 (pp. 128–9).

[9]   Gertwagen, "Crusader Port of Acre," pp. 570–72.

[here: large sailing ships] which must anchor outside, *marākib* [here: small boats] only being able to enter."[10]

The southern mole may have been up to 2.5 metres above sea level in the Frankish period and the eastern mole was also above sea level. Its ashlar rocks later were mined for buildings in Acre and that and tectonic subsidence explain why it is today between one and two metres below sea level.[11] At the time of the Third Crusade it was an impenetrable barrier and no attempt was made to break through it into the harbor during the siege.

The plain of Acre lies between the bay of Haifa and the ranges between 5 and 10 kilometres to the east, al-Kharrūba to the south east and Tall al-ʿAyyādīyya directly east of Acre. To the south the Nahr Naʿamān, the Frankish *Flum d'Acre*, flowed into the bay through the sands. The plain is a gigantic flat plain and from Tall al-Kharrūba, Tall al-ʿAyyādiyya, and Tall al-Fukhkhār, one gazes across it, with the isolated mounds of Tall Kaysān and Tall Daʾūq in the middle. From the Frankish camps at Tall al-Fukhkhār and those of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at Tall Kaysān, Tall al-Kharrūba, and Tall al-ʿAyyaḍiyya, the historians who were present, Ambroise and the author of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* for the Crusaders and Ibn Shaddād and ʿImād al-Dīn for the Muslims, would have gazed across the fields of battle played out as though in a gigantic amphitheatre. The analogy with the siege of Troy becomes very apparent.

In spring 1189, against the advice of some of his amīrs who advised him to destroy them so that it could not be defended if reinforcements came from the West, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered Bahāʾ al-Dīn Qarāqūsh to rebuild Acre's walls,[12] thinking that by reinforcing them and moving squadrons of the Egyptian fleet to Acre and Beirut, he could hold the coast and threaten Frankish sea lanes to the West.

Guy of Lusignan reached Acre on 28 August 1189, and within days massive reinforcements arrived from the West. This was no coincidence. His move was not one of desperate foolishness or gallant folly as has been claimed. Voyage duration times from Sicily to the Holy Land were only around three to four weeks and during the spring and summer many from the West had reached Tyre, undoubtedly bringing news of Western forces on the move.[13] Guy must have known that large numbers of Crusaders were at sea and they must have known that the Franks at Tyre were about to move on Acre, otherwise they would not have sailed there directly. The Lyon *Eracles* said that Guy made his move because his brother

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[10]   Ibn Jubayr al-Kinānī, Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *Riḥla*, trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (London, 1952), p. 320.

[11]   Gertwagen, "Crusader Port of Acre," p. 557.

[12]   Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 90; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, French trans. Henri Massé, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin (Al-Fatḥ al-qussî fī ʾl-fatḥ al-qudsî)*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades 10 (Paris, 1972), pp. 107–9.

[13]   *Continuatio hystorie tractate de gestis virorum illustrium*, in *Die Lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, (ed.) Marian Salloch (Leipzig, 1934), 3.3 (p. 112).

Geoffrey told him that Western Crusaders would arrive soon.[14] Guy's move was calculated carefully to coincide with the imminent arrival of massive numbers of Crusaders from the West.

The *Itinerarium peregrinorum* says that he had around 700 cavalry and a total of 9,000 men, but he also had a Pisan fleet of 50–60 galleys under their archbishop Ubaldo, another 7,500–9,000 men.[15] He encamped on Tall al-Fukhkhār, the Frankish *Turon*, about 1.5 kilometres east of the city, where there was a spring. But the Pisans camped on the sands south to the swamps north and east of the northern bend of the Nahr Naʿamān where it ran into the sea. A Frisian fleet of 50 *cogs*, carrying Danes, Germans, and Bretons arrived with what was said to be 12,000 men early in September, closely followed by four ships from Cologne carrying 1,500 men and provisions for up to three years, and by James, lord of Avesnes in Hainault, with up to 14,000 men.[16]

Ibn Shaddād wrote that even before the great battle of 15 September 1189: "Their reinforcement by sea did not cease … The Franks, having grown very numerous and their position now being very strong, so completely encompassed Acre as to prevent all entry and egress. That was on Thursday the last day of Rajab [14 September]."[17] He exaggerated; in fact the blockade was not yet closed. A complex series of strategic and technological parameters developed with the garrison in the city besieged by Frankish and Crusader forces, which were too few to prevent ingress into the city at first, while they themselves were confronted by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's forces strung out in a crescent stretching from Tall al-ʿAyyāḍīyya through Tall Kaysān to the Nahr Naʿamān.[18]

This remained one of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's weaknesses throughout the siege. Even from Tall Kaysān, to reach the Christian camps at Tall al-Fukhkhār involved a march of around 12 kilometres. The Franks and Crusaders could see Muslim forces coming for around two hours before they arrived. They had plenty of time to take

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[14] *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)* [the Lyon *Eracles*], (ed.) M. Ruth Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades 14 (Paris, 1982), ch. 80 (p. 89).

[15] Ranieri Sardo, *Cronaca di Pisa*, (ed.) Ottavio Banti, FStI 99 (Rome, 1963), p. 36.

[16] *Continuatio*, 3.5 (p. 115–6); *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 310; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, (p. 20); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, (ed.) and trans. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, *The History of the Holy War* / Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003), ll. 2836–63 (vol. 1, p. 46); Arnold of Lubeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, (ed.) I. M. Lappenberg, MGH SS 21 (Hanover, 1868), pp. 100–250, at 4.15 (p. 177); Lyon *Eracles*, §84 (p. 90).

[17] Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 97–8.

[18] *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 305–7, 310; *Continuatio*, 3.3–4 (pp. 112–13); Lyon *Eracles*, §§81–3 (pp. 89–90); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 2762–809 (vol. 1, pp. 44–5); Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 96–8; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, trans. Massé, AH 585 (pp. 168–71); Ibn al-Athīr, ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī, *Al-Kāmil fī ʾl taʾrīkh*, trans. Donald S. Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from Al-Kāmil fī ʾl-taʾrīkh. Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin* (Aldershot, 2007), A.H. 585 (pp. 363–5).

Figure 6.1:   "And they could see him coming": Tall Kaysān from Tall al-
Fukhkhār. Source: John H. Pryor 2013

up positions and make preparations to give them a warm welcome. Unless Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn could move much closer in, he was in what was strategically an impossibly weak situation. In fact, the closest he was ever able to move in was to Tall al-ʿAyyāḍīyya, and that was still some six kilometres from the Christian camps.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn attacked on 15 September, launching a direct assault on the royal camp with his main forces, and sending Taqī al-Dīn sweeping around the Frankish lines to the east to attack north of the city and open a route down the coast into it. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn forced them back into their perimeter amongst their tents but could not break them. He did, however, reinforce the garrison by the route opened up by Taqī al-Dīn and merchants entered the city through a new gate in the northern walls built by Qarāqūsh. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself entered the city next day and viewed the camps from the walls, but he did not stay.[19]

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[19]   See the letter of the Prefect Theobald and Peter son of Leo to the Pope in Ralph de Diceto, *Ymagines historiarum*, in *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica / The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, (ed.) William Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series 68 (London, 1876), vol. 2, pp. 70–1; Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 2896–907 (vol. 1, p. 47); *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 307–8; *Continuatio*, 3.5 (pp. 113–14). Ibn

Ibn Shaddād commented on the battles up to 22 September: "Until Friday 8 Shaʿbān [22 September] the battlefield remained a lively market where lives were sold for precious gains [i.e. entry into paradise] and the storm of war rained down the heads of captains old and young."[20]

In late September, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn decided to try to tighten the noose by moving with part of his forces to Tall al-ʿAyyāḍīyya. But moving in too close left him exposed to attack himself on 4 October. Imād al-Dın described the day:

> Up to the sultan's camp came the invaders, keen to win victory for the Crusaders; I was in a party of noblemen who had ridden out that day, and we stopped on the hill to watch the attack and see how our people would fare in the affray; little thinking that our own side's power would fade, and we ourselves would end up targets of the raid; so when the enemy grappled hand to hand with our men in their encampment, and overran them in their entrenchment; we, being only on mules, without our fighting tools; soon realised the danger that we faced, and in valorous discretion made off in haste; and as we fled we saw our troops turning in disarray, abandoning in defeat their tents and baggage as they ran away.[21]

The Crusader vanguard did overrun the sultan's camp, but when he threw the whole weight of his forces at them as they withdrew they were routed and slaughtered. The Master of the Templars, Gerard de Ridefort, was killed that day and Ibn Shaddād estimated that they threw somewhat under 7,000 corpses into the river; ʿImād al-Dīn around 5,000.[22]

There was continuous fighting around the camps and on the plain and at least one more major battle before 16 October, when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn accepted reluctantly his *amīrs'* advice and withdrew to Tall al-Kharrūba for the winter. The Muslims had been in the saddle for 50 days and the men and horses were exhausted. In retrospect, his dice were already cast. He did not have the forces necessary to overrun the Christian camps and this would remain a constant for the remainder of the siege. Despite his attacks, the Franks and Crusaders succeeded in building a fosse and rampart from the sea in the north to the Bay of Haifa, completely cutting off the city by land.[23] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's failure to break them in this month of

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Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 98–9; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 585, trans. Massé, pp. 172–3; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 585 (pp. 365–6).

[20] Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 99.

[21] ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 585, (ed.) Landberg, p. 198, here trans. Carter; trans. Massé, p. 180.

[22] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 21; *Continuatio*, 3.9 (pp. 121–3); Lyon *Eracles*, §§86–7 (pp. 92–3); *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 311–17; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 101–4; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 585, trans. Massé, pp. 178–86; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 585 (pp. 366–8).

[23] Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 2916–3142 (vol. 1, pp. 47–50); Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, pp. 20–22; *Continuatio*, 3.6 (p. 117); Lyon *Eracles*, §§85–7

intense fighting between 15 September and 16 October, their fortification of their camps, and the continuous arrival of more Crusaders meant that the end result was inevitable. The Muslim cavalry and light infantry would never be able to penetrate the fortifications and must have suffered terribly from the Christian crossbows behind them.

By now the garrison was cut off, depleted, and starving and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered his admiral Ḥusām al-Dīn Lu'Lu' in Egypt to fight his way into the port with a squadron said to number 50 *shawānī*, war galleys, carrying troops, munitions, and provisions. He must have been desperate because to put a galley fleet to sea in mid-winter was extremely dangerous and very unusual. All accounts agree that Lu'Lu' caught the Crusaders off guard on 26 December but that he still had to fight his way in.[24] The squadron must have run in from Mt. Carmel before a southerly to westerly afternoon sea breeze, which in December-January at 1400 hours average 7 knots around 35 per cent of the time.[25] Crusader galleys would have had plenty of time to put to sea to intercept them;[26] although it would have been very difficult to stop a fleet running in under sail before a following wind. But how did they stop in a distance of 400 metres after crossing the lowered chain? Moving ships build up enormous momentum. If they did not drop sail immediately and cast anchors, they would have run aground in the north of the harbor. If they did do so, they would have been dismasted. Then they would have had to run out the oars to maneuver and how could 50 galleys maneuver in Acre's small harbor? Those following behind must have smashed into those going in first and there must have been chaos. Moreover, how did the garrison manage to keep out the Crusader ships while the chain was lowered? No more than three or four galleys could have run the lowered chain at the same time, so it must have taken some time. Ten thousand men of the crews reinforced the garrison, but that meant neutralizing the ships, which could not be extricated back to Egypt. According to Ibn Shaddād, Lu'Lu' himself was still in Acre in September 1190.[27]

(pp. 91–3); *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 311–17; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 585 (pp. 366–9); Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 98–106; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 585, trans. Massé, pp. 173–92.

[24]　*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 319–20 [wrongly dated to 31 October in MSS ABC]; Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 3138–69 (vol. 1, pp. 50–51) [also wrongly dated]; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 108; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 585, trans. Massé, pp. 198–201; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 585 (p. 370).

[25]　Great Britain, Admiralty, Hydrographic Department, *Mediterranean Pilot, vol. V: The Coasts of Libya, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Israel*, 6th edn, (London, 1976), Table 1.65 (p. 37) [Climatic Table for Haifa]; Victor Goldsmith and S. Sofer, "Wave Climatology of the Southeastern Mediterranean," *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 32 (1983): pp. 1–51, here Figure 3 (p. 7).

[26]　Mt. Carmel is around 12 kilometres or 8 miles away and even with a following wind it would have taken well over an hour to cross the bay.

[27]　Ibn Wāṣil, Jamāl al-Dīn, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fi akhbār bani Ayyūb*, (ed.) J. al-Dīn Shayyāl, 3 vols (Cairo, 1953–60), vol. 2, p. 305 [Arabic, *non vidi*; see Yaacov Lev, *Saladin*

Another dimension to the siege was played out far away. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn received a letter in summer 1190 from the Armenian *Katholikos* of Hṛomklay informing him of the German march across Anatolia and of Frederick Barbarossa's drowning.[28] But he wrote that Frederick's son still had 42,000 armoured knights and numberless foot soldiers. Accepting the letter as genuine, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn seriously weakened his forces at Acre by sending Taqī al-Dīn's son Nāṣir al-Dīn, Izz al-Dīn ibn al-Muqaddam of Kafarṭāb, his own son Al-Ẓāhir, part of the forces of Aleppo, and others to the North to stop the Germans.[29]

Many Crusaders reached Acre during the summer, including advance contingents of the French and English royal armies. Count Henry of Champagne, the counts of Blois and Sancerre, and many other French lords reached Acre before August, bringing supplies and siege engines. Henry of Champagne had several ships and Ibn Shaddād and 'Imād al-Dīn said that he provided financially for 10,000 men. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's forces were too few to attack the camps effectively. After the end of winter he had moved back to Tall Kaysān on 25 April and then to Tall al-'Ajūl and Tall al-'Ayyāḍiyya on 2 May but the Crusaders made a major assault on his camps on 25 July, forcing him to retire out of reach to Tall al-Kharrūba on 1 August, leaving only a few units at Tall al-'Ayyāḍiyya. English forces under Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, the Bishop of Salisbury and Ranulf de Glanville reached Tyre around 16 September and then came down to Acre.[30]

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had to resort to subterfuge to provision the garrison. He had his *amīr* Usāmah at Beirut provision a large *buṭsa*, a captured Christian sailing ship, and disguised it as Frankish by having the crew cut off their beards, fly flags with crosses, and put pigs on deck. They convinced Frankish ships coming out to intercept them that they were Franks and brought the *buṭsa* safely into harbor with half a month's supplies some time between 21 and 30 August. On 17 September three more *buṭsat* from Egypt drove into the harbor before the south-west wind. It was always difficult for war galleys to stop sailing ships running before following winds and the Christian galleys could not do so.[31] Ships such as these, however,

in Egypt, (Leiden, 1999), p. 173, n. 48]; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 126; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 585, trans. Massé, pp. 201–2.

[28]   Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 114–16; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, pp. 229–30.

[29]   Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 116; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A. H. 586, trans. Massé, pp. 230–31; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 585 (p. 376).

[30]   *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 329–34; *Continuatio*, 3.5, 12, 14 (pp. 116, 125–7, 129); Lyon *Eracles*, c. 103 (p. 104); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 3452–3516 (vol. 1, pp. 55–6); Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 70; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 118–20, 122; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, pp. 237–44; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 586 (pp. 376–8).

[31]   *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 327, 332; *Continuatio*, 3.12 (p. 127); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 3444–51 (vol. 1, p. 55); Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-*

could not possibly stop in a distance of 400 metres or so after they had passed the chain and they grounded and were wrecked in the north-east of the port.[32]

For over a year they had assaulted the city from the land but had made no attempt against its seaward defences, either against the sea walls if there were sea walls,[33] or against the chain, or against the eastern mole.[34] Safely behind the moles and the chain the Muslim ships and the city were secure. But if the Franks could break the chain, their galleys could pour into the harbor and attack the defenseless city. There were no sea walls inside the harbor. But to break the chain they had to take the Tower of the Flies, which ʿImād al-Dīn said the Muslims had strengthened and raised the height of. On 25 September the Pisans sent ships against it, put turrets filled with combustibles on the mast of a sailing ship to burn its roof, and filled another with combustibles to use as a fire ship once inside the harbor. A third carried archers to cover the operation. But the wind turned, the fireships were destroyed, and the third capsized.[35] No further attempt against the Tower and the chain was made for the duration of the siege. As ʿImād al-Dīn wrote: "The Tower of the Flies remained inaccessible; henceforth not even a 'fly' [Ar. *dhubāb*, also meaning "damage"] could fly against her, and the entrance opened no more to the guiles of the enemy."[36]

Unable to stop the never-ending streams of Crusaders arriving by sea, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn turned to the Muslim West. He may have sought naval forces from the Almohad Abū-Yusūf Yaʿqūb al-Manṣūr as early as 1189, although it is unlikely.[37] He had previously insulted him because he had denied the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdad by assuming the Caliphal title *Amīr al-muʾminīn*, and had even attacked Almohad lands in *Ifrīqiya*. By autumn 1190, however, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was desperate. According to Abū Shāma, on 30 September he instructed his *qāḍī* al-Fāḍil to order Shams al-Dawla Abū ʾl-Ḥazm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Munqidh on a diplomatic mission to the Almohad court. Ibn Munqidh was to describe the situation at Acre and how each

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Sulṭāniyya, pp. 123–4, 126–7; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, pp. 246–9; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 586 (p. 378).

[32]   Ambroise*, L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, l. 3445 (p. 55); *Libellus de expugnatione Terræ Sanctæ per Saladinum,* (ed.) J. Stevenson, Rolls Series 66 (London, 1875), p. 253.

[33]   The question is argued. There is no actual evidence for them.

[34]   Reports of building an assault tower or a mangonel on a large sailing ship with which to attack the walls or the Tower of the Flies almost certainly confuse this with the Pisan attack on the Tower of the Flies on 25 September. See Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 129–31.

[35]   *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 345–6; Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 3765–812 (vol. 1, p. 61); Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 127–8; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, pp. 253–5.

[36]   ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, p. 254.

[37]   M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, "Une lettre de Saladin au calife Almohade," *Mélanges René Basset:* études *nord-africaines et orientales publiés par l'Institut des hautes-études Marocaines*, 2 vols (Paris, 1925), pp. II:279–304.

day brought Frankish reinforcements, saying that the Egyptian fleet had reinforced the city three times and asking that the Almohad fleet cut the sea lanes from the West. He would carry a letter saying that the city could no longer be supplied by sea, that more than 10,000 Crusaders were entrenched behind their fortifications, and that he could not dislodge them. He had thrown all his resources against them to no avail. For every 100 killed, 1,000 more replaced them. He sought naval forces both to bring help to Acre and to infest the seas of the West. There is no reason to doubt Abū Shāma's reports and they reveal just how non-cognizant Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was of matters maritime and of naval warfare. In the Middle Ages "ship-killing" weapons did not exist and it was virtually impossible to cut sea lanes, particularly against large, coherent bodies of ships.[38] Ibn-Munqidh sailed from Alexandria on 14 October, reached Tripoli on 25 November, and went on by land. He received an audience but achieved nothing and returned to Alexandria on 11 July 1191.[39] We will see him again at the end.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn withdrew for winter into the hills to Shafarʿam on 20 October and sent his brother Sayf al-Dīn al-ʿĀdil to Haifa to organize provisioning the city by slipping small boats in at night. Then followed one of the most curious incidents of the entire siege. On 12 November the Franks and Crusaders came out carrying stores and tents in a classic fighting march. They camped at Tall al-ʿAjūl and advanced the next day to Raʾs al-Māʾ. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn surrounded them but could not stop them. At the end of the day they rounded the springs and camped. And then next day they marched back towards the city until they reached the bridge opposite Tall Daʾūq. His own *mamlūks* engaged them but could not stop them crossing next day and returning to their camps. This whole four-day fighting march seems to have had no point.[40] They did not attempt to attack Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at Shafarʿam. The only conceivable explanation seems to be that it began, as the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* claimed, as an attempt to fight through to supposed sources of food at Haifa, an attempt that was abandoned when it was learned that they had been removed.

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[38]   Muslim naval forces are not known to have made any attempt to intercept Northern Crusaders entering the Mediterranean through the Straits of Gibraltar in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, even when the Almoravids and then the Almohads had significant naval forces and also controlled the land on both sides of the Gibraltar Channel for over 400 kilometres. The technology necessary to stop such forces simply did not exist.

[39]   Abū Shāma, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʼl-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, selections trans. French Charles A. C. Barbier de Meynard, *Le livre des deux jardins: histoire des deux règnes, celui de Nour ed-Dīn et celui de Salah ed-Dīn*, RHC HOr 4.3–522; 5.1–206, A.H. 586, 587 (vol. 4, pp. 490–510; vol. 5, pp. 28–9).

[40]   *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 349–51; *Continuatio*, 3.16 (pp. 131–2); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 3955–4084 (vol. 1, pp. 64–6); Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 135–8; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, pp. 263–7, 273–4, 283–4; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 586 (pp. 378–9).

During the winter of 1190–91 there was famine in both camps, although Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn allowed many of his *amīrs* to return to their *iqṭāʿs*. Ships and supplies could not reach the Christians by sea and they starved. Both Arabic and Western sources report that some deserted and apostatized to Islam. Conrad of Montferrat returned to Tyre and Ambroise and the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* blamed him unfairly for not sending supplies from Tyre. Tyre was crowded with refugees, Conrad did not control its hinterland, and shipping could not reach Tyre either.[41]

Active men need around about a kilogramme of provisions, around 750 grammes of bread or biscuit, and 250 grammes of meat and legumes, etc., per day.[42] They also need around 8 litres of water per day when in work in the summer. Horses need around 2 litres of grain, 3 litres of hay, and 30 litres of water per horse per day, even if inactive. Considering only the forces that Guy of Lusignan had brought with him to Acre, 700 cavalry and 9,000 foot plus the 7,500 men of the Pisan fleet, over the 22 months from 1 September 1189 to 1 July 1191 the men alone would have needed some 10,000 tonnes of provisions and consumed 81,000 tonnes of water, maybe somewhat less because of the winters. The knights' horses alone needed around 925,000 litres (740 tonnes) of grain, 1,400,000 litres of hay, and 14,000 tonnes of water. The garrison in the city had similar needs. According to ʿImād al-Dīn, during the winter of 1190–91, there were 20,000 men in the city.[43] They would have needed around 20 tonnes of provisions and 160 tonnes of water every day, and Acre had only one major water source: the spring of ʿAyn al-Baqar, which lay just inside the outer eastern walls.[44] But if those outer walls postdated the Third Crusade, the city was totally dependent on wells.

Anecdotes about the winter famine of 1190–91 in both Arabic and Western sources cast light on the logistics of the siege. Neither the Fāṭimids, nor Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, nor the later Mamlūk sultans, ever established a military commissariat.[45]

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[41]   *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 348, 356–7; Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 4085–104 and ll. 4166–72 (vol. 1, pp. 66–7); Lyon *Eracles*, c. 103 (p. 104); Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, pp. 69 and 73; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 135–8; ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, pp. 271–2, 278, 284–6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 586 (pp. 378–9). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had taken *Sarepta*, Sidon, and Beirut and controlled all territory north of the Litani River. He had also taken Beaufort castle, *Noire Garde* castle, *Chastel Neuf*, and Toron castle to the east. To the south he had taken *al-Iskandarūna* and *Casel Imbert* on the coast. Conrad controlled very little of Tyre's old agricultural hinterland.

[42]   The normal expectation of a bread ration was a loaf a day. See *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatori (Der sogenannte Ansbert)*, (ed.) Anton Chroust, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I*, MGH SRG 5 (Berlin, 1928), pp. 1–115, at p. 77.

[43]   ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, p. 274.

[44]   Kedar, "The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre," p. 173.

[45]   Reuven Amitai, "The Logistics of the Mongol-Mamlūk War, With Special Reference to the Battle of Wādī 'l-Khaznadār, 1299 C.E.," in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, (ed.) John H. Pryor (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 25–42, esp. pp. 39–41.

They depended on merchants and markets. In the great battle of 3–4 October 1189, the Franks penetrated as far as the Muslim market. During the battle of 25 July 1190, some Crusaders reached the market in al-Ādil's camp. After Richard Cœur de Lion arrived, he fell ill and sent envoys to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn asking for fruit and ice. He sent them to the army's market. Even inside the city this was so. After Taqī al-Dīn cleared a way in at the beginning, merchants entered with their goods. After his arrival, Richard built a mangonel that could reach the city's meat market. The *amīrs* supported their followers with money. Ḥūsām al-Dīn Abū 'l Hayjā' was said to have supported 1,100 men.[46]

Nor did the Crusaders and Franks create a centralized supply system. Richard left agents in Cyprus to send provisions to Acre, but only for his own household. In the army of Frederick Barbarossa it was the same. When markets were provided individuals bought in them. The command made no attempt to buy in bulk and distribute. The poor or the rash who had consumed what they had starved, even if others still had supplies.[47] John France has shown that it was the same in Louis VII's army during the Second Crusade and Alan Murray that at the siege of Antioch in 1097–98 there was so much money in the camps from booty, inheritances, and payments from Alexios Komnēnos that as soon as food became scarce prices skyrocketed.[48] The experience of the Third Crusade outside Acre in the winter of 1190–91 was a re-run of the story. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the only attempt to supply a Crusader army centrally was the Venetian contract to supply the Fourth Crusade for up to a year.[49]

Anecdotes in sources such as the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* all have didactic or moralizing purposes but for that very reason are all the more valuable because they reveal incidentally how systems worked. Late in 1190 as winter closed in: "Vix jam majores exercitus vitæ transigendæ parcissimam obtinebant alimoniam … modii tritici, mensura modica quam videlicet quis facile portaret sub ascella, centum aureis vendebatur: gallina quoque solidis duodecim, ovum sex denariis."[50]

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[46]   Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 98–9, 103, 118, 159.

[47]   *Magni presbyteri annales Reicherspergenses*, (ed.) Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS 17 (Hanover, 1861), pp. 476–534, at pp. 510, 514, 515; *Historia de expeditione Friderici*, pp. 28, 41, 45, 66, etc. See also Alan V. Murray, "Finance and Logistics of the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa," in *In laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, (eds) Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 357–68.

[48]   John France, "Logistics and the Second Crusade," in Pryor, (ed.), *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, pp. 77–93; Alan V. Murray, "Money and Logistics in the Forces of the First Crusade: Coinage, Bullion, Service, and Supply, 1096–99," in ibid., pp. 229–49.

[49]   See Thomas F. Madden, "Food and the Fourth Crusade: A New Approach to the 'Diversion Question,'" in Pryor, (ed.), *Logistics of Warfare*, pp. 209–28.

[50]   *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, (ed.) William Stubbs, in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 4 vols, Rolls series 38 (London, 1864), 1.66 (pp.

In other words, there was food if you had money. There was scarcity to be sure, but it alone was not responsible for the inflation.

When an animal died people rushed to buy meat. Similarly, when bread was being baked somewhere, people would rush to it: "Præterea ubicunque notum fieret panem coquendum in clibano, factus est concursus populorum clamantium et dicentium, 'Ecce moneta, ecce quantum vis panis pretium, dummodo panis detur copia' … Quoties vero divitum quempiam plurimum panis emere contigisset, tunc mœror et luctus et clamor pauperum; vox una plangentium, cum sentirent modicum illud panis a divitibus auferri, quod pauperibus utcunque potuisset prodesse particulariter distributum."[51] It was not that there was no bread but rather that what there was was on an open market in which the rich could purchase at the expense of the poor.

The camps were more like towns than military camps. There were buildings with lockable rooms and plots of land for growing food. Those who had food hid it under lock and key: "Processu temporis ex cibariorum indigentia crescebat fames vehementer. Si quis etiam quid habebat ad cibum pertinens, ne violenter diriperetur, in conclavi occultabat ad usum proprium, quod non sufficeret necessitati plurium."[52] There was no centralized rationing system and the market held sway. A Pisan merchant hoarded grain in his house in order to sell it later: "Quidam Pisanus venditor annonæ, per totum annum triticum conservaverat intactum, quosque pro voto suo venderetur in posterum. Futuram enim speraverat famem majorem; si quando vero quantumlibet vendisset, ad suam, prout vellet, æstimationem vendebat iis qui eo carere non poterant."[53] God punished him by having his house burn down but no one tried to seize his grain. No one attempted to take from those who had except by theft. One who did try to steal bread was caught and imprisoned in the house of his captor: "Unde accidit quod quidam in hujusmodi latrocinio deprehensus caperetur, et loris arctissime stringeretur. Ligatus itaque deputatus est custodiæ in ejusdem domo, qui eum comprehenderat, qui pistor erat … " He managed to wriggle free and tucked into fresh bread next

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124–5). Cf. Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 4208–17 (vol. 1, p. 68). Such reports are common in other sources for the Third and other Crusades. Cf. *Historia de expeditione Friderici*, p. 79; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, (ed.) Virginia G. Berry (1948; repr., New York, n.d.), Book 2 (pp. 23–4), Book 5 (pp. 96–7), Book 7 (pp. 132–5); 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 586, trans. Massé, p. 262.

[51] *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 1.67 (p. 125), 1.71 (p. 128). Cf. Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 4223–36 (vol. 1, p. 68).

[52] *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 1.68 (p. 126), 1.69 (p. 127); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 4247–50 (vol. 1, p. 68).

[53] *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 1.80 (pp. 136–7); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 4492–506 (vol. 1, pp. 72–3).

to which he had been sitting. When he had eaten enough, he escaped, taking a loaf for his friends.[54]

The Bishop of Salisbury collected alms for the poor, but did not use them to buy, import, or otherwise acquire food for distribution but simply distributed them to the poor.[55] His efforts were inevitably self-defeating. All they did was to drive prices up higher. With endless streams of Crusaders arriving with money and having nowhere to spend it except when ships arrived from the West, by the winter of 1190–91 there must have been huge amounts of cash in the camps that would have caused inflation and hardship, even if there had been plenty of provisions.

The famine in the camps was said to have ended in spring when a small ship loaded with grain put in: " … ecce adduxit Dominus navem quandam onustam annona, per cujus adventum alleviata est plurimum prior cibariorum penuria. Non enim exstiterat fames tanta panis, eo quod non haberetur triticum, sed quia venditores immoderatum exigebant ab emptoribus pretium, ut videlicet negotiatione gravissima acquiretur multa pecunia." By the following day: " … mensura quædam, quæ venundabatur prius centum aureis, dispensante bonorum omnium largitore Deo, diminuta est per adventum unius naviculæ usque ad quatuor aureos. Oritur interea in populo nova jocunditas, dolentibus solis, et male zelantibus cupidis negotiatoribus, ex soliti quæstus diminutione."[56] The arrival of even one small ship might end a famine caused not only by scarcity but also by profiteering. A small amount of grain thrown onto the market would force hoarders to disgorge theirs, driving down prices overnight since they would know that the ship's arrival signaled the end of the closure of the seas and that others would follow it soon.

Men died at Acre from starvation not simply because there was no food, but because of hoarding, profiteering, and the operation of an open market. The amount of provisions necessary to sustain the forces on both sides for the two years of the siege would have strained even organized commissariats but the princes did not organize distribution of what there was, and collecting and distributing alms only exacerbated the problem. More money arriving in the camps with each arrival would have had an obvious effect on prices, even if there had been plenty of provisions. How much did supply systems in the hands of merchants whose motive was profit add to the agony and the ecstasy that was Acre?

By spring 1191 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn must have known that he had to break the siege soon or all would be lost. Philip and Richard would sail from Sicily at the end of March and their sails should be sighted early in May. Philip left Sicily early, on 30 March, had a very quick voyage, and arrived on 20 April. Richard would overshadow him

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[54] *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 1.73 (pp. 130–31); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 4275–304 (vol. 1, p. 69).

[55] *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 1.78 (pp. 134–5); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 4407–56 (vol. 1, pp. 71–2).

[56] *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 1.79 (p. 136); Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, ll. 4477–506 (vol. 1, pp. 72–3).

on the ground and in subsequent historiography but that does not do him justice. For Philip we have the first surviving evidence for the transportation of large numbers of Crusaders by sea to the Holy Land. Hugh of Burgundy negotiated a contract with Genoa to transport 650 knights, 1,300 squires, and 1,300 horses. The cost to the king was 5,850 marks of silver for transportation and provisions for men and horses for eight months, with wine for only four months: 9 marks for each knight's entourage. The number of ships was not specified.[57] These forces were the king's direct vassals and did not include the forces of the barons, including Hugh of Burgundy himself, Philip of Flanders, William of Les Barres, and many others, who funded their own expeditions, as did Gaucher of Salins.[58] The Old French continuations of William of Tyre say that he came with a great fleet, many barons, provisions and much else.[59] Muslim sources also suggest that his forces were considerable. According to Ibn Shaddād and ʿImād al-Dīn, he arrived with six large *buṭsat* carrying his supplies, horses, and "personal retinue," and Philip of Flanders arrived after him. Sāwīris ibn al-Muqaffaʿ reported that he arrived with around 100 "boats" and "galleys,"[60] which would have been much more realistic for forces of the size that Philip and his barons had. Six sailing ships, even the very largest, could not possibly have carried 1,300 horses and 1,950 men.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was still encamped at Shafarʿam and to engage the enemy daily involved a march of around 15 kilometres each way. He could not move back to a more forward position until sufficient troops arrived to enable him to fend off any Christian attack on his camps. He sent out calls for forces everywhere but

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[57]   *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova dal MCLXIII al MCLXXXX*, (ed.) C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, 3 vols, FStI 77, 79, and 89 (Rome, 1936–42), vol. 2, Nos. 191–2 (pp. 364–8); *Otoboni Scribae annales ann. MCLXXIV-MCLXXXXVI*, in Luigi T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale, (eds), *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, 5 vols, FStI (Rome and Genoa, 1890–1929), vol. 2, pp. 3–66, here pp. 30–31, 34–5.

[58]   Gaucher IV, Lord of Salins in Franche Comté, contracted with two Genoese shipmasters to lease a ship to carry himself, 13 knights, 26 horses, and 26 squires to the Holy Land at a cost of $8^{1}/_{2}$ marks by the mark of Troyes per month for each 'equipage' [i.e., 1 knight, 2 horses, and 2 squires]. See *Oberto Scriba de mercato, 1190*, (eds) Mario Chiaudano and Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca, Notai liguri del sec. XII 1 (Turin, 1938), No. 599 (pp. 236–7).

[59]   Lyon *Eracles*, §107 (p. 109).

[60]   Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 145. ʿImād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 587, trans. Massé, pp. 289–90; Sāwīris ibn al-Muqaffaʿ,' *Siyar al-bayʿa al-muqaddasa*, trans. O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, et al., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church: Known as the History of the Holy Church*, Publications de la Société d'archéologie Copte. Textes et Documents 10–12, vol. 2, parts 1–3; vol. 3, parts 1 and 2 paginated continuously (Cairo, 1943–70), p. 153.

many came late and he was not able to move back to a forward position at Tall al-'Ayāḍīyya until 4–5 June. It was too late.[61]

Richard did not reach Acre until 8 June after a slow passage from Messina and stopping to conquer Cyprus. In the meantime, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn made a last desperate effort to provision the garrison. He ordered Usāmah at Beirut to load another *buṭsa* with provisions and equipment and 650 men to force an entry into the harbor. But English ships intercepted and surrounded it. There is no doubt that the ship was sunk although reports of the sinking differ. Muslim sources are unanimous that it was sent from Beirut, that Richard went out to intercept it after he had reached Acre, and that the captain scuttled it to prevent its capture. Ibn Shaddād and 'Imād al-Dīn date the incident to 11 June.[62] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's last throw of the dice had failed.

In the last week of June large numbers of reinforcements finally reached him including his own Nāṣiriyya *mamlūks* and the Asadiyya *mamlūks* of Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh.[63] Few troops can have been left anywhere, but it was still not enough. All-out assaults on the Crusader camps on 1 and 2 July failed. Some Muslim forces apparently penetrated the defences but were thrown back. Ibn Shaddād wrote of the assault on 1 July: "When night fell, the sultan returned to his tent after the late evening prayer, overcome by tiredness, dejection, and grief." News from the garrison saying that it could do no more and would seek terms of surrender led to a return to the attack next day. But again as Ibn Shaddād wrote, " … the Frankish infantry stood behind their defences like a solid wall with their weapons, their crossbows, bolts and arrows." He specified both crossbow bolts and arrows. Lines of crossbowmen, now reinforced by rapid-firing English long-bows, would have thrown a never-ending hail of missiles against attacking Muslim cavalry and infantry. They must have suffered appalling casualties.

The arrival of more reinforcements and continuous attacks on the Crusader defences achieved nothing. A further assault on 4 July also failed.[64] On Friday 12 July the commander of the garrison, Sayf al-Dīn al-Mashṭūb, had to surrender. The city with all its engines, equipment, and most importantly the ships, had to be handed over intact, together with a ransom of 200,000 *dinars*, around 1,500

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[61] Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 145–50; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 587, trans. Massé, pp. 289–97; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 587 (pp. 386–7).

[62] Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, p. 151; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 587, trans. Massé, p. 299; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 587 (p. 387).

[63] Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 154–5; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 587, trans. Massé, pp. 305–6.

[64] *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 3.9 (pp. 221–2); Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ll. 2664–96 (vol. 1, p. 43); Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 118; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 156–60; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 587, trans. Massé, pp. 309–12.

prisoners, and the relic of the True Cross. The banners of the kings were raised on the walls at midday.[65]

Compare the elation of Richard of the Holy Trinity: "Omnibus denique Turcis egressis, Christiani, quod duo reges jusserant, reseratis januis libere civitatem ingressi sunt, cum tripudio, et lætitia, et summa vocum exaltatione, Dominum glorificantes, et gratias agentes, quia magnificavit Deus misericordiam suam cum ipsis [Luke, 1.58], et visitavit, et fecit redemptionem plebis suæ [*Luke*, 1.68],"[66] to 'Imād al-Dīn's despair. The same encyclical letter announcing the fall of Acre that he composed continued, giving a sense of the despair that seized the Muslim command as the siege wore on:

> … In this time the number of their dead, not counting those who died of hardship and dread, exceeded fifty thousand head; I, your author, not content with merely stating what I hear, have ascertained this with my own eyes up to that year … [but they kept on coming] They arrived by sea, their warships first, then aft, their lumbering Frankish transport craft; they made them stream like torrents through the main, spreading out their sails as noble ladies drag their train, bearing knights and horses to the campaign; every man-of-war that came was like a chateau, every cargo boat a lofty plateau; their ships were nothing less than townships in their size, each a Milky Way of glittering armour in the firmament of the sparkling ocean, adorned with stars which shoot across the skies; they surrounded the fortress by land and sea, and encircled the centre of Islam with the ring of heresy; their evil deeds patrolled around the city wall, enveloping the light of truth in their dark pall; against those going in and out all gates were locked, bringers of supplies and arms found their ingress and their access blocked.[67]

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn did not know that 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Munqidh had already returned to Alexandria empty handed so al-Fāḍil wrote to him again saying that they had killed more than 50,000 but that the French and English kings had arrived and that Acre had capitulated. They were neither discouraged nor weakened by the disaster that overwhelmed them for the cause of God. They would not retreat, they would not leave, they would remain in their positions awaiting a new attack. But what they lacked above all was maritime reinforcement: the fleet of the Maghreb. Islam now turned its eyes to the West. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn said that he foresaw that if the

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[65]   *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 3.17–18 (pp. 231–3); Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre* Sainte, ll. 5167–224 (vol. 1, p. 43); *Continuatio*, 3.23 (p. 141); Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, pp. 117–21; Lyon *Eracles*, c. 123 (p. 125); Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya*, pp. 161–2; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 587, trans. Massé, pp. 312–19; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, A.H. 587 (pp. 388–9).

[66]   *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, 3.18 (p. 233).

[67]   'Imād al-Dīn, *Al-fatḥ al-qussī*, A.H. 587, here trans. Carter; trans. Massé, pp. 320–21.

Court of Morocco fell upon the enemy's fleet, their ships would fall into its power.[68] It was too late but he did not know it.

Both the Arabic and Western sources convey a sense of an epic struggle, as though those who were at Acre realized that they were part of a fight to the death. They do not have the same tone of apocalyptic religion as do the Latin sources for the First Crusade but they are full of an emotion lacking in those for the Second, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Crusades. A sense of despair builds up gradually in Ibn Shaddād and 'Imād al-Dīn. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his *amīrs* must have groaned at the sight of the never-ending sails coming down from the North. Just as the Christian sources for the *annus horribilis* of 1187 depict Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's forces overrunning the Holy Land like swarms of countless ants or grains of sand in the sea, the Arabic sources for the siege of Acre depict endless streams of Crusaders arriving by sea. Once Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn failed to dislodge them from their camps in September-October 1189, once they completed their fosse and rampart protecting the camps, it was over. Although he fought them when they came out and although he attacked the defences continuously, he never once broke through. The Frankish and Crusader infantry held those lines for almost two years against everything that he could throw at them.

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[68]   Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rawḍatayn*, A.H. 586, 587 (vol. 4, pp. 490–510; vol. 5, pp. 28–9).

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Chapter 7

King Richard's Plan for the Battle of Arsūf/Arsur, 1191[*]

Benjamin Z. Kedar

On September 7 1191, in the southern Sharon Plain near the coastal town known as Arsūf in Arabic and as Arsur in Latin and Old French,[1] there took place the first major open battle between Christians and Muslims after Saladin's triumph on July 4 1187 at the Horns of Hattīn that brought an end to the First Frankish Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Battle of Hattīn and that of Arsūf/Arsur were engagements in which a Christian marching column came under Muslim attack.[2] But the Christian fighting march in 1191 differed significantly from that in 1187, which suggests that the Christians had drawn their lessons from the crushing defeat at Hattīn and took

[1] Originally the crusaders identified Arsūf, which they conquered in 1101 with Genoese help, with Azotus (the Grecized form of biblical Ashdod): see for instance Saewulf, who in 1102–03 wrote, "[civitas] proxima Ioppen vocatur Arsuph vulgariter sed latine Azotum": *Peregrinationes tres. Saewulf, Iohannes Wirziburgensis, Theodericus*, (ed.) R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 139 (Turnhout, 1994), p. 75, ll. 558–9. Although Foucher of Chartres pointed out that this identification was wrong (*Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, 2.3, (ed.) Heinrich Hagenmeyer [Heidelberg, 1913], pp. 366–7), Arsur and Azotus continued to appear interchangeably in the documentation. William of Tyre, in his turn, identified Arsūf / Arsur with Antipatris, mentioned in Acts 23:31, explaining that "[civitas] que olim dicta est Antipatrida, nunc vero vulgari appellatione dicitur Arsur": Willelmus Tyrensis, *Chronicon*, 9.19, (ed.) R.B.C. Huygens, CCCM 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986), p. 446; also, 14.16, p. 653. On the Frankish lordship of Arsur see Louis de Mas Latrie, "Les seigneurs d'Arsur en Terre Sainte," *Revue des questions historiques* 55 (1894): pp. 585–97 (on Arsūf's Frankish names, pp. 585–9); Gustav Beyer, "Die Kreuzfahrergebiete Südwestpalästinas," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 68 (1946–51): pp. 148–92, 249–81, at pp. 152–8 and 178–84. I hope to discuss the lordship's social structure in a future study.

[2] This was first pointed out by R.C. ["Otto"] Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 156, at the outset of his discussion of Frankish fighting on the march. On the use of this tactic by crusaders and Byzantines see Matthew Bennett, "The Crusaders' 'Fighting March' Revisited," *War in History* 8 (2001): pp. 1–18.

measures to avoid its repetition. In 1187 they had attempted in vain to traverse about 30 kilometers in a single day in order to avert the fall of Tiberias; on their march from Acre to Arsur in 1191 they covered about 100 kilometers in 17 days, with the crusader army resting on no less than seven of those days; this means that during the 10 days the army did march it covered on average just one-third of the distance that the Franks had hoped to cover in one day in their rush to Tiberias.[3] In 1187 Saladin had succeeded, quite early in the battle, in surrounding a thirsty and fatigued Frankish army; on the way to Arsur the crusaders clung to the shore of the Mediterranean, thereby preventing encirclement by the Muslims; in addition, they were repeatedly re-victualed by the fleet that sailed southward in parallel to them. And while at Hattīn Saladin had succeeded in separating the Frankish horse and foot from each other, on the march to Arsur the crusaders, after an initial setback, advanced southward in tight formation: one-half of the foot soldiers marched on the left, facing the Muslim skirmishers attacking them from the east; the knights rode in the middle; and the other half of the foot soldiers marched on the right, between the knights and the seashore, and carried the baggage and tents. Bahā' al-Dīn, the judge of Saladin's army and an eyewitness who described the Christian infantry as surrounding the cavalry "like a wall," adds that when the foot soldiers who marched on the left became tired of fighting or weakened by wounds they would change places with the foot soldiers marching on the right, and thus get a rest from combat.[4] Obviously, much thought was invested in planning this march and it stands to reason that King Richard the Lionheart, the crusade's uncontested leader at this point, played a major role in devising it.[5] But what was the plan of the

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[3]   On the Battle of Hattīn see Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Battle of Hattin Revisited," in *The Horns of Hattin*, (ed.) B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem and London, 1992), pp. 190–207, repr. in idem, *The Franks in the Levant, 11th to 14th Centuries* (Aldershot, 1993), Study IX; Peter Herde, "Die Kämpfe bei den Hörnern von Hittin und der Untergang des Kreuzritterheeres (3. und 4. Juli 1187). Eine historisch-topographische Untersuchung," in idem, *Studien zur Papst- und Reichsgeschichte, zur Geschichte des Mittelmeerraumes und zum kanonischen Recht im Mittelalter* 2.1 (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 97–152. For details on the slow march from Acre to Arsur see Charles Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, vol. 1: *A.D. 378–1278*, 2nd edn (London, 1924), pp. 307–8; J.F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. From the Eighth Century to 1340*, trans. Sumner Willard and S.C.M. Southern (Amsterdam, 1977 [1954]), p. 214. Herde assumes that less than 20,000 Franks fought at Hattīn: "Die Kämpfe," pp. 114–15; Bennett guesstimates that at the beginning of the march from Acre the crusader army comprised up to 1,200 horse and 10,000 foot: Bennett, "The Crusaders' 'Fighting March' Revisited," p. 16.

[4]   Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 170–1.

[5]   Cf. *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, (ed.) and trans. Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber (Woodbridge, 2003), ll. 6131– 3 (vol. 1, p. 99 [text]; vol. 2, p. 116 [translation]); *Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, (ed.) William Stubbs, Rolls Series 38.1 (London, 1864), p. 250; *Chronicle of the Third Crusade. A Translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans.

king—*qui tant saveit d'ost et de guerre*, as Ambroise, the crusading eyewitness, puts it[6]—for the battle itself?

On September 6th, the day before the battle, the crusader army rested near the brook Rochetaillée, "The Split Rock." The Old French name—like the Arabic Nahr al-Fāliq and the Modern Hebrew Nahal Polég—refers to the east-to-west artificial breach in a *kurkar* (calcareous sandstone) ridge that allows the brook to flow westward into the sea. The breach, originally made in the Bronze Age, was enlarged by the Romans. By the time the Third Crusaders arrived there, the breach may already have become partially silted up, and the brook's waters may therefore have formed the vast swamp east of the ridge that is visible, both on the map Pierre Jacotin prepared during Napoleon Bonaparte's campaign in Palestine in 1799 (see below, Figure 7.2) and on the Palestine Exploration Fund map of 1880.[7] But even if this were the case, the swamp would hardly have hampered the crusaders or the Muslims, because by September, toward the end of the region's rainless summer, the swamp would have been nearly dry.[8] Indeed, 727 years later, the planners of General Allenby's decisive offensive against the Ottoman-German forces in central and northern Palestine that was to start on 19 September 1918 feared that the swamp, situated just north of the Turkish-British front line, would present a serious obstacle for the British cavalry; but it turned out that the swamp was almost dry and the brook carried so little water that pontoons were not needed.[9]

On September 7th the crusaders left their camp near the Rochetaillée and started to move southward along the coastal road (see Figure 7.1).[10]

Helen Nicholson (Aldershot, 1997), p. 246. The account of the *Itinerarium* largely depends on that of Ambroise.

[6]   Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, loc. cit.

[7]   The PEF map is accessible at amudanan.co.il or nla.gov.au/nla.map-rm1949

[8]   Oman, unaware of local conditions, presented it as an "impassable swamp": Oman, *A History of the Art of War*, pp. 309 (note), 311.

[9]   Cyril Falls and A.F. Becke, *Military Operations Egypt and Palestine. From June 1917 to the End of the War* (London, 1930), Part I, p. 351, n. 1; Part II, p. 486. Had Allenby's planners studied the report of Lt. Claude Conder, RE, who had been in command of the British Survey of Western Palestine that culminated in the Palestine Exploration Fund map of 1880, they would have known better, for Conder wrote in 1875 that "Nahr Falik, a considerable stream, [is] now almost dry in autumn": Claude R. Conder, "The Medieval Topography of Palestine," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement for April 1875*, p. 92. The German military cartographers, who could visit the swamp, correctly marked on their map: "Nur während der Regenzeit versumpft." See WWI German military map of Palestine, Sheet 50: Tulkerm. The swamp was drained in the mid-1930s by the British, with the operation partially financed by a Jewish development company and the Supreme Muslim Council. I hope to deal with this peculiar, virtually unknown, undertaking in a future study.

[10]   The reconstruction that follows is based on Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ll. 6114–654 (vol. 1, pp. 99–107 [text]; vol. 2, pp. 115–22 [translation]). See also *Itinerarium*, pp. 259–74; *Itinerarium*, trans. Nicholson, pp. 245–56.
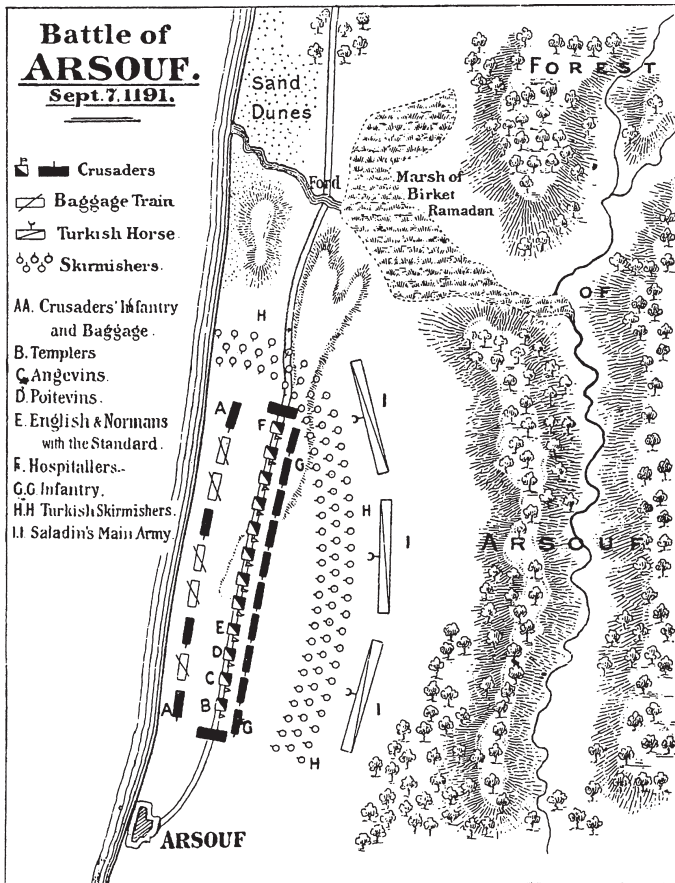
Figure 7.1:   Charles Oman's plan of the Battle of Arsūf/Arsur Source: Charles
Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, *A.D.
378–1278*, 2nd edn (London, 1924), opposite p. 312.

Soon the Forest of Arsur became visible at some distance east of the road.
The crusaders succeeded in maintaining close order despite repeated attacks
by Muslim skirmishers who would erupt from the forest. Richard's plan was to
persistently advance along the road despite Muslim harassment and go on the
attack only once he gave the order, which was to be conveyed by six trumpets: two
to blow at the front of the army, two at its middle, and two in the rear. Yet, the plan
went amiss. This was because the Muslim pressure on the rearguard, led on that
day by the Knights Hospitaller, became ever more serious. The hindmost Christian
crossbowmen were constrained to walk backwards, their faces turned toward the
Muslims as they tried to fend them off with their arrows. North of the rearguard,
some Muslims crossed the coastal road, and then moved southward and assailed

the tail end of the crusader army from the northwest and west. Thus, the rearguard came under attack from the left, from behind, and from the right. Having lost many horses to Muslim arrows, the Hospitallers alerted Richard to their predicament and asked permission to go on the attack; but the king forbade them to do so. When the Muslims intensified their assaults and drew so close that they were able to attack the Hospitallers with clubs, the Master of the Order, Garnier of Nablus, rode up to the king to plead once again for permission to charge, but Richard remained adamant. Sometime later two men—the marshal of the Hospital[11] and Baudowin le Caron, a knight from Hainault who had come east with Richard—could bear the pressure no longer and rushed upon the Muslims even though the king's trumpets had not yet sounded. The two set an example to the entire Hospitaller rearguard, which immediately dashed forward; the squadrons to its south then followed suit and launched their charge; soon the entire line broke rank and went into attack, and so did Richard himself. The crusaders won the battle, but they did not inflict a crushing defeat on the Muslims; indeed, just a day later Saladin was again ready to fight.[12] In short, the Battle of Arsūf was not a mirror image of the Battle of Hattīn. Ambroise, the eyewitness, branded the premature charge triggered by the marshal and Baudowin as foolish and as the cause of loss and misfortune, claiming that "if only they had carried out the plan of attack, which everyone agreed upon … the Turks would all have been taken."[13]

The above account—of the massive pressure on the Hospitaller rearguard; the rebuffed pleadings of the Hospitallers to charge the enemy; the unauthorized rush upon the Muslims that sparked an all-out attack led by the rear and followed by the center and the van—is based on Ambroise's testimony. How reliable is it, seeing that it is at odds with the account of the Muslim eyewitness, Bahā' al-Dīn? The latter reports having seen the crusader cavalry as "they took their lances and gave a shout as one man" and "charged in unison along their whole line."[14] I believe there are good reasons to prefer Ambroise's insider testimony to Bahā' al-Dīn's outsider impression. Ambroise's focus on the rearguard and his detailed account of its plight suggests that he was pretty close to it. Also, his description of the enemy as *enbraçant* the crusader army and attacking it *e devers mer e devers*

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[11]   In October 1188 Lambertus is attested as the Hospitaller marshal; in January 1193 Willelmus Borrel fulfilled this function. It is unknown which of them was marshal at Arsur: see Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars. History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120—1310)* (Leiden and Boston, 2008), pp. 304, 591, 671. Conceivably it was someone else.

[12]   See Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, p. 165.

[13]   Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ll. 6396–412 (vol. 1, p. 102 [text]; vol. 2, p. 119 [translation]); also, ll. 6651–4, 6754–9 (vol. 1, pp. 107, 109 [text]; vol. 2, pp. 122–3 [translation]). See also *Itinerarium*, p. 268; *Itinerarium*, trans. Nicholson, p. 252.

[14]   Bahā' al-Dīn, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, p. 175.

terre[15] bespeaks a point of observation relatively close to the rearguard, where the crusaders had to ward off attacks from three directions.[16] It stands to reason, therefore, that Ambroise's account of the premature charge that generated a rapidly spreading attack is trustworthy. Bahā' al-Dīn, at the center of the Muslim army and able to observe closely only the enemy contingents immediately in front of him, believed that the crusaders were charging all along the line; but he, too, mentions first the crusader group that charged the Muslims' right wing; in other words, the attack by the crusader rear is mentioned before that by the van and the center.[17] The account of the premature attack is supported also by a juxtaposition of Ambroise's relation with a letter Richard wrote at Jaffa on October 1 1191, less than a month after the battle. Ambroise wrote that on the march to Arsur the crusader army was organized in 12 *batailles* (in the *Itinerarium* the term is translated into Latin as *turmae*),[18] while Richard states that when Saladin's army fiercely attacked the crusader rear, the Saracens were forced into flight by just the four *turmae* that were facing them.[19] This suggests that, because of the premature attack, only one-third of the crusader force—the rear—got into close combat with the Muslims, while the center and the van were too distant from the enemy when the battle erupted and therefore were unable to inflict a crushing defeat on them.[20] Likewise, Bahā' al-Dīn's report that the Muslim right wing "fled more calamitously than all the rest"[21] ties in with the conclusion that the attack by the crusader rear, where Muslims and

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[15]   Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ll. 6207, 6240 (vol. 1, pp. 100–101 [text]; vol. 2, p. 117 [translation]), where "l'ost enbraçant" is translated as "surrounding the army." As the crusaders were at no point surrounded, it is preferable to translate the verb "enbraçer" literally, that is, as referring to two Muslim arms that attacked the crusader rear from left, right and behind.

[16]   Jonathan Rubin's observation.

[17]   Lyons and Jackson tend to prefer Bahā' al-Dīn's depiction of "a concerted and well-ordered [crusader] attack" to Ambroise's account: Malcolm C. Lyons and D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 337–8; see also p. 430, note 18. But while it is reasonable to assume that, to the Muslims, the attack "bore the appearance of a preconcerted movement," as Oman put it (*A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 315), the trustworthiness of Ambroise's detailed and coherent account is not weakened thereby. For a very detailed and imaginative but scantily annotated reconstruction of the battle whose hypothetical parts are not, however, adequately presented as such see David Nicolle, *The Third Crusade, 1191: Richard the Lionheart, Saladin and the Struggle for Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 56–7, 64–5, 67–82.

[18]   Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ll. 6132–5 (vol. 1, p. 99 [text]; vol. 2, p. 116 [translation]); see also *Itinerarium*, p. 260; *Itinerarium*, trans. Nicholson, p. 246.

[19]   For the letter see Roger Howden, *Chronica*, (ed.) William Stubbs, Rolls Series 51.3 (London, 1870), p. 131; for an English translation see Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade. Sources in Translation* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 180.

[20]   For this interpretation of Richard's letter see Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 316.

[21]   Bahā' al-Dīn, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, p. 175.

crusaders were closely entangled when the Hospitaller marshal and Baudowin le Caron initiated the unauthorized charge, was the most effective.[22]

We may now fine-tune the question about Richard's battle plan: when and where did the king intend to let the six trumpets signal the general attack? Charles Oman, whose description and analysis of the Battle of Arsūf is the most detailed and influential, provided two, not easily reconcilable, answers. First, Richard's "design was evidently to get the whole Turkish army committed to close combat before he rode out upon it;" later he specifies that Richard aimed at "luring" the Muslims into close combat, which would allow the crusaders "to inflict on them a blow which should disable them for a long period."[23] Second, says Oman, Richard assessed that "there would be great advantage in waiting till the van had reached Arsouf [*sic*], whose gardens and houses would give good cover for its flank when the moment for the decisive charge came."[24] The second explanation is problematic, given that Bahā' al-Dīn writes that the Christians charged after their van reached the gardens of Arsūf.[25] In other words, the van had already arrived at the location

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[22]   The Hospitaller marshal has recently found an eloquent apologist in David Nicolle, who writes: "Closer study of the events, and of the tactical role expected of a Marshal of one of the Military Orders, strongly suggests that his actions were misunderstood at the time, and have been misrepresented ever since … Pressure on the Hospitallers … in the Crusader left wing or rear became so intense that their cohesion began to fragment. The noise was also such that the Marshal may have thought he heard the trumpet blasts with which King Richard would signal a co-ordinated charge. Nor is it entirely clear whether the Hospitaller Grand Master had yet returned from speaking with Richard. Did the Marshal take the initiative or did he think the trumpet had sounded? Certainly a brother knight of his status and experience would not have lost his head and simply attacked the nearest foe. Whatever the precise cause, the result was dramatic and successful" (Nicolle, *The Third Crusade, 1191*, pp. 75–6). Yet the picture that emerges from Ambroise's account is not of a knight who loses his head, but of a leader who decides on his own that the attack must no longer be delayed; this would not be the first or last occasion in the annals of warfare that a commander on the ground acts on the conviction that his understanding of the situation is undoubtedly better than that of his distant superiors. Besides, Nicolle chooses to skip Ambroise's statement that because of the premature charge Richard's plan came to naught and the enemy escaped a crushing defeat.

[23]   Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, pp. 314 and 317. See also Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*, p. 217; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1955), p. III:56; Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 2nd edn (Paris, 1975), p. II:82; John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven and London, 1999), p. 177; Christopher Tyerman, *God's War. A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), pp. 458–9. Gillingham and Tyerman add that Richard waited also for the Muslims' horses to get tired; similarly, Runciman believed that Richard waited until "the Turkish charges showed signs of weariness."

[24]   Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 314.

[25]   Bahā' al-Dīn, *al-Nawādir al-Sultaniyya wa'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya*, RHC HOr 3 (Paris, 1884), p. 258: *basātīn Arsūf*. Richards (*The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, p. 175) translates: "the plantations of Arsūf."

where Richard was, according to Oman, to sound the signal for the general attack; but, as we know, he did not do so then. Apparently aware of this problem, Oman wrote that "it would seem" that the premature attack by the rearguard was launched "only just before the moment that [Richard] would have chosen" to order the six trumpets to sound.[26] But surely at that moment—as Oman knew well—only the rearguard was entangled with the Muslims. Elsewhere, Saladin's forces had not yet been committed to close combat; that is, Richard's main condition for launching the all-out attack had not yet been met and therefore the charge by the center and the van, at a greater distance from the Muslims than the rear, reached them either with difficulty or not at all.[27] Under these circumstances, why should Richard have ordered the attack after the van's arrival at Arsur's gardens? Because these might have provided cover to the van's flank during its charge? More importantly, if Richard did indeed intend to lure all of Saladin's army into close combat, why did he insist, once the rearguard came under severe attack, on continuing the march and running the risk of a gap opening up between rear and center, rather than standing his ground and waiting for the bulk of Saladin's army to come closer?

To better understand Richard's plan, I propose to consider a factor that has not yet been appropriately taken into account: the Forest of Arsur, situated east of the battlefield. The forest figures a number of times in contemporary accounts. When on September 5 the crusaders came close to the *forest d'Arsur*—so relates Ambroise—they feared that the Muslims would set the forest on fire and were relieved to cross it unharmed.[28] This part of the forest was situated a few kilometers north of the brook Rochetaillée, not far from the shore;[29] the forest's major parts extended northeast and southeast of the brook. It was in the midst of those parts of the forest that Saladin chose to camp and it was from there that he rode out in search of a suitable battlefield.[30] Toward the end of the Battle of Arsūf two days later, after the third and final Frankish charge had reached the tops of some

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[26]   Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages*, p. 314. Similarly, Nicolle, *The Third Crusade, 1191*, p. 70, writes that "the initial Crusader counter-attack was launched a few minutes before Richard intended;" elsewhere (p. 64) he speaks of the rear's "marginally premature charge."

[27]   See Oman's account of the battle, ibid., pp. 315–16.

[28]   Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ll. 6085–99 (vol. 1, p. 98 [text]; vol. 2, p. 115 [translation]); see also *Itinerarium*, p. 259; *Itinerarium*, trans. Nicholson, p. 245. The crusaders may have remembered the scrub fires at Haṭṭīn.

[29]   Conder, "The Medieval Topography of Palestine," p. 92, observed in 1875, while discussing Richard's march, that in the forest through which the crusaders proceeded to the Rochetaillée "we recognise the long extent of park-like scenery in the neighborhood of Mukhalid [Umm Khalid, the Frankish Castellare Rogerii Longobardi, today Netanya], where groups of Sindian, the ordinary oak of Palestine (*Q. Infectoria*), are dotted over the rolling plateau of red semi-consolidated sand." The distance between the Castellare R.Longobardi and the Rochetaillée is about seven kilometers.

[30]   Bahā' al-Dīn, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, pp. 172–3.

hillocks, Saladin rallied his army "and the enemy [the crusaders] feared that there might be an ambush in the woods, so they withdrew … The sultan went back to a hill where the woods began and halted there." So relates Bahā' al-Dīn.[31] Similarly, Ibn al-Athīr writes that, after the Muslim rout, there was nearby "a grove of dense trees which the Muslims entered and the Franks suspected that it was a trick, so they withdrew."[32] And in a passage that does not depend on Ambroise, the author of the *Itinerarium* reports that towards the end of the battle, when the crusaders were pitching their tents outside Arsur, a large Muslim contingent attacked them but was repulsed by Richard and fled *ad sylvam Arsuri*, from which it had previously moved out.[33] Thus, it is clear that the battle took place west of the forest and that the crusaders avoided entering it; only on their march southwards towards the Rochetaillée, when the road passed through the forest's northern branch, were they forced to cross it despite their apprehensions.

What do we know about this forest, its density and extent? There is reason to assume that it existed already in Antiquity, because the Septuagint translates "the Sharon" as "the forest," Strabo (ca. 63 BC—ca. 21 AD) mentions "a large forest" north of Jaffa, and Josephus Flavius speaks of "the place called the Grove," apparently situated in the same area.[34] In our period we hear about a Frankish lord of Arsur, who, as he was hunting in *la forest d'Arsur*, got hung by his hat and died.[35] On the Oxford map of Matthew Paris of the mid-thirteenth century the *foresta de Arsura*, marked by more than a dozen trees, appears both north and south of Arsur Castle, and extends east and northeast of it.[36] Contemporary Old French itineraries warn that, at the Rochetaillée, bad people rob pilgrims and others on their way to Jaffa.[37] In 1265 the sultan Baybars invited his emirs to a hunt in the Forest of

[31]   Ibid., p. 175.

[32]   *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fi'l ta'rīkh, Part 2: The Years 541–589/1146–1193. The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2007), p. 391.

[33]   *Itinerarium*, p. 274; *Itinerarium*, trans. Nicholson, pp. 257.

[34]   Isaiah 65:10 in Lancelot C.L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1982 [1851], p. 899; *The Geography of Strabo*, 16.2.27, Greek text with English translation by Horace L. Jones (London and Cambridge, MA, 1966), pp. VII:274–5; Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 14.334, Greek text with English translation by Ralph Marcus (Cambridge, MA and London, 1976), pp. VII:626–7 with note c. I follow here George Adam Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, Especially in Relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church* (London, 1894), pp. 147–8.

[35]   *Lignages d'Outremer*, (ed.) Marie-Adélaïde Nielen (Paris, 2003), p. 63; Mas Latrie, "Les seigneurs d'Arsur," p. 590. "Se pendi de son chapeau" probably means that he was hanging by his hat straps (Professor Cyril Aslanov's suggestion).

[36]   For a reproduction see P.D.A. Harvey, *Medieval Maps of the Holy Land* (London, 2012), p. 62.

[37]   *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rédigés en français aux XIe, XIIe et XIIIe siècles*, (eds) Henri Michelant and Gaston Raynaud (Geneva, 1882), pp. 92, 104, 181, 191.

Arsūf (*ghābat Arsūf*), which "was full of lions," eager as he was "to clear the forest of destructive beasts"; and he used the opportunity to gather information about Hospitaller Arsur which he was to attack shortly thereafter.[38] Evidently, Baybars did not clear the forest of lions for good, because Sunqur Shāh al-Mansūrī, the Mamluk governor of Safed in about 1306, is said to have hunted 15 lions in the Forest of Arsūf, one of which was a great black one.[39] It stands to reason that at the time of the Battle of Arsūf the forest must have been teeming with wildlife.

Half a millennium later, at the time of Bonaparte's advance from Jaffa to Acre in March 1799, the forest still posed a significant military hazard. The artillery officer Charles Paultre, in a detailed account that was to be published by Joseph-François Michaud in his *Histoire des croisades*, described how the French, coming from the south on 14 March, entered an oak forest that reminded them of "les sites de nos belles contrées boisées de la France," and began crossing it with much difficulty. Their point of entrance was about eight kilometers southeast of Arsūf. Paultre expressed his astonishment that the Turkish enemy did not attempt to interdict the French progress by setting up redoubts in the forest, already rendered almost impenetrable by nature, what with tree branches, trunks turned upside down and enormous rocks obstructing advance at every step, like on a track through an out-of-the-way forest in France. The army emerged from the forest near Meski,[40] i.e. the village of Miska that existed, until 1948, about 11 kilometers northeast of Arsūf. General Kleber, in command of the vanguard division, had already set up his camp just south of the village on March 8 and reported to Bonaparte "du bivouac de la forêt."[41] The route through the forest to Miska is accurately depicted

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[38]   *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders. Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa'l Mulūk of Ibn aFurāt,* (ed.) and trans. U. and M.C. Lyons, historical introduction and notes by J.S.C. Riley-Smith, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1971), pp. I:84–5 (text), II:68–9 (translation); Reuven Amitai, "The Conquest of Arsūf by Baybars: Political and Military Aspects," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9.1 (2005): pp. 61–83, at pp. 62–3.

[39]   Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī Aʿyān al-Miʾa althāmina,* (ed.) Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Hyderabad, 1972), p. II:323; see also Khalīl b. Aybak, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr* (Beirut, 1998), p. II:483. My thanks to Professor Amikam Elad for alerting me to these texts and to Elon Harvey for the translation.

[40]   Joseph-François Michaud, *Histoire des croisades. Première partie contenant l'histoire de la Première Croisade*, 4th edn (Paris, 1825), pp. I:585–8. This is followed by a detailed description of the forest's oaks, pp. 588–90.

[41]   Clément de la Jonquière, *L'Expédition d'Égypte, 1798–1801* (Paris, 1907), p. IV:289, note 3. There are several references to the forest by participants in the expedition. General Doguereau mentions that, unable to advance because of the bad road, Bonaparte's depot camped in the forest during the night of 14–15 March: Jean-Pierre Doguereau, *Journal de l'expédition d'Égypte*, (ed.) Clément de la Jonquière (Paris, 1904), p. 186; see also pp. 183, 190. René-Nicolas Desgenettes, chief physician of Bonaparte's expeditionary force, wrote that "les forêts qui sont sur la route sont formées de chênes tortueux (*quercus ilex*)": R. Desgenettes, *Histoire médicale de l'armée d'Orient* (Paris, 1802), p. 53. Pierre

on Sheets 44 and 45 of Jacotin's map, like other parts of the country through which the French army passed; but the forest's western extent, quite distant from the route of the French on their way to Acre, is vaguely delimited. The ruins of "Arsouf" are erroneously marked north of the Rochetaillée, designated as "El Haddar R." Arsūf should have appeared near the unnamed "Village" just north of "Ali Ebn harami" (see Figure 7.2).[42]

The forest probably began to disappear in the 1830s, when the country's Egyptian ruler, Ibrāhīm Pasha, had many trees cut for fuel and ship-building, and when new Arab villages were established in the area.[43] In 1876 Claude Conder reported that the forest's southern part "is only represented by the stumps of trees thickly posted, from which numerous low brushes are sprouting. The forest has been cut down."[44] Similarly, in 1914 Gustaf Dalman, the eminent biblical scholar, observed that of the oak forest there remains just one residue, located east of Caesarea, and that the coastal plain has become "forestless." In 1921 he was sorry to observe that even that single residue had disappeared, having been cut down during the World War by the Ottoman army for use by its military railways.[45] Thus, the area marked as "Oak Forest" on Sheet X of the Palestine Exploration Fund

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Millet wrote that before arriving at the village of "Meskaïn" he passed "une grande forêt dont tout le bois est du chêne," adding that he did not see an oak elsewhere in the country: *Le chasseur Pierre Millet. Souvenirs de la champagne d'Égypte (1798–1801)*, (ed.) Stanislas Millet (Paris, 1903), pp. 85–6. Another participant, Detroye, was less impressed by the oak forest, describing the trees as "très clairsemés et fort rabougris": De la Jonquière, *L'Expédition d'Égypte*, p. 293.

[42]　　Arsouf is similarly misplaced on the map Charles Paultre prepared in Cairo in 1799/1800: *Carte physique et politique de la Syrie pour server à l'Histoire des conquêtes du général Bonaparte en Orient* (I am using the copy of the National Library of Israel, Laor Collection, PAL 1480).

[43]　　Yehuda Karmon, "Geographical Influences on the Historical Routes in the Sharon Plain," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 93 (1961): pp. 43–60, at p. 47; René Karschon, "In Defense of the Turks: A Study of the Destruction of the Tabor Oak Forest in the Southern Plain of Sharon," *La-Yaaran. Bulletin of the Israel Forestry Association* 32 (December 1982): p. 57.

[44]　　Claude R. Conder, "The Fertility of Ancient Palestine," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement for 1876*, p. 128. See also idem, "The Survey of Palestine. Reports. XXI," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement for 1874*, p. 185; *Tent Work in Palestine. A Record of Discovery and Adventure*, 2 vols. (London, 1878), p. I:214.

[45]　　Gustaf Dalman, "Jahresbericht für das Arbeitsjahr 1913–14," *Palästinajahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 10 (1914), pp. 32–3; idem, "Nach Galiläa vom 30. September bis 13. Oktober 1921," *Palästinajahrbuch des Deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 18–19 (1922–23): p. 16. I follow here René Karschon, who has conclusively shown that most of the forest of the southern Sharon Plain was not cut down during World War I, as commonly believed, but had disappeared already in the nineteenth century: Karschon, "In Defense of the Turks," pp. 54–9, Hebrew summary on pp. 50–53.

Figure 7.2:   The area of Arsūf on Pierre Jacotin's map. From *Carte topographique de l'Égypte et de plusieurs parties des pays limitrophes, levée pendant l'expédition de l'Armée française par les ingénieurs-géographes, construite par M. Jacotin* (Paris, 1818), Sheet 45: Césarée (excerpt).

map of 1880,[46] based on surveys conducted by Lieutenants Claude Conder and Herbert Kitchener, was in reality the area of the no-longer-existing oak forest, of which only brush-sprouting stumps remained.[47] In other words, the area marked as abounding in stumps must have roughly coincided with the area of the erstwhile forest. Therefore, the PEF map allows for an approximation of the forest's extent at the time of the Battle of Arsūf.

Charles Oman, whose plan of the Battle of Arsūf was no less influential than his analysis of that event, assumed that the distance between the oak forest and the road taken by Richard, or between the forest and the seashore, was more or less constant (see Figure 7.1). Had Oman studied closely the PEF map, which he evidently knew, he would have realized that these distances, according to this map, were about twice as large in the south, at the latitude of Arsūf, than in the north, opposite the wooded hill bordering on the Rochetaillée swamp. Yet Oman chose to present the forest's eastern limit as a basically straight line; if anything, his forest comes somewhat closer to the shore in the south than in the north. Two later plans of the battle appear to follow Oman.[48]

Nowadays it is possible to arrive at a more accurate estimate of the limits of the vanished oak forest of Arsūf/Arsur. This is so because palaeobotanical research has shown that the coastal tabor oak, *quercus ithaburensis arenaria*, a few specimens of which are still scattered in the southern Sharon Plain,[49] thrived on the light red sandy soil known in Arabic as *hamra*; unsuitable for traditional agriculture, it remained largely uncultivated and therefore the oak forest could persist on a large part of it.[50] In 1959 the geographer Yehuda Karmon made a detailed study of soil

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[46]   See above, note 7.

[47]   This, too, has been conclusively proved by Karschon, "In Defense of the Turks," pp. 56–8.

[48]   See Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages*, p. 211; Nicholas Hooper and Matthew Bennett, *Cambridge Illustrated Atlas: Warfare—The Middle Ages, 768–1487* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 101. On the other hand, Nicolle's maps that aim at displaying three different stages of the battle divide the forest into two distinct parts, the northern close to the shore and the southern far from it, with a wide gap between the two: Nicolle, *The Third Crusade, 1191*, pp. 56–7, 64–5, 72–3. The different distances from the shore (which go uncommented upon) are very roughly compatible with the PEF map; not so the gap between the two parts.

[49]   For a notable example see the oak in the fields of Tayibe, 16 kilometers northeast of Arsūf (Israel Grid 1982.6848). See No. 66 on the map of KKL-JNF, *110 Selected Trees in Israel* (2nd edn, November 2012).

[50]   Alexander Eig, "A Historical-Phytosociological Essay on Palestinian Forests of Quercus aegilops L. ssp. ithaburensis (Desc.) in Past and Present," *Beihefte zum Botanischen Centralblatt* 51.2 (1934): pp. 239, 254–63 (photo 16 on p. 259 shows "Traces of *Quercetum ithaburensis* in southern Hasharon near Wadi Falik"); Michael Zohary, *Geobotanics* (Merhavya, 1955), pp. 345–6 [in Hebrew]; idem, *Plant Life of Palestine. Israel and Jordan* (New York, 1962), pp. 13–14, 92–3 and map 5. Eig, mainly on the basis of nineteenth-century accounts, assumes (pp. 237–8, 263) that the *Quercetum ithaburensis* in the Sharon

distribution in the Sharon Plain, and the map based on it indicates accurately also the extent of *hamra* soil in the area of Arsūf. [51] On the assumption that the vanished oak forest of the Sharon Plain coincided with the extent of the *hamra* area, he published in 1961 a series of historical maps of the Sharon Plain on which that area is covered by oaks.[52]

Now, when we project Karmon's 1959 *hamra* data on my detailed map of the area in which the Battle of Arsūf took place (see Figure 7.3), mark with trees the presumed forest that grew on *hamra* soil, and denote by a dotted line the western extent of the area that according to the PEF map of 1880 abounded in brush-sprouting stumps, we realize that the distance between the road taken by Richard's army and the forest is larger in the south by about one kilometer than the distance deducible from the PEF map.

When we re-read the sources with this map in front of us, it becomes quite plausible to assume that Richard insisted on advancing southward because he had learned from his local Frankish informants that there the area between the road and the forest would be considerably larger. If the van had continued about one kilometer beyond Arsur, and if the center had come close to Arsur, the battle would have taken place in an area of ca. 3 x 3 kilometers—about the size of the battlefield at Hattīn.[53] If the bulk of Saladin's forces could have been lured into close combat in that area, a concerted charge by the crusader knights would have delivered its customary devastating blow, with the fleeing Muslims having little chance to reach the safety of the forest. Conceivably, Richard aimed to envelop there both of Saladin's flanks and then destroy his army.[54] But how could he hope to lure the enemy into drawing closer to the bulk of his army once it reached the vicinity of Arsur? He may have anticipated that the Muslims would start the battle, while his army was marching southwards, by delivering a serious attack on his rearguard, as they had done on the first day of the Battle of Hattīn.[55] Once the Muslims actually launched that attack, Richard had recourse to a gambit: with his rearguard bleeding badly, allowing for the first signs of a gap between the rear and the center to show up, he continued to push toward the chosen battlefield in the south, expecting Saladin to believe that the crusader army was in disarray and

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Plain and elsewhere was probably an open, park-like forest*;* Zohary (*Geobotanics*, p. 346) supposes that it was "of no small density."

[51]   The map is accessible at http://shemer.mslib.huji.ac.il/lib/W/maps/1511586.JPG.

[52]   Karmon, "Geographical Influences on the Historical Routes in the Sharon Plain," pp. 46–7; the map showing the oak forest (as well as settlements and roads) in Frankish times appears on p. 59.

[53]   For an estimate of the size of the battlefield at Hattīn see Herde, "Die Kämpfe bei den Hörnern von Hittin," p. 115.

[54]   Back in 1936, René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1936), pp. III:68–9, asserted that Richard "prépara une charge enveloppante qui eût dû amener la capture ou la destruction de toute l'armée musulmane."

[55]   See Kedar, "The Battle of Hattin Revisited," p. 197.
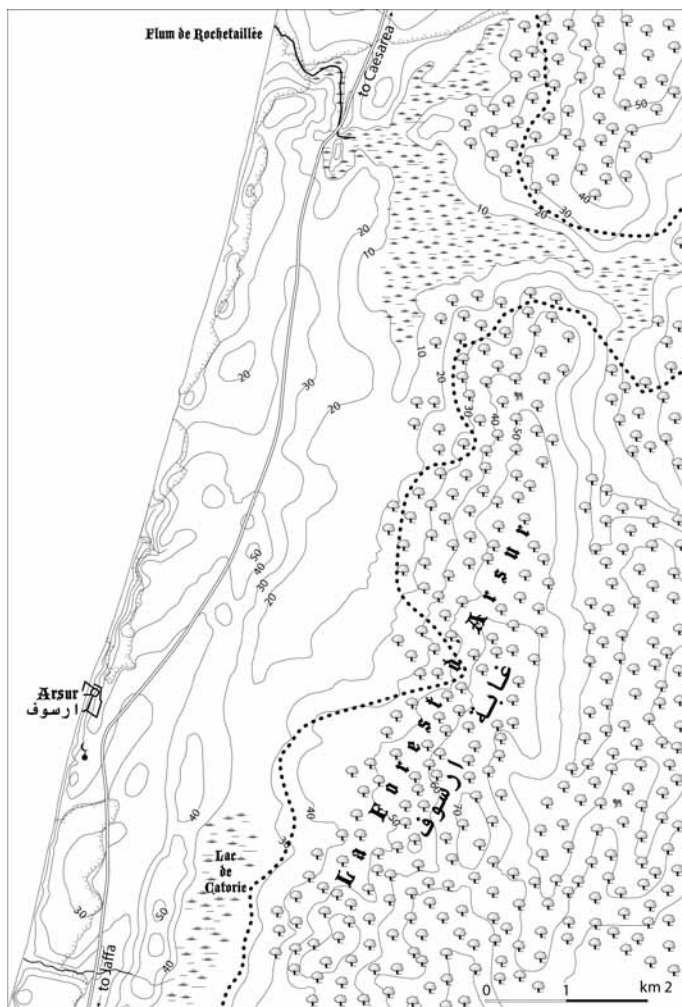
Figure 7.3:   The Forest of Arsūf/Arsur—estimates of its extent. Map Design:
Tamar Soffer, Jerusalem, for the author. Sources: (a) Yehuda
Karmon, The Sharon—Physiography and Soils, 1959 (in Hebrew).
(b) The Palestine Exploration Fund map of 1880, Sheet X.

order a general attack against it. But the rearguard's premature charge triggered a battle in which the Muslim left and center were still distant, and the devastating blow Richard had hoped for could not be delivered.

On October 1 1191 Richard wrote a letter to Garnier of Rochefort, the abbot of Clairvaux, in which he presented the battle as erupting while the crusader vanguard was already pitching camp near "Assur;" it started with a fierce Saracen attack on the crusader rearguard and was followed by a devastating crusader counterattack

in which Saladin lost more of his nobler men than on any single day of the previous 40 years. The crusaders suffered just one loss, the outstanding Jacques of Avesnes.[56] About the same time Saladin reported to the Diwān of Baghdad that, at Arsūf, the Franks made a single charge, drove the Muslims back and won mastery of the battlefield. Saladin believed that he was witnessing a rout but it turned out that the Muslim retreat was calculated. The Muslim center stood its ground, and al-ʿĀdil, Saladin's brother, went on the attack and repulsed the enemy, killing a prominent count, known as *Sīr Jāk*—"the devil among these satans"—and many men, whose heads lay scattered in the plain. The Franks stopped at Arsūf, their army defeated.[57] Luckily for our understanding of the Battle of Arsūf/Arsur, these two masterworks of propaganda are not the only sources about that confrontation that have come down to us.

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[56]   Roger Howden, *Chronica*, pp. 131–2, English translation by Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, p. 180. See also Richard's shorter letter of that same day: Roger Howden, *Chronica*, pp. 129–30. In 1151, 40 years before the Battle of Arsūf, Saladin was a fourteen-years-old lad.

[57]   ʿImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, *Kitāb al-Fath al-qussī fī al-Fath al-Qudsī,* (ed.) Carlo de Landberg (Leiden, 1888), p. 387; idem, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. Henri Massé (Paris, 1972), p. 344.

Chapter 8

Crusading Warfare, Chivalry, and the Enslavement of Women and Children

John Gillingham

The subject of the treatment of prisoners taken in crusading warfare, long neglected, has attracted considerable interest in the last 15 years, but more can still be said, particularly on the ways in which crusaders dealt with their enemies' women and children, the archetypal non-combatants.[1] In this paper I focus principally on the campaigns which established the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem during and after the First Crusade, and then address very briefly the ways in which the women and children of the defeated were treated during the conquests of Estonia and Occitania in the Baltic and Albigensian crusades. Comparing this aspect of three crusades has the effect of highlighting a fundamental development in the customs of war within Europe, one relevant to the origins of chivalry in the sense of a code of values which helped to set limits to the brutality of war; it is also a development which puts a question mark against the view that in terms of constraints on the excesses of war "the crusaders' homelands were less advanced than the eastern Mediterranean lands".[2]

According to a report in the Damascus Chronicle, one Friday in February 1111 (AH 504) the service in the Sultan's mosque in Baghdad was disrupted by a crowd of people "clamoring and weeping for the misfortunes which had befallen Islam at the hands of the Franks, the slaughter of men, and enslavement of women and children".[3] As Yvonne Friedman has pointed out, "in their descriptions of warfare both Christian and Muslim chronicles often use the formula: 'all the men were killed and the women and children were taken captive;'" she then considered and convincingly rejected the notion that this was merely a literary *topos* taken

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[1]   For a pioneering overview see the MA thesis by Yves Gravelle, *Le problème des prisonniers de guerre pendantes les croisades orientales, 1095–1192* (University of Sherbrooke, Quebec, 1999).

[2]   Norman Housley, *Fighting for the Cross. Crusading to the Holy Land* (New Haven, 2008), pp. 214–15; Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies : Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden, 2002), chapter three.

[3]   *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades,* (ed.) and trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1967), p. 111.

from the Old Testament.[4] Both at the time and since, chroniclers and historians have written a good deal about slaughter but relatively little about enslavement. Historians of warfare tend to focus on the fighting itself, not on its aftermath, and when they have thought about the plunder they have rarely given much attention to human beings.[5] Much more attention has been paid to enslavement by Muslims than to enslavement by Christians. In some part this is because Islamic laws of war, including the treatment of prisoners, were reduced to writing as early as the eighth century, long before the earliest such discussions in the medieval West, by Giovanni di Legnano and Honoré Bovet in the fourteenth century, by which time enslavement had long been unthinkable in intra-European war and in consequence was mentioned only as a long gone aspect of ancient warfare.[6] Islamic authors by contrast discussed slaving in war as current practice.[7] "The Sea of Precious Virtues", for instance, a mirror for princes composed in mid-twelfth-century Syria, states that "the women and children of combatants should be made slaves. The imam may kill sane adult men who are captured if he wishes, or enslave them".[8] These were the norms within which Saladin was behaving in 1187 when, according to Imad al-Din, his head of chancery, he at first refused to accept the Christians' offer to surrender Jerusalem on terms, saying "we shall take you all, kill the men and make slaves of the women and children".[9]

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[4]   Friedman, *Encounters between enemies*, pp. 162–5. Cf. Natasha Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 43: "Women might survive capture through their economic value for ransom or slavery … men were more likely to be killed".

[5]   The few references to the spoils of war in R. C. Smail's classic *Crusading Warfare 1097–1193* (Cambridge, 1956), make no mention of slaves. They are not discussed in William G. Zajac, "Captured property on the First Crusade", in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, (ed.) J. P. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 153–86, although see p. 171, n.1. Note, however, "Crusader armies appear normally to have enslaved their captives", in Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 175; also David Hay, "Collateral Damage? Civilian Casualties in the Early Ideologies of Chivalry and Crusade" in *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages*, (eds) N. Christie and M. Yazigi (Leiden, 2006), pp. 3–25, esp. pp. 20–21.

[6]   John Gillingham, "Christian Warriors and the Enslavement of Fellow Christians", in *Chevalerie & christianisme aux xiie et xiiie siècles*, (eds) Martin Aurell and Catalina Girbea (Rennes, 2011), pp. 237–56, at pp. 239–40.

[7]   Summarised in Matthew Strickland, "Rules of War or War without Rules", in *Transcultural Wars from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century*, (ed.) Hans-Henning Kortüm (Berlin, 2006), pp. 107–40, at pp. 113–14. See also Anne-Marie Eddé, *Saladin*, trans. J. M. Todd (Cambridge, Mass., 2011), pp. 294–308.

[8]   *The Sea of Precious Virtues. A Medieval Islamic Mirror for Princes*, trans. Julie Scott Meisami (Salt Lake City, 1991), p. 30.

[9]   Imad al-Din in *Abu Shama*, RHC HOr 4 (Paris, 1898), p. 328. Apparently Saladin had wanted to treat the Christians in Jerusalem just as the Muslims there had been in 1099 – although in fact in 1099 women and children too had been slaughtered.

In part, the emphasis on slaughter by Christians may be explained as a consequence of a natural concentration on the climax of the First Crusade, the Jerusalem massacres of July 1099, when the slaughter was of a degree of savagery that seemed to make no allowance for sex or age, and left little room for enslavement.[10] The only reference to the fate of the inhabitants in the laconic letter sent by the leaders of the crusade to the pope in September 1099 informed him that "in Solomon's portico and in his Temple our men rode in the Saracens' blood up to the knees of the horses".[11] Fulcher of Chartres, who arrived in Jerusalem a few months later and vividly remembered the smell of the rotting Muslim corpses, gives the impression that no one survived apart from the Fatimid governor and his retinue who took refuge in David's Tower and surrendered to Count Raymond.[12] "What more need I say?" wrote Fulcher, "No one was allowed to live. They did not spare the women and children".[13]

But that a number of Jews survived, some by joining the governor's entourage, most thanks to a ransom raised by the community of Ascalon, and a few who managed to escape, has been well known since the 1950s.[14] The fact that in 1100 there were still 20 Jewish refugees from Jerusalem in Ascalon after several groups of them had left for Egypt, says something about the total number who escaped, but whether they were so abundant as to cause the normal ransom price to be lowered, is questionable. It may be, as Goitein suggested in 1952, that military considerations induced the crusaders "to get rid at any price of an embarrassing number of prisoners before meeting the Fatimid army in the field".[15] Undoubtedly

[10]   For a model analysis Benjamin Kedar, "The Jerusalem Massacre of July 1099 in the Western Historiography of the Crusades", *Crusades* 3 (2004): pp. 15–75.

[11]   Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 171. The Mosque al-Aqsa was identified as Solomon's Temple.

[12]   According to Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem,* RHC HOc 3 (Paris, 1866), p. 300, they surrendered "upon a pledge of security" ("poposcerunt a comite Raimundo securitatis dexteram"). Translated by John H. and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia, 1968), p. 128. They, in effect, paid a ransom in the form of the valuables they had to leave behind.

[13]   Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, (ed.) Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 1.27, 30, 33 (pp. 301, 308–9, 332–333). Cf. Bartolf of Nangis, RHC HOc 3, pp. 514–16.

[14]   S. Goitein, "Contemporary Letters on the Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 3 (1952): 162–77; idem, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley, 1967–93), pp. V:374–9. The letter mentions a few still in Frankish hands, but since it was written in 1100, this could refer to captives taken elsewhere and later than July 1099.

[15]   David Hay, "Gender Bias and Religious Intolerance in Accounts of the 'Massacres' of the First Crusade", in *Tolerance and Intolerance. Social Conflict in the Age of the Crusade*, (eds) M. Gervers and J. M. Powell (Syracuse, 2001), pp. 3–10, at p. 6; Goitein, "Contemporary Letters", pp. 165–6.

the facts revealed in the Geniza letter have helped to inject a greater note of realism into discussions of the apocalyptic language of mass slaughter employed by Christian chroniclers; moreover, David Hay has pointed out that "when describing the climax of a battle or siege, these sources are primarily and often exclusively concerned with describing the fates of male combatants". In these contexts, words such as *cives* or *omnes* should be understood to refer only to the killing of adult males, not of women and children.[16] This is a good point, but it should also be remembered that in Latin, as in many other languages, masculine plural endings often relate to groups of both sexes, and that, depending upon context, it can be a mistake to translate words such as *pueros*, *filios*, and *senes* as "boys", "sons", and "old men".[17] More cautious translation points both to the killing of fewer children and women – unless they were old women – and to more girls and women being enslaved.

Two closely related accounts of the fall of Jerusalem, those by the Anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* and by Peter Tudebode, state in identical words that when the crusaders broke into the city on 15 July some prisoners were taken: "At last when the pagans were defeated our men took many prisoners, both men and women, in the Temple. Some they chose to kill; others they chose to keep alive".[18] In the bloody mayhem of that day another great crowd of people of both sexes sought safety by climbing onto the roof of the Temple where they were handed the banners of Tancred and Gaston de Béarn as signs that their surrender had been accepted. The next day, however, they were all slaughtered – to Tancred's chagrin.[19] Evidently Tancred and Gaston had looked upon them as a source of profit. But what happened to those captured on 15 July? It seems likely, although not explicitly stated, that at least some of them were the Saracens ordered to clear the city of corpses. But then what? Were they to be ransomed, kept, or sold as slaves?[20]

It has been argued that the notion that defeated enemies could be made a source of profit came as "a pleasant novelty" to the men from the West; that one example of more advanced eastern practice was that "the Muslims and Byzantines expected

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[16]   Hay, "Gender Bias", pp. 8–9.

[17]   See below nn. 32, 48, 54 and 67.

[18]   *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, (ed.) Rosalind Hill (Oxford, 1962), p. 91; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, (ed.) John H. and Laurita L. Hill (Paris, 1977), p. 141; Translated by Hill and Hill (Philadelphia, 1974), p. 119. See Marcus Bull, "The Relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*", *Crusades* 11 (2012): pp. 1–17 for a recent contribution to this much discussed subject.

[19]   *Gesta Francorum*, p. 92; Tudebode, *Historia* (trans.), p. 120

[20]   They were not permitted to remain in Jerusalem under new masters. This option was first offered in 1110 to the Muslims of Sidon: Benjamin Z. Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims of the Frankish Levant", in *Muslims under Latin Rule*, (ed.) J. M.Powell (Princeton, 1990), p. 146.

to ransom their captured soldiers and already possessed quite sophisticated procedures for doing so".[21] In the West, however, ransoming in the sense of the captive's friends and family raising money so that the freed person could return home had become general practice in the old Frankish core of Europe well before the time of the First Crusade.[22] Ransom levels naturally varied according to the political and social importance ascribed to captives, but as a general rule of thumb, men as fighters and heads of families, were more valuable than women and children. Thus, in the negotiations for the surrender of Jerusalem in 1187, the price of a man's ransom was set at twice that of a woman, and ten times that of a child. This ratio, however, cannot be used to argue that the incentive for a captor to keep women alive was weaker because they were worth less – not, that is, if he dealt with his captive as a slave. The slave market did not set a price on freedom and it operated by entirely different rules. Prices varied enormously, influenced both by the qualities of the goods on offer and the pressures of supply and demand. In 1187 the supply of slaves, including women and children, exceeded demand.[23] We have no good evidence for the prices which slaves fetched in Outremer, but evidence from later medieval Spain and Italy indicates that female slaves could be both more numerous than male and yet still fetch higher prices.[24] True, in the surviving sources from Outremer we see more male slaves than female, men and boys working on big projects such as the building of Safad and indeed on the siege of Jerusalem in 1099.[25] But slaves primarily engaged in domestic work would

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[21]   Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, p. 30–31; Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, p. 215.

[22]   Matthew Strickland, "Killing or Clemency? Ransom, Chivalry and Changing Attitudes to Defeated Opponents in Britain and Northern France, 7th-12th Centuries", in *Krieg im Mittelalter*, (ed.) Hans-Henning Kortüm (Berlin, 2001), pp. 93–122; John Gillingham, "Fontenoy and After: Pursuing Enemies to Death in France Between the Ninth and Eleventh Centuries", in *Frankland* (ed.) Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester, 2008), pp. 242–65, at pp. 255–265. Ransom in this sense is different from the ancient practice of redemption as an act of charity, although the two are often conflated, not surprisingly since the Latin word (*redemptio*) is the same for both. Both Jewish and Islamic law laid greater emphasis on the duty to free captive co-religionists, and this could have influenced the foundation in the later twelfth century of religious orders tasked with the charitable redemption of POWs. See Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, pp. 187–211.

[23]   Abu Shama's report on the dramatic fall in the price of slaves at Damascus in 1187 (RHC Or. 4, p. 288) includes the sentence "Who can say what a multitude of women and children were in our hands."

[24]   See, for example, Jeffrey Fynn-Paul, "Tartars in Spain: Renaissance Slavery in the Catalan city of Manresa, *c*. 1408", *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008): pp. 347–59.

[25]   For Muslim slaves hauling timber to Jerusalem in June 1099, see Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, p. 297. *Quasi servis* is translated as "as serfs" in Hill and Hill (1968), p. 124. On slaves in Outremer see Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 208–10; Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, pp. 113–15; Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims", pp. 152–4.

have been almost completely invisible, and their housework, including looking after children and providing sex on demand, though hard to quantify and therefore largely ignored by economic historians, might well mean that demand for females was just as high in Outremer, and on both sides of the religious frontier.

It has been suggested that in the absence of slavery in the West it did not at first occur to the crusaders that the lives of ordinary Muslims might be worth preserving, and that it took a few years in the East before they realized that it would be more profitable to capture them than to massacre them.[26] True, the demise of slavery was associated with a massive change in the conduct of war within the core regions of Christian Europe.[27] But this had not put an end to the enslavement of prisoners in wars along the frontiers. When campaigning in Sicily, in 1063 for example, the Normans took and sold prisoners.[28] That on the First Crusade the crusaders enslaved some of those they captured only meant they were behaving true to the usual form of those who travelled to and beyond the margins of their own society.[29] The practice was doubtless especially familiar to those who came from the Mediterranean region such as the Norman and Provençal contingents led by Bohemund of Taranto and Raymond of Toulouse, and to the authors who accompanied them on crusade.

Although none of the sources closest to the event, neither the Geniza letters, nor the eyewitness chroniclers, nor Fulcher of Chartres, ever explicitly refer to enslavement during the bloody mayhem of 15–16 July 1099, another well informed author did so twice, and his evidence has not been given the weight it deserves. This is Ralph of Caen, still "the least studied", as Jean Flori has observed, of the chroniclers of the First Crusade.[30] Unquestionably one of Bernard Bachrach's

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[26]   Friedman, *Encounter Between Enemies*, pp. 71–4.

[27]   John Gillingham, "Women, Children and the Profits of War", in *Gender and Historiography. Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford*, (eds) Janet L. Nelson, Susan Reynolds and Susan M. Johns (London, 2012), pp. 61–74; John Gillingham, "Surrender in Medieval Europe – An Indirect Approach", in *How Fighting Ends. A History of Surrender*, (eds) Holger Afflerbach and Hew Strachan (Oxford, 2012), pp. 55–72.

[28]   G. A. Loud, "Coinage, Wealth and Plunder in the Age of Robert Guiscard", *English Historical Review* 114 (1999): pp. 815–43. For Muslim slaves in Provence, see Charles Verlinden, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe medievale*, vol. 1 (Bruges, 1955), pp. 732–3. Enslavement of the enemy was routine in interfaith Iberian warfare.

[29]   Normans of Normandy were even ready to enslave when fighting against fellow Christians such as the Welsh, whom they evidently perceived as sufficiently different to be treated differently. See John Gillingham, "Conquering the Barbarians: War and Chivalry in Britain and Ireland", *Haskins Society Journal* 4 (1992): pp. 67–84; reprinted in Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 41–58. On warfare in northern Europe in general, see John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000–1300* (London, 1999), pp. 187, 192, and 203.

[30]   Jean Flori, *Chroniquers et propagandistes:Introduction critique aux sources de la première croisade* (Geneva, 2010), pp. 12–15

signal services to his fellow historians has been the provision of English translations of the Latin texts, sometimes in happy association with his son David. In the case of Ralph of Caen's prosimetric *Tancredus,* better known as the *Gesta Tancredi* (the title given it in the Recueil edition), the service is all the greater since the Latin is notoriously difficult. Both prose and verse are, as the Bachrachs observed, "characterized by an almost Tacitean brevity".[31] The verse in particular presents challenges which I would not have attempted without the help of their version, and both of Ralph's references to slave-taking in July 1099 occur in long passages of poetry. Both are very laconic. The first consists of the first two words in the line "servos nonnulli: cursim omnia et omnia raptim" ("Some obtained slaves. They rushed everywhere and everything was seized"). The second is the line "His iugulare senes, illis avellere parvos" ("Some slit the throats of the elderly, others carry off children").[32] Ralph of Caen wrote perceptively about military matters, winning what might be labelled the Bachrach seal of approval as "one of the few authors to pay significant attention to the problems of logistics".[33] But how much weight should we place on so few words in two lines of verse? We should no doubt be cautious, all the more so in the light of the Bachrachs' suggestion that Ralph used verse when he wished to signal that "his information was not as soundly based as he would have liked".[34]

But we might wonder whether Ralph had really wanted to signal that the climax of his narrative of the crusade, and the highpoint of Tancred's own contribution to its completion, was unreliable. He undoubtedly had informants who knew a very great deal about what had happened in July 1099, and although they and he might have wished to exaggerate, for example, "Tancred's Rolandesque effectiveness as a killing machine", it is hard to see what motive there would have been for inventing the slitting of the throats of old men and women. Ralph had travelled to Outremer in Bohemund's entourage in 1107, and then transferred to the service of Tancred as Prince of Antioch. The *Gesta Tancredi* was written after Tancred's death (1112), but before that (in 1118) of Ralph's former teacher, Arnulf of

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[31]   *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen. A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Farnham, 2005), p. 15.

[32]   *Gesta Tancredi*, RHC HOc 3, pp. 694 and 697; *Radulphi Cadomensis Tancredus*, (ed.) Edoardo D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 106 and 109. I have followed the translation in Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 143 and 146, though in the first pedantically replacing their "many" with "some", and in the second replacing "old men" with "the elderly".

[33]   Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 13

[34]   In part this is based on the belief that midway through his narrative of the assault on Jerusalem, Ralph switched from verse to prose when it came to mundane facts which would have been criticised had he got them wrong (Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 7, 9–10). But, in fact, after the prose of the preparations for the attack on Jerusalem, the break-in and the rest of the assault (RHC HOc 3, chs. 126–34; *Radulphi Tancredus*, chs. 368–84) is in verse.

Choques, Patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom Ralph dedicated this work, asking him to correct and edit it.[35] Hence, although Ralph himself had not been present at the fall of Jerusalem, two of his sources of information, Tancred and Arnulf, had been extremely prominent in the events of those days.[36]

Ralph of Caen was not the only chronicler to believe that slaves were taken on 15 July. So too, and independently of Ralph, did the author of by far the most popular of the chronicles of the First Crusade, Robert the Monk, writing perhaps as early ca. 1106–07 and using the *Gesta Francorum* as his main written source. According to Robert: "Once they had finished the indescribable slaughter their spirits became a little gentler; they kept some of the young people, both male and female, alive to serve them". He also thought that not all of those who spent the night of 15–16 July on the roof of the Temple were killed: "The Christians did not kill everyone, but kept many to serve them".[37] On those who had sought safety on the Temple roof, Baudri of Bourgueil took a similar line, writing that some of them were sold.[38] Evidently whatever actually happened on 15 and 16 July, there were authors who believed that slaves were taken. Moreover, Robert, in stating that it was the young who were spared, shared Ralph of Caen's depiction of the very different fates of young and old.

Whether a high proportion of the Muslim captives survived for long is, however, doubtful. Albert of Aachen's independent narrative of the capture of Jerusalem, composed soon after 1102 on the basis of information supplied by Godfrey de Bouillon's men after their return home, is the longest and most vivid account. It is also unique in reporting a third massacre on the third day. According to Albert, some prudent crusaders, fearing that the captives would join forces with the army known to be approaching from Egypt, advised that they should all be killed:

> Accepting this advice, the leaders gave the order and everyone seized weapons
> and launched into a pitiful massacre of all those Muslims still alive, taking their

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[35]   The only extant manuscript seems to have been revised after 1130; see Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 13, 20–21.

[36]   Arnulf indeed had been chosen as patriarch on 1 August 1099 (*Gesta Francorum*, p. 93), and in consequence quarrelled with Tancred (Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi,* pp. 149–154).

[37]   Robertus Monachus, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, RHC HOc 3, pp. 868–9: "Aliquantulum naturae indulserunt; et plures ex juvenibus tam viros quam mulieres vitae reservaverunt, et suo famulatui mancipaverunt … nec tamen omnes occiderunt, sed servituti suae plurimos reservaverunt". Robert has been praised for using the *Gesta Francorum* "with considerable subtlety and invention". See *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade,* trans. Carol Sweetenham (Farnham, 2005), pp. 12, 201–2.

[38]   Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolymitana,* RHC HOc 4, p. 102: "Quos denique vel vendiderunt vel a superis alienaverunt". On Baudri's crusading history see now Steven Biddlecombe, "Baldric of Bourgueil and the Flawed Hero", *Anglo-Norman Studies* 35 (2012/13): pp. 79–93.

shackles off some and beheading them, slaughtering others whom they found in the streets and squares of the city and whom they had previously spared for the sake of money or out of pity. They beheaded or stoned to death girls, women, noble ladies, pregnant women (*puellas*, *mulieres*, *matronas nobiles et foetas*), and young children, paying no attention to their age. Girls, women and ladies (*puellae*, *mulieres*, *matrone*) tormented by fear of imminent death and horror-struck by the violent slaughter … begged with piteous weeping and wailing for their lives. When children of five or three years witnessed the cruel fate of their mothers and fathers, they added to the clamorous weeping, but they begged for mercy in vain. The Christians gave themselves so wholeheartedly to slaughter that not even sucklings and one year-olds escaped the killer's hand.[39]

These were people who, so Albert said, had been kept alive "either so that they might be ransomed or because they already had been" (*pecunia redimendi aut redempti*).[40] Some of them might have been expected to be able to call upon the resources of neighbouring Muslim communities, at Arsuf or Jaffa for example, but the very striking predominance of females in Albert's account of the third day massacre suggests that a different future had been in store for many, one in line with the fate of the female inhabitants of Caesarea as described by Fulcher of Chartres.[41] When King Baldwin I and his Genoese allies captured Caesarea in 1101,

> Few of the male sex were left alive, but they [the crusaders] spared a great many women who could be used as slaves to mill grain. These captives, both the pretty and the unattractive, were sold and bought, as were some males as well.[42]

This passage was interpreted by Guibert de Nogent as meaning the Franks "annihilated multitudes throughout the city, sparing no one except the young

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[39]   Albert states that the advice had mollified Tancred's indignation over the earlier slaughter of those who had surrendered to him: Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolomitana*, (ed.) and trans. Susan Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 6.29–30 (pp. 440–43). The evidence of the Geniza letter suggests that Albert's informants exaggerated the thoroughness with which the order was carried out: Hay, "Gender Bias", p. 7.

[40]   On Albert's choice of words here see below, p. 147.

[41]   It is also possible that Albert's compassion for the victims (see Kedar, "Jerusalem Massacre", pp. 22–3), provides an additional explanation for his emphasis on the females among those killed on the third day.

[42]   Fulcher, *Historia*, 2.9 (p. 403): "Pauci quidem de masculino sexu vitae reservati sunt, feminis quampluribus pepercerunt, ut molas manuales volviturae semper ancillarentur, quas … cepissent, alii aliis tam pulchras quam turpes invicem vendebant et emebant, masculos quoque". On this passage see Verena Epp, *Fulcher von Chartres* (Düsseldorf, 1990), pp. 95–6.

women who could become slaves".[43] It would appear that in the market in human cattle, females were among the most desirable of commodities.

Since the majority of the crusaders were men, it seems certain that many of those who decided to settle married local women. Famously Fulcher of Chartres, in painting an idyllic picture of a prospering multi-cultural society united by a single faith, wrote of Franks marrying not only Frankish women, but also Syrians, Armenians and even baptized Muslims. Some captured Muslim women must surely have chosen baptism as a way of avoiding or escaping from slavery.[44] No doubt other Franks worried less about their partners' baptism and took Muslim concubines.[45] Some of the provisions of the council of Nablus (1120) reveal continuing anxiety about sexual relations, consensual as well as forced, between Franks and Muslims; it may well be significant that the precise form of their prohibition "appears to be inspired by the Byzantine legislation on sexual relations between masters and slaves".[46] No doubt some captives who chose baptism had the personal qualities which enabled them to turn enslavement into an opportunity to make a fresh start in a new environment. But most of those made prisoners of war must have been violently carried off amid the systematic slaughter that went hand in hand with enslavement. It can hardly have been other than a traumatic experience. Consider, for example, Ibn al-Athir's memory of one of the victims of the sack of Jaffa by Saladin in 1187:

> When I was in Aleppo I had a slave girl, one of the people of Jaffa. She had a child about a year old, and wept greatly when she dropped him, though he was not really hurt. I calmed her and told her there was no need to weep for so small an accident. She replied, "It is not for my boy that I am weeping, but for what happened to us at Jaffa. I had six brothers all of whom perished. I had a husband and two sisters; what has happened to them, I have no idea".[47]

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[43]   Guibert de Nogent, *Dei Gesta per Francos*, (ed.) R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout, 1996), p. 347: "Nemini parcitur, nisi qud puellaris ad obsequium iuventa servatur". Translation: *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, trans. Robert Levine (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 163.

[44]   Fulcher, *Historia*, 3.37 (p. 748): "Ille vero uxorem non tantum compatriotam, sed et Syram et Armenam et interdum Saracenam, baptismi autem gratiam adeptam". Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom", *History* 63 (1978): pp. 175–92, at p. 187.

[45]   Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades. Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), p. 350.

[46]   Benjamin Z. Kedar, "On the Origins of the Earliest Laws of Frankish Jerusalem: The Canons of the Council of Nablus, 1120", *Speculum* 74 (1999): pp. 310–35, at p. 324.

[47]   *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period*, Part 2, trans. D. S. Richards (Farnham, 2007), p. 326. He explicitly added that she was only one of many in a like situation. See also the autobiographical narratives of victims of modern slave raids such as that by Mende Nazer, *Slave* (London, 2004).

No doubt many of the women captured by crusaders would have responded similarly to "so small an accident". And it is, of course, entirely characteristic that the experience of a woman whose name we do not know was transmitted by a man whose name we do know.

Fulcher's account of what happened to the inhabitants of Caesarea in 1101 sheds light on the more cursory references in other sources to the fate of the defeated at earlier stages of the First Crusade. In their letter to Pope Urban II sent a few months after the capture of Antioch in 1098, the victorious princes wrote: "We killed the commander and soldiers, and kept their wives, children and household servants".[48] According to Ralph of Caen, who at this point was writing in prose, and whose information on this matter may well have derived from both Bohemund and Tancred, at Antioch the crusaders "seized whatever gold, small children, women, girls and anything else they found. They killed males who could fight, and spared those who could not".[49] The capture of Antioch gave them possession of the greatest market city of the region, a matter of critical importance in this respect as in many others. "Slaves were inconvenient in terms of logistics and required a market for sale".[50] Having taken Antioch the crusaders rapidly reaped the benefit – as noted in neutral terms by the writers with Raymond's and Bohemund's contingents. When Albara fell in October 1098 Count Raymond of Toulouse "killed thousands and brought thousands more to be sold at Antioch".[51] According to the Anonymous, at Maarat an-Numan in December 1098:

> Bohemund sent an interpreter to the Saracen leaders to tell them that if they, with their wives and children and goods, would take refuge in a palace … he would save them from death … Our men entered the city, and they killed everyone, male or female, they met … Then Bohemund took those whom he had ordered

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[48]   Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 162: "Civitatis tyrannum cum multis suis militibus interfecimus, eorumque uxores et filios et familias cum auro et argento et omnibus eorum possessionibus retinuimus". In the printed English translation *filios* is rendered as "sons": Edward Peters, (ed.), *The First Crusade* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 65–6. On the letter see Nicholas L. Paul, "A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade", *Speculum* 85 (2010): pp. 534–66, at pp. 554–6.

[49]   Radulphi, *Tancredus*, p. 63; RHC HOc 3, p. 655: "Aurum, parvulos, matronas, puellas, preterea quod quisque invenit, arripit: mares quod bellicosum est, trucidat, quod imbelle, reservat". Cf. Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 92

[50]   Hodgson, *Women, Crusading*, p. 99. It is worth noting that according to the Geniza letter, some of the Jews captured in Jerusalem were taken to Antioch: Goitein, *Mediterranean Society*, p. 375.

[51]   Raymond, *Historia*, RHC HOc 3, p. 266: "Ad Antiochiam reducti venundati sunt". Translated: Hill and Hill (1968), p. 73.

to enter the palace, stripped them of all their belongings, gold, silver and other valuables; some of them he had killed, and others sent to Antioch to be sold.[52]

As elaborated by Robert the Monk this last phrase became:

> He ordered the killing of old women and of men weakened by age or rendered useless by physical disability; youngsters and adults in the prime of life and good condition, and men too, were kept alive and taken to Antioch so that he could sell them all.[53]

Gilo of Paris, in his poem composed before 1120 and also based on the *Gesta Francorum,* gave one line to the fate of this group of prisoners: "the old went down to Erebus and the young people were sold" (*Ima senes Herebi petunt, vendentur ephebi*).[54] Evidently, Ralph of Caen, Robert the Monk and Gilo of Paris all believed that the elderly, presumably because they possessed little or no market value, were likely to be killed out of hand.[55]

After the successful assaults on Antioch, Albara, Maarat an-Numan, Jerusalem and Haifa (in July 1100), the capitulation of a town on terms was likely to be a disappointment to those who saw war as an opportunity to make a quick profit.[56] Terms of capitulation customarily allowed the inhabitants to leave in peace – as happened, for example, when the coastal town of Arsuf surrendered to Baldwin and the Genoese in April 1101. Fulcher of Chartres celebrated this as a bloodless triumph for a king whose over-riding object was the expansion of political control, but it may well be that others were less delighted, especially if, as Albert of Aachen thought, the people of Arsuf were allowed to take with them as many of their

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[52]   *Gesta Francorum*, pp. 79- 80: "Alios vero fecit occidi, alios autem iussit conduci ad vendendum Antiochae".

[53]   Robertus Monachus, *Historia*, p. 849: "Annosaeque aetatis mulieres et decrepitos senes, et invalido corpora imbeciles, praecepit interfici; puberes et majusculae aetatis adultos validoque corpora, virosque reservari, et ut omnes venderet, conduci Antiochiam". Translation: Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 186.

[54]   *The Historia Vie Hierosolimitane of Gilo of Paris*, (ed.) C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry (Oxford, 1997), pp. 214–15. For discussion of the relationship between Robert and Gilo, see Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, pp. 28–35.

[55]   This short way of dealing with the old and decrepit was to be one of the charges levied against the Scots by mid twelfth-century English writers. See Gillingham, "Conquering the Barbarians", pp. 71–2; Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 292–6. On the other hand, there are signs that in the Levant men were more willing to think of small children as worth stealing than the Scots allegedly were, see, e.g. the background to the celebrated story of Saladin showing mercy to a Frankish mother: Baha al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. D. S. Richards (Aldershot, 2001), p. 37.

[56]   On the storming of Haifa and the slaughter that followed – and no mention of anyone being taken alive, see Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 7.25 (p. 520).

possessions as they could carry.[57] Only a few weeks later, on 17 May 1101, with the Genoese in the forefront of the assault, Caesarea was taken by storm, followed – as already discussed – by the selling and buying of slaves, including "a great many women".[58] Fulcher of Chartres, as Baldwin of Boulogne's chaplain, had been busy elsewhere when Antioch, Albara, Maarat an-Numan and Jerusalem were taken, and in consequence his narrative of the fall of Caesarea in 1101 represents the first occasion when he was present at a successful assault. As a man from northern Gaul, moreover, he would not have taken enslavement quite so much for granted as Raymond of Aguilers and the Anonymous. This may explain why he said a little more on the subject than they had done when describing the capture of Albara and Maarat an-Numan.

Controversial episodes in the early history of the Latin kingdom indicate that the Italian *soldateska* was inclined to disregard the terms of surrender negotiated by kings.[59] According to Albert, at Acre in 1104 terms of surrender had been agreed, allowing the defenders to leave unhindered with their wives, children and all their goods, when the Genoese and Pisans, "overcome with blind greed", slaughtered and plundered those who had surrendered.[60] Fulcher of Chartres, although much more discreet, clearly hints at something like this in writing that after the defenders of Acre had surrendered, many were killed, and all lost their goods.[61] His account of events at Tripoli in 1109 indicates that something similar happened there**.** The city surrendered on terms, but then "a great tumult suddenly broke out among the Genoese seamen, caused by what I don't know;" they scaled the walls, entered the city and killed all the Muslims they found.[62] It seems that those who knew the markets best were also those who were the keenest to risk an assault. It may even be that on one occasion the men deprived of the business opportunity of an assault on a Muslim city consoled themselves by kidnapping Christians. At any rate, Fulcher's narrative of an attack on Greek islands when the raiders carried

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[57]   Fulcher, *Historia*, 2.8 (pp. 397–8); Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 7.54 (p. 562).

[58]   Fulcher, *Historia,* 2.9 (pp. 402–3). Caffaro made much of the Genoese leading the attack, as well as their seizing men, women and a great deal of money: *Annales Ianuenses*, in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de suoi Continuatori*, (eds) L. T. Belgrano and C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, vol. 1 (Rome, 1890), pp. 11–12.

[59]   *Soldateska* is Mayer's term: Mayer, "Latins, Muslims", p. 180.

[60]   Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 9.28 (pp. 672–5): "Ut incolumes cum uxoribus et filiis nostris et universis rebus exeamus".

[61]   Fulcher, *Historia*, 2.25 (pp. 463–4).

[62]   Fulcher, *Historia*, 2.41 (pp. 532–3). In Ibn al-Qalanisi's account nothing out of the ordinary happened; the city fell and "women and children were enslaved" (*Damascus Chronicle*, pp. 89–90). According to Albert, Beirut fell in confusing circumstances in 1110 (Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 11.17, p. 790), but he may have muddled events there with what had happened at Tripoli the previous year. Fulcher is very brief on the capture of Beirut, but gives the impression that it was taken by storm (Fulcher, *Historia*, 2.42, pp. 535–6), as does Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damascus Chronicle*, p. 100.

off "youths and girls", places the episode in the context of a Venetian fleet that had given crucial assistance at the siege of Tyre in 1124, returning home via the unfortunate Greek islands after that city had surrendered on terms.[63]

As a means of preying upon human beings, as well as cattle and other objects of plunder, raiding the countryside was much less risky than storming a town. It was also, not surprisingly, much more common. According to Albert of Aachen, in 1100 Tancred launched daily raids into Damascene territory from his base in Tiberias.[64] Nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians of medieval warfare have rather neglected the routine of raiding – and for the very good reason that few medieval chroniclers wrote much about it.[65] Fulcher's chronicle, for instance, revolves around battles and sieges, not the bread and butter business of raiding, which he mentions only rarely. After what appears to be an eyewitness account of Baldwin I's first raid in 1100, he describes no more Frankish raids until 1123, when a Jerusalem contingent on its way home from Antiochene territory suddenly crossed the Jordan and, taking the Muslims by surprise, raided their lands. They returned to Tiberias with a huge convoy of camels and sheep, children and youths which they shared out "in the customary way".[66]

Albert of Aachen, by contrast, provides an unusual amount of information about raiding by the early crusaders. For instance, he reveals the strategy of raiding a city's territory in order to put it under pressure without incurring all the expense of laying a siege. A dawn raid launched by Godfrey de Bouillon in 1100 against the people of Arsuf working in the vineyards and fields outside the city ended with the raiders capturing "citizens' wives and children".[67] We are not told what happened to these women and children. They might have been sold as slaves or – and perhaps in this case more likely – they were ransomed by the community of Arsuf. On a raid into the Transjordan led by a son of Duke Robert of Normandy in 1107, many were killed and many were captured, including "girls,

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[63]   Fulcher, *Historia*, 3.41 (pp. 758–60): "Puberes et puellas miserabiliter captivasse, pecuniam multimodam secum asportasse".

[64]   Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 7.16 (p. 508). In Ralph of Caen's account of this stage of Tancred's career, he compared him to a hunter examining the terrain in order to identify places where the greatest quantities of his prey – ordinary farmers (*rustici*) included – could be found: *Radulphi Tancredus*, p. 117; Bachrach and Bachrach, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 155 (RHC HOc 3, p. 704).

[65]   But the centrality of the raiding expedition in thirteenth-century crusading warfare has been well described and analysed in Marshall, *Latin Warfare*, pp. 183–209.

[66]   Fulcher, *Historia*, 3.25 (pp. 689–90): "Antequam adfines Saraceni hoc advertissent, Iordanem subito intinere transierunt … cum ingenti carra camelorum atque ovium, infantum quoque et puberum Tiberiadem eis proximam redierunt et, dispertito pro more invicem emolumento".

[67]   Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 7.9 (p. 498): "Cum captivis uxoribus illorum et pueris".

young boys and a noblewoman".[68] The pattern of men being killed, women and children captured, comes across particularly clearly in Albert's story of Baldwin I's first raid when the king, faced with people who had taken refuge in caves, is credited with cunningly finding a way of tricking the men to come out in groups, only – unexpectedly to them – to be killed, so that the women and children (*pueri*) could be smoked out and captured, before being given to his soldiers and shared out (*militibus in predam dati ac divisi sunt*). According to Albert, some of the mothers and children were beheaded, while others were ransomed.[69]

In other words, here, just as in his account of the third day massacre at Jerusalem, Albert says nothing about the crusaders wanting to enslave women and children. One of the characteristics of Albert's narrative is that Christians do not enslave, not at Antioch, Albara and Maa'rat in 1098, not at Jerusalem in 1099, nor at Caesarea in 1101.[70] Fulcher of Chartres, Ralph of Caen, Raymond of Aguilers, the Anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, and those who read his account (Robert the Monk, Gilo of Paris, Baudri of Bourgueil, Guibert de Nogent) all at one time or another refer to the enslavement of Muslims. Among the early chroniclers of the First Crusade only Albert of Aachen does not. He was well aware of enslavement as a Muslim practice. In words he put into the mouth of Kerbogha, he articulated their preference for seizing "unbearded youth" (*imberbis iuventus*) and "virgins" (*puelle intacte*), adding that males with beards or grey hairs and married women were likely to be killed.[71] But when the crusaders defeated Kerbogha and captured his camp, Albert has them slaughter the women and children they found there.[72] Judging by his narrative the fate of Muslim women captured by Christians was to be ransomed, tortured (as at Tripoli in 1109), killed or simply passed over in silence, but never to be enslaved or sold. All this suggests that not much reliance can be placed on Albert's silence on the subject, and that it is quite likely that when the captured women and children were shared out among Baldwin I's soldiers in 1100, at least some of the men kept some of their captives for themselves.

Turning to the Baltic crusade we can see a similar pattern. Henry of Livonia, a priest sent by the bishop of Riga to minister to converts living close to the frontier with pagan Estonia in 1208, was himself an eyewitness of much of the warfare he described. His narrative of the first raid launched by his own parishioners against

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[68] Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 10.47 (pp. 760–62): "Cum puellis et pueris tenellis et matrona nobilissima".

[69] Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 7.39–40 (pp. 542–7). Fulcher's account of this raid is more prosaic: Fulcher, *Historia*, 2.4 (pp. 372–4).

[70] Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 5.26, 30 (pp. 368, 374–6).

[71] But not all married women were in such deadly danger. Albert also tells of the attractive widow of a knight of Bouillon, herself captured in the action in which her husband was killed, who became the influential wife of a renowned Turkish commander, Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 4.45 (p. 318); 5.5–7 (pp. 344–6). Cf. 2.39 (p. 130) for the value of beauty in such situations.

[72] Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 4.56 (p. 336).

the Estonians of Saccala ended with them "collecting together all their plunder and returning home, bringing back with them herds of animals and a great many girls, the only people whom the armies of this region normally spare".[73] Phrases stating explicitly that males were killed and females captured occur over 30 times in his narrative of the conquest of Estonia.[74] In 1216, for example, "When we arrived there we burned and devastated everything, killed all the males, captured women and children, and drove off their horses, cattle and sheep".[75] This was the basic form of warfare adopted not only against pagans, but also – after initial hesitation – from 1217 on against Russian Orthodox Christians.[76] Not once did Henry say anything at all about the fate of the pagan women and children whom the Rigans captured in raid after raid. His silence here has allowed some historians to tiptoe around the subject, but most probably, just as in later wars against Prussians and Lithuanians, the Christians enslaved their pagan captives.[77] Even though here there were no great cities such as Antioch and Damascus, this does not seem to have prevented the selling and buying of slaves.[78]

There were, of course, other massive differences between the situations in the East Baltic, where the crusaders possessed superior military technology, and the

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[73]   *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, (ed.) L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, MGH SRG (Hanover, 1955), 12.6 (p. 64): "Et per omnes villas spolia multa colligentes iumenta et pecora multa et puellas quam plurimas, quibus solis parcere solent exercitus in terris istis, secum abduxerunt". cf. *The Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. James Brundage (New York, 1961, repr. 2003), p. 86.

[74]   John Gillingham, "A Strategy of Total War? Henry of Livonia and the Conquest of Estonia (1208–1227)" in (ed.) M. Rojas, Forthcoming.

[75]   Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae, 20.2 (p.135): "Quo cum pervenimus, exercitum nostrum per omnes vias ac villas nec non et provincias illius terre divisimus, incendentes omnia et vastantes, quidquid masculi sexus interficientes, mulieres et parvulos capientes, pecora multa nec non et equos eorum minantes".

[76]   *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, 11.8 (p. 56; AD 1208): "Ruthenos propter nomen christianitatis non audent interficere". 13.4 (p. 70; AD 1209): "Theutonici … pre reverencia christiani nominis paucos occidentes". 20.5 (p. 138; AD 1217): "Interfecerunt populum multum et mulieres quam plurimas captivas duxerunt et equos et pecora multa depellentes spolia multa tulerunt". 23.5 (pp. 158–9; AD 1219): "Viros interficientes et mulieres captivantes" (twice).

[77]   Sven Ekdahl, "The Treatment of Prisoners of War during the Fighting between the Teutonic Order and Lithuania", in *The Military Orders*, (ed.) M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 265–7; Werner Paravicini, *Die Preussenreisen des europäischen Adels*, Teil 2 (Sigmaringen, 1995), pp. 101–10. For a papal letter revealing how limited was the freedom to be accorded to baptized slaves, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 147–9.

[78]   *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae,* 30.1 (p. 216). On the trade in twelfth-century Britain, see Gillingham, "Conquering the Barbarians", p. 46. See also Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), p. 156 on local trade in slaves and the shunting system.

Eastern Mediterranean, where they did not. According to Henry, the Estonians from 1208 onwards faced a grim dilemma: either submit and convert or face constant invasion, death and destruction.[79] He made the crusaders' strategy crystal clear in his account of the ravaging, burning and plundering in 1215:

> They continued in this way, neither giving the Estonians any rest nor taking any rest themselves, until in that one summer nine armies, ravaging one after the other, left the province so desolate and deserted that neither people nor food could be found there. Their aim was to keep on making war until either those who survived came to ask for peace and baptism or they were completely extirpated from the earth.[80]

By contrast, in the Eastern Mediterranean there was hardly any attempt made to convert those Muslim groups, whether sedentary farmers or nomadic pastoralists, who were prepared to submit to Frankish rule.[81] Nonetheless, the military logic of the slave raid was everywhere similar. When women and children were not merely "collateral damage" but prime targets, then males fighting to protect their families had to be eliminated.[82] As Robert Bartlett, commenting upon Northern Europe, observed, "In many Celtic lands and eastern Europe … the primary purpose of predation was the kidnapping of people and livestock from neighbours. The killing of enemy males was largely a means to this end".[83] In this respect, crusading warfare in the Levant was no different.

But compare this with the Albigensian Crusade, in which the crusaders' conduct of war has been reckoned to be brutal and unchivalrous, even genocidal.[84] "This", allegedly, "was a conflict in which all the normal conventions of warfare in the

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[79]   *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, 12.6 (pp. 63–4).

[80]   *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, 19.3 (p. 126): "Cogitabant enim eos tam diu debellare, donec aut pro pace et baptismo venirent, qui residui erant, aut omnino eos exstirpare de terra". From Henry's repetitive phrases it seems clear that the strategy of making relentless and destructive war until either the survivors submitted to conversion or were "completely extirpated from the earth" did not involve the slaughter of every single man, woman and child – as a translation of *extirpare* as "wipe out" might suggest. It was rather that their women and children were forcibly taken over by a different people, with the implication that any children these captives subsequently had would be children of the victors not of the defeated.

[81]   Kedar, "The Subjected Muslims", pp. 160–63.

[82]   This was not in the least incompatible with trying to capture alive those males whose status meant that they might be highly valuable, whether for political exchange or for ransom.

[83]   The passage quoted continues, "or a precautionary measure to prevent retaliation, though, of course, there was pleasure in it too". Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe. Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950–1350* (London, 1993), p. 303.

[84]   On the alleged genocide, see Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War. The Albigensian Crusade and the Battle for Christendom* (Oxford, 2008).

early thirteenth century were abandoned".[85] Prisoners were killed and mutilated. Women and children were among the victims of some of the worst massacres in crusading history, such as those at Béziers in 1209 and at Marmande in 1219.[86] William of Tudela, writing within four years of the massacre at Béziers, was shocked, blaming the cursed *ribauds* for a slaughter more savage than any since the days when Saracens had raided Provence.[87] But it was not only the mob which acted cruelly, so also did commanders. A notorious episode occurred at Lavaur in 1211. After it fell to Simon de Montfort, 400 heretics were burned, and an aristocrat, Lord Aimeri of Montréal and Laurac, was hanged and 80 knights with him. Although William of Tudela took the Catholic side, he was dismayed. "I do not think that in the whole of Christendom has so high a baron been hanged, and so many with him", wrote William. Moreover, the lady of Lavaur, Girauda, Aimeri's sister, was thrown down a well and died under a hail of stones, "crying, weeping, howling". True, the Lady Girauda was no ordinary woman, she was a leading Cathar, and had made her fortress into a place of refuge for other Cathars. But putting her to death, in William's eyes, was a shame and a sorrow. She, however, was not the only woman in Lavaur. According to William, all the other ladies were set free by a courteous and *pros* Frenchman who behaved most honourably.[88] This was Simon's way. In November 1210, after a long siege, he captured the Cathar fortress of Termes. "The count of Montfort showed himself most courteous; from the women he took not a farthing".[89] Simon handed over the loot of Lavaur to a wealthy businessman from Cahors, Raimond de Salvanhac, in return for the supplies which kept his army provisioned, but Raimond did not deal in women and children.[90] The epitaph on Simon composed by the bitterly hostile continuator of William of Tudela's *Canso* accuses him of many things, including the massacre of women and children, but it does not accuse him of seizing them and selling

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[85]   Malcolm Barber, "The Albigensian Crusades: Wars Like Any Other?" in *Dei Gesta per Francos*, (eds) M. Balard et al. (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 45–55, at p. 45; Housley, *Fighting for the Cross*, p. 217; Laurent Macé, "Le visage de l'infamie: mutilations et sévices infligés aux prisonniers au cours de la croisade contre les Albigeois" in *Les prisonniers de guerre dans l'histoire. Contacts entre peuples et cultures*, (eds) Sylvie Caucanas, Rémy Casals and Pascal Payen (Toulouse, 2003), pp. 95–105.

[86]   On Marmande in 1219 see Claire Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 217–19

[87]   *La chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, (ed.) and trans. Eugène Martin-Chabot (Paris, 1931), vol 1, *La chanson de Guillaume de Tudèle*, pp. 58–9; *The Song of the Cathar Wars,* trans. Janet Shirley (Farnham, 1996), p. 21.

[88]   *Chanson de Guillaume*, pp. 164–172, ending with the words "E de las autras donas us Frances cortes gai/Las fe estorcer trastotas, com om pros e verai" (*Song of the Cathar Wars*, pp. 41–3).

[89]   *Chanson de Guillaume*, pp. 138–41: "Mas lo coms de Montfort i fe mot que cortes/ Que no tole a las donas que valha un poges/Ni un, diner monedat" (*Song of the Cathar Wars*, p. 37).

[90]   *Chanson de Guillaume*, p. 174; *Song of the Cathar Wars*, p. 43.

them.[91] In the treatment meted out to Girauda of Lavaur and her brother, one of the normal chivalric conventions of an early thirteenth-century French aristocrat, respect for high status, was indeed abandoned, but not all of them were. It evidently did not occur to the Frenchmen of the crusade that they might enslave women and children.[92]

When early thirteenth-century crusaders, mostly North Germans, entered the East Baltic region, they quickly adopted the type of warfare that was practised in the region, both by their newly baptized subjects and by those who remained stoutly pagan such as the Estonians and Lithuanians. For the men of the First Crusade, it was even easier. They belonged to a generation of people who when they went to the peripheries of Europe both in North and South continued to be relaxed about making a profit out of war by capturing women and children. And, of course, in going to the East they entered a region in which the enslavement of women and children continued to be taken for granted. By contrast, when the Northern French crusaders entered the Langue d'Oc in the early thirteenth century they came to a region in which, for all its turbulence, the practice of enslaving women and children had long since ceased. It was centuries since prisoners taken in warfare within Europe had been enslaved as they had been in Merovingian and early Carolingian times. By the time of the Albigensian Crusade, no matter how savagely heretics might be treated, it occurred to no one that a profit might be made out of women and children by capturing and selling them. Unusually savage in many ways though the Albigensian Crusade undoubtedly was, not all the normal conventions of warfare were abandoned. In their treatment of ordinary women and children, these crusaders, unlike those who went to war in Outremer and in the Baltic, were relatively chivalrous.

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[91]   *La Chanson de la croisade*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1961), p. 228; *Song of the Cathar Wars*, p. 176.

[92]   For the argument, though made on other grounds, that "the Occitan War does not stand out as particularly barbarous compared to warfare elsewhere in western Europe of the time", see Laurence Marvin, *The Occitan War: A Military and Political History of the Albigensian Crusade, 1209–1218* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 22.

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Chapter 9

The Catalan Company in the East: The Evolution of an Itinerant Army (1303–1311)

David Jacoby

The Catalan Company was a mercenary force hired in 1303 by the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus to fight the Turks in western Asia Minor. Its relations with the Empire turned into military confrontation in 1305, when it was stationed at Gallipoli. Until 1310 the Company moved from that city westward in stages, causing widespread devastation across the European territories of Byzantium. In 1311 it conquered the Frankish Duchy of Athens, in which its members settled and established a state that survived for some 75 years.[1]

The odyssey of the Catalan Company from 1303 to 1311 has been the subject of numerous publications, ranging from writings hailing its military exploits in a Catalan nationalistic vein and glorifying the House of Aragon, to more sober and balanced scholarly studies. Much attention has been devoted to the Company's connection to the rulers of Aragonese states and to Aragonese expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, as well as to its relations with Byzantium and western crusading plans. In contrast, the focus of this study is upon the internal evolution of the Company until 1311 and the latter's implications for its military capacity, two aspects largely neglected so far.[2]

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[1]   On the Catalan state, see Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (Cambridge, Mass., Mediaeval Academy of America, 1948); Kenneth M. Setton, *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (Barcelona, 1975); David Jacoby, "L'état catalan en Grèce: société et institutions politiques," in M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, (ed.) *Els Catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 79–101.

[2]   The chronicle of Ramon Muntaner, a Catalan, is the major source for the history of the Company. He was a prominent member of that body until the summer of 1307, yet is not always reliable for the following period. There are numerous editions of his *Chronicle*, a large segment of which deals with the Company. The latest is by F. Soldevila, (ed.) *Les quatre grans cròniques. III. Crònica de Ramon Muntaner. Revisió filològica de Jordi Bruguera, revisió històrica de M. Teresa Ferrer i Mallol* (Barcelona, 2011) (hereafter: *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*). In order to facilitate the use of previous editions I refer only to chapters. The often used English translation by Lady Goodenough, entitled Ramon Muntaner, *Chronicle* (London, 1920–21), is imprecise and unreliable with respect to technical terms. Two Byzantine historians offer additional information and a different approach to the Company: Georges Pachymérès, *Relations historiques*, (ed.) A. Failler, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 24 (Paris, 1984–2000), and Nicephorus Gregoras,

It is necessary to begin with a short survey of the Company's history which, however, is limited here to events affecting its internal evolution. It has often been mistakenly stated, even recently, that the Catalan Company was formed during the war opposing the Aragonese kings of Sicily and the Angevin kings ruling in Naples from 1282 to 1302.[3] In fact, it came into being only after the conclusion of the peace of Caltabellotta, concluded on 31 August 1302, which brought an end to the twenty-year long conflict opposing the two parties. The creation of the Company was due to the initiative of Roger de Flor, a former member of the Military Order of the Temple, corsair, warlord, and military entrepreneur who had been in the service of King Frederick III of Sicily.[4] He sent two envoys to Constantinople, who offered Emperor Andronicus II the recruitment of a military force composed of experienced cavalry and foot-soldiers from among those who had fought in the Aragonese-Angevin war. There is contradictory information regarding the clauses of the agreement concluded in the spring of 1303. In any event, the emperor must have been compelled to accept many, if not all, of the conditions submitted by Flor's representatives, since he was in urgent need of an army capable of halting the Turkish advance in Asia Minor. Flor was promised the dignity of *megas doux*, or grand duke, a high-ranking honorary court title, and marriage to a niece of the emperor.[5] Andronicus II authorized him to borrow around 20,000 hyperpyra,

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Byzantina Historia, (ed.) L. Schopen (Bonn, 1829–55). Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1856–1937) was the major historian of the Company and the state it founded. His invaluable *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301–1409)* (Barcelona, 1947) is a rich, yet not exhaustive collection of sources covering both. The numerous studies of the Catalan historian Rubió i Lluch devoted to the Company and the Catalan state in Greece reflect historical scholarship in his time and should be used with caution. A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), pp. 128–242, offers the most extensive treatment of the Catalan Company in the Byzantine context. R.I. Burns, "The Catalan Company and the European Powers, 1305–11," *Speculum* 29 (1954): pp. 751–71, reprinted in R.I. Burns, *Moors and Crusaders in Mediterranean Spain* (London, 1978), no. XVI, deals with an aspect of the Company's history only marginally covered here. E. Marcos Hierro, *Almogàvers. La història* (Barcelona, 2005), is a detailed reconstruction of the Company's history until 1311 for the general public taking recent scholarship into account. Other primary sources and recent studies appear below.

[3]   M.C. Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204–1453* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 78, 199–200; lately, S. Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium, 1204–1453* (Leiden, 2011), p. 121.

[4]   On Flor's earlier career, see Marcos Hierro, *Almogàvers*, pp. 72–88; W. G. Ostasz, *Śródziemnomorska kariera Rogera de Flor do roku 1303* (Cracow, 2009) (M.A. dissertation, in Polish) *and* the extensive English summary by W. Ostasz, *The Mediterranean Career of Roger de Flor to 1303. A Reinterpretation*, both accessed on Google, www.Academia.edu, under his name.

[5]   Pachymérès, p. IV:433; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, p. 132. On the dignity, originally granted to the commander of the Empire's naval forces, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, (ed.) A. Kazhdan (New York-Oxford, 1991), p. II:1330.

pledging to serve as guarantor for the loan. The money was borrowed from Genoese merchants in Pera, the Genoese suburb of Constantinople, and covered the lease of some Genoese ships for the transportation of the force.[6]

The mercenaries recruited by Flor sailed without horses from Messina to Constantinople, where they arrived in September 1303.[7] Their number exceeded the initial number agreed upon, yet the emperor was compelled to pay the promised salary to all of them to prevent looting.[8] The Company was ferried shortly afterwards to western Asia Minor and wintered in Cyzicus, on the coast of the Sea of Marmara, where its cavalrymen must have been provided with horses.[9] From April to October 1304 the Company conducted successful operations against the Turks in Asia Minor.[10] Within that period, Bernart de Rocafort arrived with his own detachment.[11] Presumably in late October the Company was transferred to Gallipoli. Berenguer d'Entença joined it in the same month with reinforcements.[12] In December, Andronicus II gave him the title of *megas doux*, Flor being promoted to *kaisar* in April 1305, also a high-ranking honorary court title.[13] Both Rocafort and Entença later fulfilled important roles in the Company,

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[6]   Pachymérès, p. IV:435; *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 199.

[7]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 199, 201, 202, 204. For the chronology of events until August 1307, see A. Failler, "Chronologie et composition dans l'Histoire de Georges Pachymérès (livres VII-XIII)," *Revue des études byzantines* 48 (1990): pp. 53–82, followed by a chronological table, pp. 83–7.

[8]   On the various figures regarding the size of the force, see below.

[9]   As noted above, the Company had arrived without mounts. In 1301 the Alan mercenaries hired by Byzantium were given horses and arms taken away from native soldiers, and in the following year those among them who refused to remain with the co-emperor Michael IX in Asia Minor returned their borrowed horses and arms: Pachymérès, pp. IV:339, 351–3; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 89–90. These may have been the horses handed over to the Company.

[10]   W. Ostasz, "Roger de Flor's Campaign of 1304 in Western Anatolia: A Reinterpretation," 2011, offers a new assessment of the Company's military activities against the background of a largely independent Byzantine frontier society (accessed by Google, www.Academia.edu, under the author's name).

[11]   Marcos Hierro, *Almogàvers*, pp. 103–5, considers that he was a commoner who managed to achieve some degree of social promotion before 1303, and whose relatively low social origin explains to a large extent his resentment toward members of the high nobility. *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 199 and 201, twice mentions Rocafort together with noblemen as *cavallers*, yet the term refers there to military function as horsemen since *almogàvers* appear soon afterwards; on the ambiguity of the term *cavaller*, see below. On the other hand, in 1308 King James II of Aragon addresses Rocafort as *miles* in what is clearly a reference to his social status as knight: *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 49, no. 39.

[12]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 206 and 211.

[13]   Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, p. 141. On the dignity of caesar, see *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, p. I:363.

Looting by the members of the Company, repeated delays in the granting of wages, and payment in debased coinage fueled resentment between the Company and the Greeks.[14] The assassination of Roger de Flor by Alan mercenaries in the palace of the co-emperor Michael IX Paleologus in Adrianople on 30 April 1305 pitched the Company against the Empire. Entença was elected leader following Flor's death, yet at the end of May 1305 a Genoese force seized him as well as the Company's fleet.[15] In June, the Company inflicted a severe defeat on the forces of Michael IX near Apros in Thrace. Two Turkish detachments joined it at Gallipoli after that battle.[16] In July 1306, a Genoese force failed in its attempt to capture Gallipoli.[17] After being released in Genoa, Entença returned with a new detachment in the autumn of 1306.[18] Around September 1306, Emperor Andronicus II attempted to convince the Company to leave the Empire's territory, in return for transportation and monetary compensation. The leaders of the Company were inclined to accept his offer, yet other members considered that most of the money would go to these same leaders, whereas they would be left with little. As a result, the imperial plan failed to materialize.[19]

While staying in Gallipoli, the Company lived off the land and caused widespread devastation and depopulation in Thrace, as stated by the Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner.[20] After exhausting the countryside it moved to Macedonia in the summer of 1307. On the way, the rivalry between Bernart de Rocafort and Berenguer d'Entença erupted into a clash between their respective forces, in which Entença was killed.[21] During its two-year stay in Kassandreia, which began in August 1307 at the latest, the Company failed in its attempt to conquer Thessalonica and to create a state in Macedonia, as planned by Rocafort.

In May 1307, Frederick III of Sicily had sent Ferran of Majorca, son of the king of Majorca and his vassal, to lead the Company, yet the staunch opposition of Rocafort induced Ferran to leave after merely 15 days.[22] Charles of Valois, fourth

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[14]   On the emperor's fiscal measures to pay the Company, see Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 187–8.

[15]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 218. Entença himself and after his death in 1307 King James II of Aragon claimed compensations from Genoa: *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 18–30, nos. 15–24; pp. 31–4, nos. 26–8; pp. 44–7, nos. 36–7.

[16]   See below.

[17]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 226.

[18]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 229.

[19]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, 36, no. 21; Pachymérès, pp. IV:687–9, reports that the emperor was willing to re-hire those who would serve him.

[20]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 231.

[21]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 229–32; Pachymérès, p. IV:711; Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, p. I:232; location by Ch. Bakirtzis, "Les Catalans en Thrace," in *Eupsychia. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Byzantina Sorbonensia, 16) (Paris, 1998), p. I:65–73; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 43, no. 35.

[22]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 230 and 233.

son of King Philip III of France, who planned an expedition to re-establish Latin rule over Constantinople, sent his representative Thibaut of Cepoy to enlist the Company for that enterprise. The negotiations were initiated in the second half of 1306. The Company formally entered his service in 1308, yet the opposition of Rocafort neutralized any practical move. Cepoy organized a revolt against him which, however, did not consolidate his own standing within the Company. Eventually, he organized the seizure of Rocafort and after leaving the Company with him, apparently in the spring of 1309, delivered him to King Robert of Naples in December 1309.[23]

In the spring of 1309 lack of adequate supplies drove the Company westward from Kassandreia to Thessaly, where it lived off the land. From 1303 the young John II Doukas, Lord of Neopatras in Thessaly, had been the ward of the Duke of Athens Guy II of La Roche. In 1309 he severed that link to Guy's successor, Walter V of Brienne, with the support of his relative Anna, the Despoina of Epirus, and Emperor Andronicus II. In the spring of 1310, Duke Walter V, who had spent many years as prisoner in Sicily and spoke Catalan, hired the Company for six months, with a promise to extend its employment after that period, in order to re-establish the protectorate of his predecessor over the Greek state of Thessaly. The financing of this costly military venture compelled Duke Walter V to borrow heavily from the Sienese merchant-banker Azzolino Rustichino, who was based in the city of Negroponte in Euboea. As surety for the loan, the duke pledged 13,905 florins on the income of his French lordship of Brienne in Champagne.[24] After paying two months of salary in advance he waged, with the help of the Company, a successful campaign that enabled him to extend his rule northwards as far as the Gulf of Pegasae.[25]

The duke's inability to muster all the necessary resources after the campaign induced him to grant the Company castles and land as sources of revenue instead

[23]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 239. *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 48–9, no. 38–9; Thibaut of Cepoy mentions the arrest and transfer of Rocafort in his expense accounts: *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 54, n. 2.

[24]   D. Jacoby, "Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: the Impact on the Economy," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, (eds) H. E. Mayer and E. Müller-Luckner (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 37) (Munich, 1997), pp. 108–9, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001, no. IX). The Aragonese version of the Chronicle of the Morea mistakenly states that Guy II of La Roche had hired the Company: A. Morel-Fatio, (ed.) *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea* (Genève, 1885), p. 117, par. 536.

[25]   Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, p. I:249–51, on the events in Thessaly; *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 240; D. Jacoby, "Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305–32): un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello," *Studi medievali* 3a serie 15 (1974): pp. 226–9, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVe siècle. Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), no. V; Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 226–7.

of wages. After some time, he decided to retain in his service only 200 horsemen and 300 footmen. He ordered the other members of the Company to abandon his territory, without paying the arrears he owed them for the remaining four months of service. They refused to surrender the assets they held and leave.[26] The way to the north was blocked by the forces of the Byzantine general Chandrenos, who on several occasions had harassed and defeated the Company in Chalkidike and later in Thessaly. When the Company's members retained by the duke realized that he intended to use force against their fellow mercenaries, they rejoined them. The duke appealed to the nobility of the Frankish Morea and neighboring territories and assembled a large army. Fearing defeat, the Company eventually agreed to surrender the castles and to leave the territory in which its members resided. The Company's members assembled with their families close to Halmyros in order to resume their wandering in case of defeat. It is there that the Company vanquished the duke and his army on 15 March 1311. The death of the duke and many Frankish noblemen opened the way to the Company's conquest of the Duchy of Athens and to the settlement of its members in its territory.[27]

Origin and Ethnic Diversity

Despite the name by which it is known, the Catalan Company had a complex ethnic composition from the time of its foundation. Moreover, its composition changed continuously with the addition or departure of individuals or groups in the course of the years 1303–11.

The Catalan Muntaner claims that the men who joined Roger the Flor in 1303 were all of Catalan or Aragonese origin. This must have been the case of those who formed the core of the Company.[28] Most of these Catalans and Aragonese presumably had lived in Sicily after its conquest by Peter III in 1282 and had fought in the service of the Aragonese kings of the island during the following 20 years. Some of them left Messina with their sons presumably born on the island, like Peric de Na Clara, whose two adult sons accompanied him.[29] Other men came directly from Aragon and Catalonia, like the mercenaries headed by Entença who joined the Company in Gallipoli in 1306,[30] or those mentioned in the letters of

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[26]   Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos*, pp. 119–20, pars. 546–7.

[27]   Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388*, revised edn (London, 1975), pp. 6–13. The battle did not take place close to the river Kephissos and the city of Thebes, as stated by some chroniclers, among them Ramon Muntaner, but close to Halmyros: see Jacoby, "Catalans," pp. 223–30. R.-J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207–1390* (Florence, 1974), pp. 121–2, has arrived at the same conclusion.

[28]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 200–201.

[29]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 221.

[30]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 215 and 229.

Charles of Valois in which he asked James II of Aragon to convince "the men of your kingdom" to acknowledge his lordship.[31]

In addition, among the original members of the Company there were mercenaries who had fought on the side of the Angevin kings of Sicily. Less biased than Muntaner, Giovanni Villani reports that Italians sailed with Roger de Flor from Messina to Constantinople in 1303.[32] The Byzantine historians dealing with the Company refer to Catalans, Aragonese, Italians, Sicilians, Latins, and sometimes to Franks.[33] Greeks from Anatolia were also included in the Company,[34] and Greek archers captured by the Company in Thrace, Macedonia or Thessaly fought in its ranks and fulfilled an important role in the battle of Halmyros.[35] Wives, mistresses and children, most presumably Sicilian, left Messina in 1303 with the men.[36] It is likely that some Greek women from the territories crossed by the Company joined it over the years.

Aydin Turks crossed over from Anatolia with wives and children and joined the Company at Gallipoli in May 1305, after concluding an agreement with its leader, Entença. They promised the Company one fifth of the booty they would collect.[37]

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[31]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, 728, no. 702, 2 February 1306: "Et nous hi donner aide (…) d'anvoier vostre certan message aus gens de vostre royaume qui sont en nostre dit empire (…) quar nous sommes certain que il ne desobeiront mie a ce que vous leur manderaiz." See also *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 47–9, nos. 37–9, in 1308, and James' earlier answer to the Commune of Genoa on 21 October 1305: "Aragonenses et Cathalani qui sunt in partibus Romaniae non iverunt illuc de voluntate, mandato aut consilio ipsius Regis," which implies that they were his subjects: *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, 25, no. 19.

[32]   Giovanni Villani, *Nuova cronica*, IX.51, ed. G. Porta (Parma, 1991), pp. II:83–4: "nel ditto anno MCCCII (…) una grande gente di soldati Catalani, genovesi e altri italiani, istati in Cicilia alla detta guerra per l'una parte e per l'altra, si *partirono* di Cicilia con XX galee e altri legni, onde feciono capitano loro uno fra Ruggiero dell'ordine de' Tempieri (…) e passarono in Romania per conquistare terra."

[33]   Burns, "The Catalan Company," p. 766.

[34]   Pachymérès, p. IV:643.

[35]   Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, p. I:252.

[36]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 201 and 203.

[37]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 228; Pachymérès, p. IV:643. One fifth was the share of the ruler in the Iberian peninsula in the early fourteenth century: A. Palomeque Torres, "Contribución al estudio del ejército en los estados de la Reconquista," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* 15 (1944): pp. 205–351, at pp. 255 and 317–18; R. Sablonier, *Krieg und Kriegertum in der Crònica des Ramon Muntaner. Eine Studie zum spätmittelalterlichen Kriegswesen aufgrund katalanischer Quellen* (Bern and Frankurt/M., 1971), pp. 89–91. M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, "Corso e piratería entre Mediterráneo y Atlántico en la Baja Edad Media," in *La Península ibérica entre Mediterráneo y Atlántico. Siglos XIII-XV* (Sevilla-Cadiz, 2006), pp. 310–13. According to Byzantine practice, the emperor was also entitled to one fifth of the booty: S. Kyriakidis, "The Division of Booty in Late Byzantium (1204–1453)," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 59 (2009), pp.

A second Turkish detachment, composed of Turks and *tourkopouloi*, deserted the Byzantine army and joined the Company in June or July.[38] The Turks remained with the Company in the following years and in 1311 participated in the battle of Halmyros.[39] The Company offered them land after its conquest of the duchy of Athens, yet they refused to accept it and moved back to Thessaly. The members of the first detachment, who intended to return to Anatolia with their families, were either massacred or caught by the Genoese and sold as slaves. Another contingent of 1,500 Turks entered the service of King Stephen Uros II Milutin of Serbia, yet revolted against him in 1312 and were crushed by his forces. The Venetian Marino Sanudo Torsello, who stayed in Negroponte in 1311, provides crucial evidence regarding the Turkish detachments in that period, although his figure of around 1,800 horsemen with the Company in 1311 seems to be inflated.[40] A few years later he met some Turks who wished to rejoin the Company.[41]

Letters of Pope Clement V and King James II of Aragon from the years 1312–14 confirm the heterogeneous composition of the Company at the time of its arrival in the Duchy of Athens.[42] The Company, nevertheless, retained its Catalan character. Catalans appear to have been the largest group within its ranks and their language was in common use. A letter from the Company addressed on 31 August 1307 from Kassandreia to Muntaner, who by then had left the Company, is written in Catalan. It is the only extant document in that language from the

163–75. For the identification of Aydin, see A. Failler, "Les émirs turcs à la conquête de l'Anatolie au début du 14e siècle," *Revue des études byzantines* 52 (1994): pp. 69–112, at pp. 82–3, who dates their arrival in June or July 1305. Yet see Jacoby, "Catalans," p. 231 and n. 81.

[38]   After their desertion, the Byzantine authorities retained some of their wives and children as hostages in Constantinople, according to Pachymérès, pp. IV:649–51, 671.

[39]   Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, pp. I:248–9, mistakenly states that Turks left the Company in 1308.

[40]   A. Cerlini, "Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il Vecchio," *La Bibliofilia. Rivista di storia del libro e delle arti grafiche di bibliografia ed erudizione* 42 (1940): pp. 321–59, at p. 352: "et vidi quod cum Cathelanis erant bene circa M.VIII.C. homines ad equum inter Turchos, turchopulos et mortatos, quod quilibet generatio morabatur per se et per se rectores habebat. Sed Cathelani erant et regebant super omnes."

[41]   Ibid.: "sed postmodum de illis Turchis inveni, qui multum cum compangna (sic) Cathelanorum predicta affectabant reverti." On the two Turkish detachments, see Jacoby, "Catalans," pp. 230–34.

[42]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 71–2, no. 56, 2 May 1312: "quod vos et nonnulli alii societatem vestram sequentes"; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 84, no. 67, 28 February 1314 (see also *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 90, no. 72, 27 March 1314): "tam equitibus quam peditibus nostris naturalis aliisque quarumlibet nacionum amicis et devotis suis in partibus ducatus Atheniensis in facto armorum agentibus"; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 85, no. 68, 28 February 1314: "per comitivam hominum nostrorum naturalium et aliorum"; see also *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 65–6, no. 52, of 1311, and *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 82–4, nos. 66–7, of 1314.

Company's itinerant period. Yet the use of Catalan in the chancery and in the municipal courts of the Duchy of Athens after 1311, in addition to Latin, suggests continuity in that respect.[43] Further confirmation is offered by the implementation of the customs of Barcelona and Catalonia soon after the conquest, both before and after the Company recognized the authority of King Frederick III of Sicily in 1312.[44] After April-May 1305, the Company used a banner and a seal displaying St George, patron of Catalonia, and on the battlefield it added "St. George" to the war cry "Aragon."[45] The Genoese, the Venetians, and the papal court defined the Company as being Catalan.[46]

Social Structure

The Western component of the Company was also socially heterogeneous. Some terms, like *hòmens a cavall* or, shortened, *cavall*, are ambivalent and may define either a knight or a horseman, regardless of the latter's social status.[47] In some cases, though, the sources clearly point to noblemen. Muntaner lists several *cavallers* or knights who promised in 1303 to join Flor, among them Bernart de Rocafort, and others in the Company in the following years.[48] A report drafted before September of that year records that a number of "milites atque homines probi" had sailed in 1303 with Flor from Messina, yet some of them returned later to Sicily because Andronicus II did not abide by the terms of his agreement with the Company and had failed to pay their wages.[49] Some of those who arrived with Entenza in 1304 were granted "knightly honors" by Andronicus.[50]

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[43] *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 42, no. 34; pp. 422–3, no. 335. See also *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, introduction, XXXVII-IX, and Setton, *Catalan Domination,* pp. 216–17 and 219–20.

[44] *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 68, no. 53, of 1312: "secundum foros Aragonie vel consuetudines Barchinonie"; p. 420, no. 333, of 1372; pp. 478–9 and 482, nos. 391–2, of 1380.

[45] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 207 and 220. See also D. Jacoby, "La 'Compagnie catalane' et l'état catalan de Grèce—Quelques aspects de leur histoire," *Journal des Savants* (1966), pp. 78–103, at pp. 80–83 and 85, reprinted in D. Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975), no. V.

[46] Genoese documents: *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 21, no. 17, and pp. 24–5, no. 19, both of 1305; p. 36, no. 21, of 1306; pp. 40–41, no. 33, and 43, no. 35, both of 1307; letter of the Venetian doge: ibid., p. 54, no. 43, of 1308: papal letter: ibid., p. 72, no. 57, 2 May 1312: "Societati Cathalanorum commorantium in partibus Romanie;" see also ibid., p. 73, no. 58, of 1312.

[47] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 201, 223, 226, 232.

[48] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 199–200, 203, 215, 220.

[49] *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 16–17, no. 15 (before September 1305).

[50] Pachymérès, p. IV:545: "kaballarikais timais".

Apparently, in December 1305, the Company sent two envoys to the West, whose letters of recommendation bore the seal of some noblemen, "sub sigillo aliquorum nobilium et proborum."[51] Sometimes Muntaner defines the status of the noblemen he mentions. He distinguishes between *rics hòmens*, members of ancient noble families of high rank, like Berenguer d'Entença and Ferran Eiximenis d'Arenós,[52] and noblemen of lower rank, cavallers or the *hòmens de paratge* from Catalonia who joined the Company in 1306 under the leadership of Entença.[53] Differences in social status among the noblemen are reflected by the relations between the leaders of the Company. In 1307 Rocafort refused to cede the leadership to Entença, who was of higher social standing. In the confrontation that followed the Company largely split along social lines. Most *boni homines* sided with Entença, while Rocafort was backed by people of lower standing.[54]

The number of knights appears to have been small. In May 1305, after the assassination of Roger de Flor and the departure of Entença, only five knights in addition to Rocafort remained in Gallipoli in an army of 1,462 mercenaries.[55] A few knights arrived in 1306 with Entença, when he returned, and others in 1307 with Ferran, son of the king of Majorca, yet they left with him after 15 days.[56] Some other knights left the Company and took service with Emperor Andronicus II,[57] returned to the West, or were killed.[58]

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[51]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 29, no. 23; see Jacoby, "La Compagnie catalane," pp. 82–3, for the date

[52]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 203. On Entenza's standing and carrier before 1303, see Sablonier, Krieg und Kriegertum, pp. 67–8; M. Romero Tallafigo, "El señorío catalán de los Entenza a la luz de la documentación existente en el Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli: años 1173–1324," *Historia, instituciones, documentos* 4 (1977): pp. 515–82, at pp. 575–82; Marcos Hierro, *Almogàvers*, pp. 99–102; B. Garí, "El linaje de Entença en el Mediterraneo del siglo XIII," in *La societá mediterranea all'epoca del Vespro. XI Congresso di storia della Corona d'Aragona* (Palermo, 1984), III, Comunicazioni, pp. 151–64. Roger de Flor emphasized the high social rank of Entença to Andronicus II: *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 211; Pachymérès, pp. IV:531–3.

[53]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 201 and 229.

[54]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 232; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 43, no. 35.

[55]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 215, refers to six knights, yet mentions only five by name. Rocafort must have been the sixth: see above, n. 11.

[56]   Sancho: *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 17–18, no. 15; Ferran: *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 229–39, and see *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 39–41, nos. 32–3; ibid., pp. 43–4, no. 35; ibid., pp. 51–2, nos. 41–2.

[57]   Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, p. I:232; Pachymérès, pp. IV:697–9; Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos*, p. 117, par. 535.

[58]   Ferran d'Ahonés: *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 216, in fine; Corberan d'Alet: ibid., ch. 206; Entença: ibid., ch. 232; Garcia Gomis Palasín: ibid., ch. 235, in fine; Bernart Rocafort and his brother Esberto: ibid., ch. 239, in fine; G. Sischar: ibid., chs. 216–17;

When the Company arrived in the Duchy of Athens in 1311 there were no members of the high nobility and only few, if any, from lower ranks in its midst. This explains why the Company chose as its new leader Roger Deslaur, a Frankish knight of low rank from Roussillon settled in the Principality of the Morea, who had negotiated several times with the Company before 1311 on behalf of Walter V of Brienne and had been captured at the battle of Halmyros.[59] It is likely that the Company's members who after the conquest of the Duchy of Athens married the widows of the Frankish lords killed in that battle were leaders of military detachments. Muntaner states that the ladies were given as wives "to each according to his standing," yet insists on their low social rank compared to that of the widows: "to some they gave so distinguished a lady that he was not worthy to hand her water to wash her hands."[60] Muntaner also sought thereby to emphasize the magnitude of the Company's victory over the Frankish knights.

The sources covering the first years after the conquest do not reveal any newly arrived noblemen among the Company's members. The settlement of Catalan, Aragonese and Sicilian noblemen in the Duchy of Athens began only in 1317 with the arrival of Alfonso Fadrique of Aragon, son and representative of King Frederick III of Sicily, following the Company's submission to the king's authority.[61] The absence of noblemen of high rank in the initial years of the Company's presence in the Duchy of Athens had a decisive and long-standing impact upon the shaping of the latter's institutions.[62]

The overwhelming majority of the Company's members leaving Messina in 1303 were commoners, namely the 4,000 *almogàvers*, the 1,000 foot-soldiers, and an unknown number among the 1,500 horsemen and the ships' crews.[63] Originally, in the Iberian Peninsula, the *almogàvers* were distinguished from other footmen by their lifestyle, clothing, customs, and warfare tactics. They did not own land or other real estate, were adventurers living at the margins of urban or rural settlements, practiced incursions into neighboring Muslim territory in operations verging on banditry, and sustained themselves by the sale of booty and captives. However, important changes occurred, especially in the course of the thirteenth century, in their lifestyle and military functions, to which we shall return below.[64]

Dalmau de San Marti died of illness: ibid., ch. 239. The fate of the other noblemen is not known.

[59]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 240.

[60]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 240, in fine.

[61]   Jacoby, "L'état catalan en Grèce," pp. 81–2.

[62]   Ibid., pp. 85–95.

[63]   These are the figures cited by *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 201, which are discussed below.

[64]   On the *almogàvers*: M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, *Organització i defensa d'un territori fronterer. La governació d'Oríola en el segle XIV* (Barcelona, 1990), pp. 237–332, mostly based on fourteenth-century evidence; short survey by the same author: "Els almogàvers

The *almogàvers* nevertheless remained a homogeneous social group of low rank.[65] As noted above, in the quarrel opposing Entença to Rocafort, the latter was backed by people of low standing. These included the *almogàvers*, with whom he had been closely associated since his arrival in the East, other footmen, and the Turks who had joined the Company.[66] Since the noblemen were not accompanied by female partners, it is clear that the women within the Company were all commoners, probably of low rank.

The *adalils* and the *almogatèns* also were commoners. They fulfilled special military functions connected with the units of *almogàvers*, discussed below, as a result of which they acquired prestige and a high social status even before the creation of the Company. They appear alongside knights in Muntaner's account of the force embarking in Messina. They were associated with knights in committees appointed to carry out specific assignments or sent on mission to Constantinople, and after the removal of Rocafort one *adalil* and one *almogatèn* were elected to govern the Company, jointly with two knights.[67]

Little is known about individual commoners in the Company. Muntaner was originally from Peralada, but had lived in Valencia.[68] He mentions a former resident of Barcelona and two of Llobregat.[69] In July 1306, Muntaner appointed merchants to head the women who defended Gallipoli against the Genoese.[70] It is likely that some merchants had left Messina in 1303 together with the fighting force, in the prospect of handling the booty collected during its campaigns. Others may have previously operated in Constantinople, taking advantage of the commercial privileges that Andronicus granted in 1296 to the residents of all Aragonese territories.[71] However, following the rift between the Company and the Empire in 1305 and mounting anti-Catalan sentiment in Constantinople, they had left the city and joined the Company at Gallipoli.[72] Most merchants were presumably from

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a la frontera amb els Sarraïns en el segle XIV," *L'Avenç* 209 (Desembre 1996): pp. 14–18; Marcos Hierro, *Almogàvers*, pp. 21–41.

[65] *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 16, no. 15: "armigeri inferioris conditionis et specialiter almugavari."

[66] He had led the *almogàvers* in battle against the Turks in August 1304: *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 207.

[67] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 201, 203–4, 217, 239.

[68] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, Prologue.

[69] Jaime Despalau, Berenguer de Ventanyola, and Berenguer de Roudor: *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 232, 220, and 215 respectively.

[70] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 226.

[71] Re-edited by C. Marinesco, "Notes sur les Catalans dans l'Empire byzantin pendent le règne de Jacques II 1291–1327," in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age offerts à M. Ferdinand Lot par ses amis et ses élèves* (Paris, 1925), pp. 508–9, no. I.

[72] S.P. Bentsch, "Early Catalan Contacts with Byzantium," in L.J. Simon, (ed.) *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns S.J.* (Leiden, 1995), pp. I:133–60, at pp. I:141–3 and I:150–51.

Barcelona, which partly and perhaps decisively accounts for the implementation of the city's laws by the Company.[73] A document drafted in 1306 records the death of a former resident of Barcelona in Gallipoli, whose goods were deposited with another Catalan in the absence of heirs in that city. King James II of Aragon ordered Entença and Rocafort or their representatives to ensure the transfer of the goods to the deceased's father and heir residing in Barcelona, obviously in accordance with the laws of that city.[74]

Some merchants who had joined the Company were involved in the sale of slaves at Gallipoli in 1306, at Kassandreia in 1308–09, and in the city of Negroponte in 1310 when the Company was stationed in nearby Thessaly.[75] The presence of merchants in the Company at a later date is suggested by a clause of the Byzantine-Venetian treaty of 11 November 1310 stating that Venetian citizens and subjects should abstain from trading with the Company as long as it remained on Byzantine territory.[76] Slaves were the most likely item to which that clause referred. The merchants, the notaries and administrative personnel working in the Company's chancery,[77] and many other members of the Company were former city dwellers. Their urban origin and their former lifestyle and occupations account to a large extent for the exclusive settlement of the Company's members in the cities of the Duchy of Athens in 1311, although this choice was also dictated by safety considerations.[78] There is no information regarding social stratification among the Greeks and the Turks who joined the Company.

Military and Political Organization

The modalities by which the Company was recruited in Messina determined to a large extent its internal organization. Still, political and military circumstances generated various changes in the period from 1303 to 1311.

Roger de Flor had already hired soldiers and ship crews at his own cost during the war between the Aragonese kings of Sicily and the Angevins of Naples, and had

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[73]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 223, in fine, and ch. 227.

[74]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 35 no. 30. His family is attested later in the Duchy of Athens: see ibid., p. 35, no. 1.

[75]   Gallipoli: A.M. Stahl, (ed.) *The Documents of Angelo de Cartura and Donato Fontanella, Venetian Notaries in Fourteenth-Century Crete* (Washington D.C., 2000), notary Angelo de Cartura, nos. 490, 516, 520, 521, 532, 535, and 543. Kassandreia: D. Duran i Duelt, "La Companyia Catalana i el comerç d'esclaus abans de l'assentament als ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria," in M.T. Ferrer i Mallol, J. Mutgé i Vives, (eds) *De l'esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l'Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 2000), pp. 557–71, at pp. 564–71. Negroponte: S. Borsari, *L'eubea veneziana* (Venezia, 2007), p. 120.

[76]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 57, no. 46.

[77]   On which, see below.

[78]   Jacoby, "L'état catalan en Grèce," pp. 85–6.

engaged with them in military operations in the service of Frederick III of Sicily as well as for his own benefit.[79] There is no evidence that he headed a military detachment of his own after the peace of Caltabellotta or in the framework of the Company. On the other hand, he left Messina in the autumn of 1303 with seven or eight ships, one at least in full ownership.[80] Flor leased that vessel to a Genoese while the Company was engaging in operations against the Turks in Asia Minor. It sailed to Famagusta, where it is attested on 21 May 1304.[81] Flor maintained good relations with the Genoese, as illustrated by his hiring of Genoese ships for the Company's transfer to Constantinople and his decisive intervention in the autumn of 1303, shortly after the Company's arrival in Constantinople, to prevent an attack of *almogàvers* on the Genoese quarter in Pera.[82]

The forces joining the Company after its arrival in Byzantium were organized detachments under the leaders who had hired or assembled them. The size of these detachments varied widely. We have already noted the arrivals of Rocafort and Entença in 1304 and other prominent individuals later. Rocafort arrived with his brother, his uncle, horsemen, and *almogàvers*.[83] His detachment may well have been built around a core of relatives.[84] Entença brought horsemen and *almogàvers*, and after being held captive for some time by the Genoese mortgaged and sold a large portion of his lands and rejoined the Company in the autumn of 1306 with a new unit.[85] On the other hand, Ferran Eiximenis d'Arenós left the Company with his detachment in the winter of 1303–04 after quarreling with Flor. He took service with the Duke of Athens Guy II of La Roche, yet returned afterwards to the Company, again with his own unit.[86] Following the clash between the camps of Rocafort and Entença and the latter's death in the summer of 1307 he once more left the Company, apparently with his unit, and took service with Emperor Andronicus II.[87]

The personal bonds between the soldiers, the loyalty to their commander, as well as cohesion within each of the detachments consolidated over time. The

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[79]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 194.

[80]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 200, mentions eight ships in Messina, while Pachymérès, p. IV:431, reports that he arrived in Constantinople with seven vessels of his own.

[81]   M. Balard, (ed.) *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro. Lamberto di Sambuceto (1304–1305, 1307), Giovanni de Rocha (1308–1310)* (Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da G. Pistarino 43) (Genoa, 1984), pp. 31–2, no. 12: the lessee of the ship acknowledges a payment for transport received from another Genoese; for the dating in 1304, see ibid., Introduction, p. 12.

[82]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 202.

[83]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 206.

[84]   Sablonier, *Krieg und Kriegertum*, p. 65.

[85]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 211 and 229.

[86]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 222; his unit also appears in ch. 230.

[87]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chap, 232; Pachymérès, p. IV:711.

leaders relied primarily on their own detachments in their struggle for influence and leadership within the Company. On the other hand, some of those who joined the Company claimed command based on the delegation of authority, like Sancho, brother of Frederick III of Sicily, Ferran of Majorca in the name of his father, and Thibaut of Cepoy in the name of Charles of Valois. They failed in their bid to lead the Company, since they lacked a broad base of support and power in its midst.

Flor was the uncontested commander of the Company in the first stage of its existence. He initiated its establishment and was the one who reached an agreement with Emperor Andronicus II about conditions of employment. Villani claims that Flor was elected leader,[88] and Muntaner reports that Flor thanked the soldiers for accepting him as such, yet these would have merely been formal confirmations by acclamation.[89] The Byzantine dignities of *megas doux* and later of *kaisar* with their respective insignia, which included banner and seal, enhanced Flor's prestige, although he never exercised an effective command over the Empire's navy and never participated in the rituals of the imperial court.[90] Various features illustrate his strong position. His banner was upheld at the head of the Company when it went into battle. Before leaving for Asia Minor in the autumn of 1303 Flor appointed Ferran d'Ahonés admiral over the Company's fleet, which consisted of 12 ships at that time and was under his direct orders.[91] In the winter of 1303/04, Flor chose six members of the Company who were entrusted, in cooperation with the dignitaries of Cyzicus, to arrange accommodation for the entire force and establish the bills, which he would approve with the seal of *megas doux*.[92] Before leaving for Adrianople, where he was murdered in April 1305, he appointed his friend Entença to serve as leader and commander in his absence and Rocafort as seneschal.[93]

The standing of Entença and Rocafort after Flor's death was of a different nature. Initially, they derived their authority from their appointments by Flor. Entença also enjoyed prestige from his position as member of the high nobility, as well as from his Byzantine dignity as *megas doux*. He nevertheless needed the approval of the general assembly of the Company to inherit the position and claims of Flor.[94] Rocafort became sole commander of the Company following

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[88]   See above, n. 32.

[89]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 204.

[90]   On the insignia: *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 199–200, 212.

[91]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 203, 206–7, and 216. Muntaner claims that Flor asked the emperor to appoint Ferran d'Ahonés admiral of the Empire. According to Pachymérès, pp. IV:461–3, the emperor merely confirmed the appointment made by Flor, which appears more likely.

[92]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 203–4; Jacoby, "La Compagnie catalane," pp. 80–81

[93]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 215.

[94]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 212, and see ibid., ch. 215; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 18, no. 15, of 1305: "per predictum Berengerium, quem iam mortuo

the capture of Entença by the Genoese and the murder of Ferran d'Ahonés, the Company's admiral, in Constantinople on the orders of Andronicus II.[95] The banner of Rocafort was afterwards displayed together with those of the Company and of the kings of Aragon and Sicily. Rocafort managed to consolidate his position before the return of Entença in the autumn of 1306 to such an extent that he could oppose the latter's reinstatement as leader and commander of the Company.[96] However, basing himself on the detachment he brought along as reinforcement, Entença recaptured his position under the terms of a temporary compromise with Rocafort.[97] On the other hand, Rocafort emerged victorious from the violent confrontation between their respective detachments later on. Frederick III implicitly acknowledged Rocafort's strong position within the Company by sending him in 1307 a personal letter regarding the authority he had conferred to Ferran of Majorca.[98] Later, Rocafort had his own seal, and Muntaner claims that he even ordered a golden crown since he planned to become king of Thessalonica.[99]

A few commanders were not tied to particular detachments. Their friendship or intimacy with the leaders of the Company was a major factor of promotion in the military and political hierarchy of the host. This was the case of Muntaner. Already before 1303 he had served as *procurador general* of Flor and was involved as administrator in many of the latter's military enterprises, whether on land or at sea.[100] In the spring of 1303, he witnessed Flor dictating instructions for the envoys appointed to negotiate an agreement with Byzantium.[101] His long acquaintance with Flor boosted his position within the Company. Following the murder of Flor and the capture of Entença by the Genoese in 1305, he became the major commander after Rocafort.[102] From 1304 to 1307 he was stationed at Gallipoli, the Company's headquarters, and was responsible for the city's defense with jurisdiction over all those residing there. He was assisted by clerks and a treasurer in his functions of chancellor and *maestre racional*, or chief administrator and financial officer of the Company. He was duly informed about the number of soldiers and the size of the various detachments, and was responsible for the registration and distribution of food and military supplies among the members, for transportation services,

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predicto fratre Rogerio comitiva aliorum armigerorum, qui secum erant, in capitaneum suum elegerat."

[95]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 216 and 220.

[96]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 229.

[97]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 40–41, no. 33, June 1307; see also *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 220.

[98]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 230.

[99]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 236.

[100]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 193.

[101]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 199.

[102]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 205.

and for the orderly division of the booty.[103] Muntaner states that he received one fifth of the booty collected on land or at sea, as if this was his personal share.[104] It seems more likely, however, that he obtained it as administrator of the Company and used it to cover the latter's expenses.[105] Muntaner was also the keeper of the Company's seal representing St. George, its patron, used for the authentication of the documents it issued.[106] Seven cavalrymen were continuously in his service.[107] Muntaner's conciliatory manner, as well as his excellent relations with both the commanders and rank and file of the Company earned him much respect and further consolidated his position. This is well illustrated by the letter the Company sent him on 31 August 1307. Its members considered him "father and governor" of the Company since its departure from Sicily. He was warmly received upon his return from Venetian captivity.[108]

Corberan d'Alet, the first seneschal of the host, was killed by the Turks in 1304. Flor appointed Rocafort to that post in the spring of 1305.[109] The function of marshal is not attested before 1308, yet it was the only one to survive after the settlement of the Company in the Duchy of Athens.[110] The exact nature of these functions is unknown. The post of admiral of the Company's fleet, held by Ferran d'Ahonés from the autumn of 1303, disappeared after he was murdered on the orders of Andronicus II in Constantinople in May 1305.[111] The Genoese Ticino Zaccaria, also attested as Tedisio Zaccaria, arrived at Gallipoli in the spring of 1307. A Genoese report of 16 September of that year states that Cepoy and Rocafort appointed him admiral of the Company. If correct, he remained in that

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[103] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 204, 215, 223–5, and 233–4. He mentions the books, in fact the registers in which all this was recorded: ibid., chs. 225 and 233.

[104] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 225. Muntaner sought thereby to emphasize his high status within the Company.

[105] As suggested by F. Soldevila in *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, p. 367, n. 864. On one fifth of the booty, see above n. 37.

[106] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 225; on the seal: *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 42, no. 34, in fine, 31 August 1307; Jacoby, "La Compagnie Catalane," pp. 81–3.

[107] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 225.

[108] *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 42, no. 34; *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 236: "la Companya lo dix que yo era estat llur pare e lur governador depuys que eren partits de Sicilia." The Turks also called him father: ibid., ch. 233.

[109] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 206–7.

[110] *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 54, no. 43, 23 September 1308: "Rocchaforte, magnum marescalcum totius societatis exercitus Catalanorum existencium in partibus Romanie."

[111] See above, n. 91. Contrary to Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, p. 132 and n. 16, the dignity granted to him could anyhow not have been identical with that of *megas doux*, borne by Flor at that time and until the autumn of 1304, when it was conferred to Entença.

post for little time, since shortly afterwards he left the Company, captured the island of Thasos, and settled there.[112].

Despite their strong position, Flor and later Rocafort were compelled to rely on various institutions created within the Company, some of which appear to have been permanent and others occasional. General assemblies were convened to choose a new leader or to perform an oath of allegiance, as in 1304 when Flor asked the Company whether to acquiesce to the order of Andronicus II to transfer from Asia Minor to Europe, when his wife and mother-in-law attempted to dissuade him from leaving for Adrianople in April 1305, and after the capture of Entença by the Genoese. General assemblies were also convened when the planning of a military campaign was being discussed, when the inclusion of the Turks in the Company was envisaged, and when Muntaner chastises the soldiers for the clash between the opposing camps of Entença and Rocafort.[113]

In the winter of 1303/04, Flor appointed two knights, two *adalils* and two *almogatèns*, who jointly with six representatives of the Greek inhabitants of Cyzicus assigned lodgings to the members of the Company and later determined the sums to be reimbursed for the accommodation and supplies they had enjoyed.[114] The mission sent by the Company from Gallipoli to Constantinople in May 1305 had a similar composition of knights, *adalils*, and *almogatèns*.[115] These bodies, as well as the general assembly, reflected the military setup rather than the social composition of the Company, since they were composed of noblemen and commoners.

Muntaner's mediation between the competing Rocafort and Entença was carried out with the assistance of 12 counselors.[116] These are attested once more after the removal of Rocafort, when no other prominent leader was left. Two knights, one *adalil* and one *almogatèn*, were then elected to govern the Company with the advice of the 12.[117] This appears to have been a permanent institution, the impact of which markedly increased in the absence of a strong leader. It is unclear whether the 12 were identical with the *maiores* who discussed the proposal for compensation offered by Andronicus II, in return for the Company's departure from the Empire, or whether the term *maiores* refers to the social elite of the

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[112]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 219; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, pp. 43–4, no. 35. Ticino Zaccaria was a relative of the Zaccaria lords of Chios and of the alum mines at Phocaea: R. Lopez, *Genova marinaria nel duencento. Benedetto Zaccaria, ammiraglio e mercante* (Messina—Milano, 1932), pp. 229–31.

[113]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 233, 209, 213, 219, 221, 228, and 229, respectively.

[114]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 203–04.

[115]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 217.

[116]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 229.

[117]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 239, mentions "dos de cavall," or horsemen, yet considering the composition of other committees these were surely knights.

Company.[118] A committee of 50 dignitaries was established following Rocafort's proposal to decide whether or not to recognize Ferran of Majorca as leader of the Company, the proposal being submitted afterwards to the general assembly.[119] This committee was clearly an isolated case.

There is little and incomplete information regarding the military aspect of the detachments. Clearly, the large ones were subdivided into smaller units reflecting their distinctive military equipment and way of fighting, and each had its own commander.[120] Occasionally, the military commanders also fulfilled an important role in political matters. Rocafort convened the respective commanders of the cavalry and infantry units one day before the general assembly dealing with Ferran of Majorca, in which these same commanders appeared at the head of their respective units to decide whether or not to accept Ferran as their leader.[121] The commanders of the detachments appear again when a revolt against the tyrannical rule of Rocafort was staged in 1309. They met Cepoy and informed him about their decision. After arresting Rocafort, they handed him over to Cepoy. Yet, after the latter secretly left the Company with Rocafort, the soldiers, most likely *almogàvers* who were firm supporters of Rocafort, revolted and killed 14 of their commanders.[122]

The military commanders continued to fulfill important functions after the Company's victory at Halmyros. The occupation of the various cities in the Duchy of Athens in 1311 was clearly carried out by military detachments operating separately. Their respective commanders, who represented the Company locally, negotiated the terms of surrender with the representatives of the urban population. Assisted by an administrative staff, they must have also presided over the committees that carried out the confiscation and distribution of property among the members of their units.[123]

Settlement

The company's conquest of the Duchy of Athens in 1311 was promptly followed by the settlement of its members in the occupied cities. Settlement may have been prompted by exhaustion after eight years of rather precarious life, movement in stages, and continuous battling. Yet it is also possible that the urge to settle had

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[118]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 36, no. 31.

[119]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 230.

[120]   For details, see below. Not surprisingly, the Turks resided apart from the Western mercenaries and had their own commanders; see above, n. 40. These had no role within the political organization of the Company:

[121]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 230.

[122]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 239.

[123]   Jacoby, "L'état catalan en Grèce," pp. 86–7.

already appeared earlier and that the Company's victory at Halmyros had created appropriate conditions for the realization of that aim.

As noted above, many mercenaries left Sicily in 1303 with their wives, female companions and children. Muntaner stresses that despite being in dire financial condition, King Frederick III assisted them as much as he could with some cash and provisions.[124] Nicephoros Gregoras states that the mercenaries had to devise how to make a living, since they did not own houses or land that required their presence in Sicily. They had come from many places, were poor, and assembled to live from piracy.[125] This description, which obviously is biased, was intended to stress the lowly origin of the Company's members and their harmful intentions. Still, it surely reflects the economic condition of many of those who enrolled in Messina. They had failed to ensure themselves of a stable and permanent income and, following the conclusion of the peace of Caltabellotta in 1302, presumably left Sicily with their families in the hope of settling in the East. The members of the nobility and various commoners of high rank, most likely commanders, departed without relatives and had no intention of remaining in the East. It is for them that Flor's representatives obtained from Andronicus II special conditions, which according to Muntaner included the right to return to the West without the loss of wages, with the addition of a two-month salary.[126] The distinction between them and the other mercenaries was largely along social lines. Those who arrived single in the Duchy of Athens and married the widows of the Frankish knights killed at the battle of Halmyros were obviously high ranking commoners.

Toward the end of June 1303, or somewhat later, Andronicus II seems to have considered the confiscation of property and *pronoiai* held by ecclesiastical institutions and members of his entourage, in order to distribute them among the soldiers of Asia Minor and strengthen thereby the empire's frontier against the Turks. This measure was not implemented.[127] However, in the winter of 1303/04 the emperor appears to have envisaged the settlement of the Company in Asia Minor and the grant of property to its members, in return for military service without salary. This is presumably the meaning of Muntaner's statement that the emperor promised Flor that once the Company would be in Asia Minor he would give him "all the Kingdom of Anatolia and all the islands of Romania … and that he should distribute the cities and towns and castles among his vassals; and that each of them should give him a number of armed horses so that the emperor need

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[124]　　*Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 201.

[125]　　Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, pp. I:219–20.

[126]　　*Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 199; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 17 no. 15 (before September 1305).

[127]　　Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 118–20. The *pronoia* was a conditional imperial grant of property or income; on its content in the early fourteenth century, see M.C. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: the Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 374–94.

not give pay to anyone."[128] At first glance it would seem that Muntaner overstated the terms of the imperial promise, yet it appears more likely that Flor either misunderstood or misrepresented them. Indeed, after his assassination Entença, as new leader of the Company, considered himself the heir to Flor's rights and in a letter of 10 May 1305 called himself "Lord of Anatolia and the islands" of the Empire.[129] In any event, if the emperor's plan existed, the prospect of settlement in Asia Minor disappeared once open conflict erupted between the Company and the Empire.

The presence of women and children within the Company in the years 1303–11 is amply documented. While Gallipoli served as Company's headquarters, the relatives resided in Panion and Rodosto. However, in view of an imminent Byzantine attack, all members, women and children were ordered to gather in Gallipoli.[130] As the city's commander, Muntaner was responsible for their safety. In the summer of 1306 he defended the city against the Genoese forces that had landed in its vicinity with the active help of the women, evaluating the latter's number at more than two thousand.[131] The relatives are further attested after the Company abandoned Gallipoli, as well as before the decisive battle against the Duke of Athens.[132]

We have already noted that in 1306 the leaders of the Company were disposed to accept the monetary compensation offered by Andronicus II in return for leaving the Empire, yet other members of the host considered the emperor's offer insufficient.[133] Obviously, these represented the majority within the Company, and the soldiers of low social rank accompanied by women and children must have been numerous among them. Unless heavily subsidized, their return to Sicily or other regions in the West was not a plausible proposition, since they owned neither land nor homes. It would seem, therefore, that as an alternative they envisaged settlement somewhere in the Balkans.

Gregoras asserts that when the Company abandoned Kassandreia it intended to conquer Thessaly to ensure its supplies or even to continue its move westward as far as the Peloponnese and settle there, putting an end to its itinerant life. As an alternative, its members envisaged reaching an agreement with the maritime nations to enable thereby their return by sea to their property.[134] This description of the Company's plans may be safely dismissed. The reference to the Peloponnese with regard to 1308, instead of Boeotia where the Company eventually settled, is

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[128]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 212.

[129]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 15, no. 14: "magnus dux predicti imperii Romanie et dominus Natulii ac insularum eiusdem imperii." See also *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 15, no. 3.

[130]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 221–2, and 225.

[131]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 221, and 226–7

[132]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 231, and 239–40.

[133]   See above, n. 19.

[134]   Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, p. I:247.

both mistaken and anachronistic. The supposedly contemplated return contradicts Gregoras' earlier statement that the Company's members lacked assets.[135]

Considering the Company's itinerant life over the years, it would seem that, like the Alan and Turkish military detachments also accompanied by women and children, it did not contemplate permanent settlement. In fact, the exhaustion of rural regions caused by the Company itself and continuous Byzantine attacks compelled it to move westward in stages. As noted earlier, many of its members either originated in urban settlements or had lived for some time in cities. In any event, they had not engaged in agricultural activities or in husbandry and, therefore, depended upon supplies provided by the local peasantry or lived off the land. In contrast, the mobility of the Alans and the Turks was a way of life. As semi-nomads, the Turks who had joined the Company while it was staying at Gallipoli practiced seasonal agriculture in the region of Ganos.[136] After the conquest of the Duchy of Athens, the Company offered land for settlement to its Turkish allies, yet they refused and departed to resume their customary life as semi-nomads: "when they saw that the Company does not intend to leave the duchy and conquered the whole of it, they declared that they wish to leave."[137]

The developments following the Company's successful campaign in 1310 in the service of Walter V of Brienne, Duke of Athens, reveal the inclination of its members, by then only commoners, to abandon the itinerant life and settle permanently. As a temporary measure the duke had granted them castles and land in Thessaly as sources of revenue, instead of the wages he owed them. Unpaid wages were presumably not the sole reason for their reluctance to leave when the duke dismissed most of their members. In Thessaly, for the first time after many years, they enjoyed abundant supplies from a thriving countryside. Their victory in the battle of Halmyros in 1311 and the occupation of the Duchy of Athens not only enabled their smooth settlement in the cities of that territory. It also ensured them of continuous provisioning supplied by the local dependent peasantry. It was the realization of their urge to resume sedentary life, and was promptly followed by the implementation of the laws of Barcelona.

The Numerical Strength of the Company

At first glance it would seem that any attempt to determine the approximate strength of the Company is doomed to failure. Muntaner and the Byzantine historians mention widely diverging figures when dealing with the hiring of the Company and its arrival in Constantinople in 1303. They tend to inflate the number

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[135]   See above, n. 125.

[136]   *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 36, no. 31, 19 October 1306: "Turchi quoque qui cum eis existunt (…) ibi seminant et laborant, parati succurrere sibi invicem si fuerit oportunum." See also Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 98–9.

[137]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 241.

of fighters lost in battle by the Company or its adversaries to magnify the military achievements of the camp they support.[138] It is well known that round figures are often unreliable. And, finally, in the years 1303–11 the size of the Company continuously fluctuated following the arrival or departure of individuals or entire detachments and losses in numerous battles and skirmishes. Still, some figures appearing in the sources allow for plausible assessments.

George Pachymeres reports that Andronicus II and the emissaries of Flor agreed on the hiring of 500 cavalrymen and 1,000 infantry.[139] According to Muntaner, the emperor promised a four months wage to all those Flor would bring along and to retain them in his pay as long as they wished to stay. Those wanting to return westward would be allowed to leave and would get full pay for their service, with the addition of two months wages.[140] However, the absence of figures and time limit are implausible.

Muntaner mentions that 1,500 cavalrymen without horses, 4,000 *almogàvers* and 1,000 infantry left Messina, to which one must add mariners, women and children, the number of which is not stated.[141] The 36 ships Flor assembled in Messina for transportation to Constantinople do not provide any clue regarding the size of the host, since we do not know their carrying capacity.[142] According to Pachymeres, 8,000 fighters of the Company arrived in Constantinople in the autumn of 1303, whereas Gregoras mentions 2,000 men.[143] These figures do not include wives or companions and children. Muntaner mentions once more 1,500 cavalry and 4,000 footmen, yet omits 1,000 infantry when reporting the departure of the Company from Constantinople to Asia Minor in the autumn of 1303. It is unlikely that the number of mercenaries should have diminished by one thousand as a result of the violent clash with the Genoese that occurred shortly after the Company's arrival in Constantinople.[144]

Rocafort joined the Company with his brother, his uncle, 200 horsemen, yet without horses, and 1,000 *almogàvers*, while Entença joined the Company later in that year with 300 cavalry and 1,000 footmen.[145] Somewhat earlier, towards the end of October 1304, Flor requested from Andronicus II the sum of 300,000 hyperpyra

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[138] Pachymeres' figures for military units are generally unreliable: Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 263–5.

[139] Pachymérès, p. IV:533.

[140] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 199.

[141] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 201.

[142] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 200. According to *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 204, in Cyzicus Flor paid in March 1304 wages for eight months amounting to 50,000 gold ounces to the cavalry and nearly 60,000 to the infantry. The last figure would correspond to some 7,500 footmen, which is well above the number of infantry leaving Messina according to that same author.

[143] Pachymérès, p. IV:431; Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, p. I: 220.

[144] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 202.

[145] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 206 and 211.

for the wages of the Company.[146] The emperor claimed to have already paid nearly one million hyperpyra at that stage, somewhat more than three such installments since the arrival of the Company in the Empire one year earlier.[147] According to Michael Hendy, the amount of 300,000 hyperpyra represents four months' arrears and confirms the figures of mercenaries leaving Messina cited by Muntaner.[148] However, his calculation is incorrect for two reasons. First, it is based on monthly wages of three gold ounces per cavalryman and two per footman as mentioned by Pachymeres,[149] yet fails to take into account that the salary of the light cavalryman differed from that of the heavy horseman. Muntaner, more reliable in that respect, states that the Byzantine emperor in 1303 and the Duke of Athens in 1310 paid the same monthly wages for the hiring of the Company, namely four gold ounces, two ounces and one ounce respectively to the heavy cavalryman, light horseman, and footman. The relation between their wages is confirmed by their respective shares in the booty.[150] Since we do not know the proportion of heavy and light-armed men among the cavalry, it is impossible to assess the accuracy of the figures which either Pachymeres or Muntaner cite for 1303.

Along with round figures, Muntaner also provides some highly credible numbers that he cannot have remembered almost 20 years after the events. They must have been drawn from documents compiled while he served as head of the Company's administration and still in his possession when he wrote his chronicle, although he claims to have left the "books" with the Company when he returned to Sicily in 1307.[151] Two such figures deserve particular attention.

In May 1305, Turkish, Alan and Greek forces sent by the co-emperor Michael IX took the Company staying at Gallipoli off guard, captured most of its horses and killed over one thousand men. Muntaner states that as a result the Company was left with only 206 horses and 3,307 men of arms, horsemen, infantry and seamen included. Shortly afterwards, when Entença left for an expedition against Constantinople, only 1,462 men remained in Gallipoli.[152] These are not round figures and appear to be accurate. Also, according to Muntaner, the Company's victory on the Byzantine army at Apros in June 1305 yielded a booty of 3,000 horses, or three for each man.[153] This would imply somewhat more than 1,000 cavalry and some 2,000 infantry in the Company at that time. These figures are well

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[146]   Pachymérès, p. IV:539.

[147]   Pachymérès, p. IV:549.

[148]   M.F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*, c. 300–1450 (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 222–3.

[149]   Pachymérès, p. IV:461.

[150]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 199, 240, and 224, respectively: *cavall armat*, *cavall alforrat*, *hom de peu* or *péo*. On their armament, see below.

[151]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 233. His chronicle was composed in the years 1325 to 1328: *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, p. 18.

[152]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 215.

[153]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 220.

below those cited by the representatives of the Company when they attempted to convince Charles of Valois to hire it in the autumn of 1305. They claimed that the Company counted 1,400 cavalry and 3,000 infantry.[154] By inflating the numbers they hoped to obtain a larger sum.

Around a year later, in the autumn of 1306, Entença returned to the Company with a new detachment of 500 men.[155] On the other hand, the battle between his unit and the one of Rocafort caused a loss of around 150 cavalry and more than 500 infantry. In addition, after that incident, Ferran Eiximenis d'Arenós left the Company and entered the service of Andronicus II with 70 men.[156] We may thus assume that the Company had less than 1,000 horsemen and around 2,000 footmen when it arrived in Macedonia in the summer of 1307. During its stay in that region it clearly suffered some losses and, therefore, the figures for the battle for Halmyros in 1311 must have been somewhat lower. The Venetian Marino Sanudo states that some 1,800 Turkish fighters sided with the Company, yet this figure seems too high.[157]

The 200 horsemen and 300 footmen retained by the Duke of Athens Walter V of Brienne after the campaign of 1310 in Thessaly represented a fraction of the Company's force, yet do not enable an assessment of its total size. Muntaner's statement regarding the duke's forces is unreliable. As I have shown elsewhere, the figure of 700 cavalry may be safely dismissed, and his figure of 24,000 foot-soldiers is preposterous.[158] Gregoras states that 3,500 horsemen and 4,000 footmen of the Company faced 6,400 horsemen and more than 8,000 infantry of the duke, which included Greeks.[159] The figure for the Company's cavalry appears to be inflated even if it includes the Turks. In any event, the Company's attempt to reach an agreement with the Duke of Athens proves that its forces were outnumbered. A few years later, in 1316, the Company promised Ferran of Majorca 700 horsemen and 700 footmen as reinforcements to back his attempt to seize the Frankish principality of the Morea, yet by that time immigration from Sicily or the Iberian peninsula may have already strengthened the settlers' ranks.[160]

There is no information regarding the number of captives held by the Company. Some of them may have been kept in its midst to perform mean tasks, yet most of them were presumably sold as slaves a short time after being captured since the Company continuously struggled to ensure its food supplies. As a result, the number of captives must have been rather limited and have continuously fluctuated.

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[154]   Letter of 25 December 1305 sent by Charles of Valois to James II of Aragon; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 727, no. 701.

[155]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 229.

[156]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 232, and see above, n. 87.

[157]   See above, n. 40.

[158]   Jacoby, "Catalans," pp. 229–30.

[159]   Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, pp. I:252–3.

[160]   Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos*, par. 602.

In sum, the figure of 6,500 men who, according to Muntaner, left Messina in 1303 seems somewhat inflated, considering that more mercenaries arrived at Constantinople than agreed upon and that only 3,307 men of arms were left at Gallipoli in May 1305.[161] From this highly reliable figure we may arrive at some 2,500 men when the Company occupied the Duchy of Athens in 1311. With family members the number may have reached at most 4,000 individuals. The settlers remained a small minority in the midst of the Greek population, despite later immigration.

Military Capacity

The information regarding the distinctive military units of the Company and its Turkish allies, their equipment, functions in campaigns and pitched battles, and tactics is meager, fragmentary, and often confusing. As a result, many questions remain unanswered.

The Catalan Company has been repeatedly and wrongly identified with an *almogàver* host or been described as such.[162] In fact, the *almogàvers* represented only one of its military components, although an important one. We have already noted some of their particular features when they operated along the Muslim frontier of the Aragonese territories. Originally, they formed small autonomous groups of five to ten men staging incursions into Muslim territory for their own profit. In a more specific military role they engaged in scouting, spying, as well as in harassing and ambushing the enemy. Only small units could conduct that type of guerilla and commando warfare typical of frontier regions at the time of the Reconquista.[163] Occasionally, military leaders or city councils hired *almogàver* units for specific undertakings. These units operated under conditions duly recorded in written agreements, among them the right to engage in other occupations if not employed in military operations or to leave their employer even against the latter's will.[164] Although the Company was not exclusively composed of *almogàvers*, Flor

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[161]   See above, n. 152.

[162]   See the title of the fairly recent book by Marcos Hierro, above, n. 1.

[163]   Sablonier, *Krieg und Kriegertum*, pp. 57–61; Ferrer i Mallol, *Organització*, pp. 258–64.

[164]   On July 2 1311, Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, hired for five years Aragonese and Majorcan mercenaries, presumably *almogàvers*. A clause of the contract stipulates that they will be allowed "ire per mare et per terram per totum regnum predictum ad negotiandum ad suum opus" if not engaged in military actions: R Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi* (Florence, 1932), p. I:32 and n. 5; *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, p. 17, no. 15, of 1305: "quibus licenciam negare non potuit, eo quod secundum quod est de ritu seu more armugavarum Hispanie, eos a se volentes recedere non poterat retinere invitos."

obtained from Andronicus II a clause to that effect: those who wished to return to the West would be allowed to leave.[165]

The *almogàvers* were integrated in the operations of the royal Aragonese armies in the thirteenth century, yet their functions remained unchanged.[166] In contrast, in the Company they formed larger detachments. During a revolt in 1309 the *almogàvers* killed 14 among their commanders, which implies that there were more units.[167] If we assume that the *almogàvers* numbered then less than 2,000 men,[168] the average size of a unit would have been around 100 fighters. Large units imply a change in the *almogàvers'* military functions. Indeed, they operated as infantry in pitched battles. At an encounter near Philadelphia, in May 1304, the Company's cavalry attacked the mounted Turkish archers before their arrows could inflict losses upon them, while the *almogàvers* fought the Turkish footmen in what appears to have been a frontal attack.[169] The same occurred in August of that year.[170] Since Muntaner fails to mention footmen other than the *almogàvers* in these cases, it would seem that he sometimes uses the term *almogàver* as a substitute for infantry, yet elsewhere he refers to footmen without mentioning *almogàvers*.[171] The *almogàvers* of the Company had lances, fitting armament for infantry, which they apparently had lacked earlier when engaging in border operations. Crossbowmen were included in the crew of the ships transporting the Company from Messina to Constantinople, yet we do not find them among the footmen. On the other hand, Muntaner has a single reference to a *ballester a cavall*, a mounted crossbowman.[172] We do not know in what way the *almogàvers'* equipment and functions in the Company differed from those of other footmen. It should be noted that all of them received the same wage.

The role of *almogàvers* as infantry raises a series of questions regarding the mounted *almogàvers*, presumably a development contemporaneous to the thirteenth-century integration of the *almogàver* footmen in large armies. Muntaner refers to Peric de Na Clara, an *almogàver de cavall* serving in the Company.[173] There are no indications regarding his mode of operation, whether on his own, for instance in scouting, or whether in the framework of a unit. If so, in what way was

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[165]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 199.

[166]   Ferrer i Mallol, *Organitzacío*, pp. 264–7.

[167]   Not all commanders were killed: see above, n. 122.

[168]   For that assessment, see above.

[169]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 205. According to Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, p. 212: "once they brought the battle to close-quarters, the almogàvers supported the cavalry." In other words, they only intervened at a second stage. Muntaner's description does not support that reconstruction.

[170]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 207.

[171]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 240.

[172]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 239, 199 and 224, respectively.

[173]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 221.

his function different from that of other cavalrymen? Or did he operate with the *almogàver* footmen? For lack of evidence, these remain open questions.

Muntaner defines the function and status of the *almogatèn* as a "cap major de l'almogaveria," commander of a unit of *almogàvers*.[174] In view of the *almogatèns'* position, one may wonder in what way the *adalil* was connected to the *almogàvers*. The *adalil* is considered to have been acting in the Iberian Peninsula as guide for the *almogàvers* in terrain with which he was familiar, to have been more experienced, and to have enjoyed a higher professional rank. It has been suggested that both the *almogatèn* and the *adalil* served on horse with light armament, the former not always. [175] If this is correct, then one may wonder how as horsemen they operated in conjunction with infantry. We have no clue regarding the precise military roles of the *almogatèn* and the *adalil* in the Company.[176]

The contingent brought by Rocafort in 1304 included *murtati*, and two of them were sent as messengers to Flor. *Murtat* derives from Arabic *murtadd*, renegade from Islam, and was understood in the fourteenth century as the offspring of mixed Byzantine-Turkish parentage.[177] In a military context the term defined a foot archer.[178] There were apparently few archers among the Company's infantry. There is no mention of them in the battle of May 1304 near Philadelphia, in which the Company's cavalry attacked the mounted Turkish archers.[179] This may partly explain why the Company welcomed the Turks who wished to join it in 1305. Marino Sanudo mentions mounted Turks, *turcopoles* and *mortati*, operating with the Company in 1311.[180] The distinction between the three groups, all of them Turkish, is of a military nature.[181] The low numbers of archers in the Company accounts for the recruitment of Greek archers from among its captives, who fought in the Company's ranks at Halmyros.[182]

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[174]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 272.

[175]   Ferrer i Mallol, *Organitzacío*, pp. 242–58.

[176]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 203, 216, and 239.

[177]   See G. Colon, "Els 'murtats' encara," *Caplletra. Revista Internacional de Filologia* 1 (1986): pp. 15–19. The term appears in *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 206, ms. *A* of the Biblioteca d'El Escorial. It was not understood by medieval scribes copying Muntaner, who changed it into 'missatges,' as reflected in the edition of Soldevila cited above, n. 1, mainly based on ms. C: see ibid., 7, Nota editorial, and pp. 19–20, the list of mss. and editions.

[178]   Cretan archers, "arcerios de Candia quos mortatos appellabant," fought on behalf of Venice against Padua in 1372–73: L. Muratori, (ed.) *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* XIX (Milan, 1731), col. 749. On the *mourtatoi* in Byzantium, see Bartusis, *The Late Byzantine Army*, pp. 276–8.

[179]   See above, n. 169.

[180]   See above, n. 40.

[181]   As revealed by the *turcopoles*: see below.

[182]   See above, n. 35.

Muntaner distinguishes on several occasions between *homens a cavall armats* or *homens a cavall ben aparellats e ben encavalcats*, heavily armed horsemen, and *homens a cavall alforrats*, light horsemen.[183] The heavy cavalry appears to have been armed with lances, since Rocafort and his relatives used that weapon.[184] The Turkish contribution to the Company's cavalry is obscured by Muntaner's confusing terminology. He often uses *turcoples* for Turks in general, while distinguishing elsewhere between Turkish horsemen and *turcoples*.[185] He once refers to Turkish horsemen, *turcoples*, and Christian horsemen.[186] The *turcoples* were obviously Turks. The term *turcopoles* has been the subject of intense debate. Originally referring to the offspring of mixed Byzantine-Turkish unions, it underwent a semantic evolution and came to define light cavalrymen mainly armed with bows, regardless of ethnic origin. It is in that sense that the term was adopted in Western and Frankish military terminology. The *turcopoles* were known for the speed with which they operated in reconnaissance, raids, ambushes, harassment, as well as on the march and in pitched battles.[187] The Turkish horsemen mentioned together with them must have had different equipment and fulfilled different functions.

The complex ethnic composition of the Company did apparently not generate any serious problems of communication in its midst. Military coordination between Westerners, Turks and Greeks was achieved at the level of commanders, whether directly or with the assistance of interpreters. It required no more than a rudimentary knowledge of foreign languages, which was certainly acquired over time. Roger de Flor was fluent in Greek.[188]

The Company engaged in numerous forays and pitched battles in the years 1303–11. Unfortunately, we have no detailed descriptions of them enabling a reconstruction of the functions, operations and tactics of the various components of the army and the coordination between them, except some information regarding the battle near Philadelphia. The general statement that the Company substantially relied on heavy cavalry and not on archery to achieve significant victories over

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[183] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 199, 224, and 240. See Sablonier, *Krieg und Kriegertum*, pp. 49–51.

[184] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 232.

[185] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 228–32, 240, and 231, 233, and 236, respectively. Sanudo also distinguishes between Turkish horsemen and *turcopoles*: see above, n. 40.

[186] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 233.

[187] Y. Harari, "The Military Role of the Frankish Turcopoles: A Reassessment," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 12 (1997): pp. 75–116. However, I disagree, with Harari's statement, 77, that in Byzantium the term still had ethnic connotations by the late eleventh century. Y. Lev, "Infantry in Muslim Armies during the Crusades," in J.H. Pryor, (ed.) *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 185–208, at pp. 204–6, offers a more balanced view of the role of *turcopoles* in Frankish-Muslim military encounters.

[188] *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 199.

the Turks may be correct, yet it relies only on that single instance.[189] The often repeated statement that the *almogàvers* were the most effective force within the Company lacks any documentary support. Gregoras regarded the Company as a whole as a very effective and disciplined force.[190]

The Company was equipped for the conduct of mobile warfare. On the other hand, it could generally not muster sufficient forces, equipment and time for lengthy sieges to starve cities into submission. It occasionally used trebuchets to soften resistance and rope ladders with grappling irons to scale the walls,[191] yet exceptionally only wooden towers on wheels, as for the eight-day siege of Adrianople in the spring of 1306.[192] The Company also lacked sufficient time for lengthy sieges, since it lived off the land. The eight-month long blockade of Madytos in 1305 was rather exceptional.[193] In addition, the Company met with the stiff resistance of the Byzantine urban garrisons. As a result, it mostly failed in its attempts to conquer cities.[194]

The Catalan Company is generally considered a forerunner of the late medieval Great Companies and the *condottieri* detachments of the Renaissance.[195] It had much in common with them. It was a company of mercenaries recruited by a ruler for a specific military campaign and period of time which, once discharged and unemployed, led an itinerant life fed by plunder and ransom. Still, the Catalan Company differed from them in some important ways. Many of its members lacking assets envisaged settlement in the East already at the time they enlisted in Messina, which explains why they left Sicily with female partners and children. Their numbers within the Company were large enough to offset the latter's return to the West, which Emperor Andronicus had offered to subsidize. The orderly settlement of the Company as an organized body in central Greece in 1311 also stands in stark contrast to the disbanding of the military detachments of mercenaries in the West, whose members were compelled to ensure their livelihood individually. In short, the Catalan Company differed from the later companies in some significant ways.

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[189]   Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, p. 210.

[190]   Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, pp. I:221–2.

[191]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, chs. 223 and 229.

[192]   Pachymérès, p. IV:665.

[193]   *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ch. 223.

[194]   Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 168–70; Kyriakidis, *Warfare in Late Byzantium*, pp. 168–70.

[195]   Kenneth Fowler, *Medieval Mercenaries. The Great Companies*, vol. I (Oxford 2001).

PART III
European Warfare in the Central and Later Middle Ages

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Chapter 10

A Decisive Century in the Struggle against Islam in Iberia, ca. 1031–1157: Grand Strategic Perspectives

Manuel Rojas Gabriel

My intention in this paper is to identify the grand strategic principles planned and utilized by the Christian polities in Iberia in order to vanquish their Muslim adversaries during the period between the final disintegration of the Umayyad Caliphate in Cordoba in 1031 and the death of Alfonso VII, Emperor of León-Castile, in 1157. This choice of dates is not arbitrary.[1] Although internal difficulties had troubled the Caliphate for at least two decades, its final disintegration in 1031 marked the beginning of a radical change for the whole of peninsular geopolitics, not only for the politico-military relations that had prevailed until then within the Christian and Muslim spheres, but also consequently for the balance of power within Iberia. The end of the *fitna* that fragmented the Caliphate of Córdoba meant that the Christian polities started to take the strategic initiative which, until then, had been monopolized by the Muslims.[2]

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[1]   As demonstrated by the fact that this chronological framework already has been utilized by Bernard F. Reilly, *The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031–1157* (Oxford, 1992).

[2]   One of the contemporary testimonies that best reflects this new situation is found in a document preserved in the Catalan monastery of Sant Gugat del Vallés, dated to 1012: José Rius Serra, *Cartulario de 'Sant Cugat' del Valles*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1945–47), vol. 2: no. 449, quoted by José María Lacarra, "Aspectos económicos de la sumisión de los reinos de taifas (1010–1102)," in *Obra Dispersa, 1961–1971* (Pamplona, 2010), pp. 219–49, at p. 221: "The furious cruelty of the heathen prevailed for many years in the Christian provinces and numberless fortresses were destroyed, until God gave the victory to the Christians by means of both counts, Ramón [Borrell III, count of Barcelona, 972–1017] and his brother Ermengol [I, count of Urgel, 974–1010], who, divinely assisted and fighting with their forces, struggled, courageously advanced as far as Córdoba and entered in battle at the city's doors, putting all the Saracens and barbarians to flight, and putting king Mucelemitico [Muhammad al-Mahdi], who had asked the counts for help, on the throne. Thus gave God peace to the Christian and they could go out and travel through the mentioned marches in all directions and build many strongholds and castles which had been previously destroyed by the aforementioned power of the pagans."

The most important reason for this change was the emergence of a myriad of petty-kingdoms (*taifas*) on the Muslim side. The autonomous *taifas* replaced a unitary power which, at least in theory, had distinctive centralizing tendencies. The collapse of the Caliphate in Iberia coincided with the increasing social maturity of the Iberian Christian states. This circumstance offered numerous opportunities for the various Christian polities to expand their territories at the expense of the Muslims or, alternatively, to impose their eminent domain by means of tribute and vassal pacts on the Muslim polities.

At the other end of the chronological spectrum, the death of Alfonso VII of León-Castile in 1157 slowed the Christian kingdoms' territorial expansion. If the Hispano-Christian perspective is the only one considered, the origin of this slowdown seems to be the end of unified political action among the northern kingdoms, which had been built upon the duties owed to the emperor by all Christian leaders. The first stage of unified Christian action led to the complete destruction of the Almoravid block in the Iberian Peninsula, which led to the second *taifa* period after 1145, and ultimately to significant Christian territorial advances. However, the successes of the Christians had a direct and unexpected consequence. Once again the petty-kingdoms were forced to seek a North African solution, which led to the Almohad entrance into Iberian affairs, made possible by the virtual annihilation of the Lamtuna regime in Western Maghreb. Both developments—the loss of Christian unity of action and the presence of an adversary on the magnitude of the Almohads on peninsular soil—took place nearly simultaneously and in a short period of time.

The strategic objectives that had seemed nearly realized in the period from 1145–57 were now delayed for another seventy-five years. The Christian kingdoms no longer had the ability to advance firmly their southern frontiers beyond the basins of the Tagus and Ebro rivers. In addition, when Alfonso VII's plan of advancing as far as the High Guadalquivir Valley was spoiled, the opportunity to conquer important regions in the eastern flank of present-day Andalucía—with the incorporation of Almería in 1147 and the city of Granada later, together with other comparatively less important regional positions—also was lost. If Almería had not been lost in 1157 and Granada had been under the control of León-Castile, either in a direct or indirect way by means of a Muslim puppet petty king, then that would have had valuable consequences for the strategic interests of León-Castile. In short, apart from the fact that both strongholds would have become Christian beachheads in that crucial area of the peninsula, it would have meant a major blow against the ambitions of Almohads, as well as the possibility to encompass from the south the future Catalan-Aragones areas of expansion, as agreed to in the Treaty of Tudilén (1151).

However, despite setbacks following the arrival of the Almohads, the long century between 1031 and 1157 did set in place a number of conditions that led to the ultimate defeat of the Muslims in Iberia. First of all, the expansive dynamic energy of the Almohads was not like that of the Almoravids. At the level of political and armed conflict, this meant that if the formula to subjugate the Almoravids was

found, sooner or later it would be applied to the Almohads—although a period of *status quo* would have to be tolerated—and also that the great strongholds conquered between 1031 and 1157 would not return to Muslim hands with all the implications this had for the consolidation of the frontier. In 1157, along a hypothetical line crossing the Iberian peninsula from west to east, the Almohads could threaten and take some strongpoints of lesser importance, but the essential strongholds that would maintain that hypothetical line—the cities of Lisbon (1147), Toledo (1085), Zaragoza (1118), Tortosa (1148) and Lérida (1149)—were firmly secured and populated. Those regions located more towards the rear were completely exempt from Muslim ambitions. Therefore, from that moment on, strategy mainly focused on the control of the present-day regions of Alentejo, Extremadura, La Mancha and Levante; that is to say, the areas that were not under Christian but rather Islamic control.

Secondly, the Christian kingdoms learned, developed, and executed the necessary strategic instruments in order to defeat, sooner or later, their Muslim enemies, either in the form of a series of petty kingdoms or an African empire. In sum, this long century witnessed the creation, development, readjustment, and continuous practice of some of the great strategic directives that, from here onwards, would be well established in dealings with the Muslims and which, with whatever nuances one may wish to include, would be mainstays in the centuries to follow. In other words, the Christians would suffer sporadic defeats, but only that, while the Muslims ultimately would be completely defeated. This change in peninsular geo-strategy was one of the significant elements that made the period from 1031 to 1057 a decisive century in the history of medieval Iberia.

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From a politico-military standpoint, between 1031 and 1157, the Christians were initiating a clear strategy of indirect approach;[3] that is to say, a series of actions which, in combination, provoked a distinct asymmetry between offensive initiative and defensive capacity. The method to achieve this goal consisted of a slow erosion and a persistent wearing out of all and every means the Muslims could count on to make and then be able to sustain, war for a more or less indefinite period of time. In other words, the strategy was to drive the enemy, by means of repeated assaults, to a high level of systemic exhaustion. Therefore, in this strategic context there was no place for pitched battles, and great sieges and blockade operations

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[3]   Despite his poor opinion of the conduct of medieval warfare, it is possible to adhere to the concept of strategy of "indirect approach" developed by Sir Basil Henry Liddell Hart. His ideas on the subject are scattered throughout biographies and several books and articles, but for a coherent exposition see Brian Bond, *Liddell Hart: A Study of His Military Thought* (London, 1977), pp. 37–61. However, the monograph where perhaps this perspective of strategy is clearest is in his *The Strategy of Indirect Approach*, 2nd edn (London, 1946), pp. 184–216.

intended for the conquest of important Muslim strongpoints and the conquest of new territories were not a priority during the first stages of the project, but rather a secondary strategic goal. The main Christian strategic aim would be the use of front line operating centers to continue attacking, in the most intensive way possible, the Islamic territories by means of raiding in order to provoke severe political divisions within the enemy camp and, in this way, to continue gradually eroding their resistance. Lastly were offensives against direct objectives: i.e. efforts to take by siege particular strongholds, which would serve as new outposts in order to continue harassing the Muslim domains from a closer distance. These outposts would serve as intermediate logistic centers between the rearguard and the heart of al-Andalus. In short, it was a strategy of progressive weakening of the enemy as a means to guarantee a final defeat, which if not total or immediate, was at least a partial one, by putting into practice a relational maneuver.[4]

This essay will not consider the economic, social, political, and institutional factors that served as a foundation for the grand strategic directives planned and carried out by the Iberian Christian powers in order to vanquish their Muslim adversaries.[5] To a great extent, these structural factors are those which enable us to explain the three general conditions which are essential to the main topic of this paper. First: the reasons why during this chronological period, a net dynamism of an expansive nature took place in the Christian societies to the detriment of Islam. Second: why the Christian kingdoms found and later developed the necessary instruments in order to achieve such remarkable territorial advances or, in any case, force the Muslims to accept a very severe tribute payment regime and pacts that implied vassal subordination. During the first and second *taifa* periods, the Andalusi leaders were agonizingly alone, almost at the mercy of the northern kingdoms, and without a truly coordinated political and military program with which to efficiently oppose the growing and sustained active or indirect aggressiveness of their Christian neighbors.[6] And third: why the northern kingdoms had the intrinsic capacity to curb the Muslim offensive—even after

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[4]   On which, see Edward N. Luttwak, *Strategy: The Logic of War and Peace*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA, 2001), p. 115.

[5]   In this respect, the best interpretative synthesis is found in José María Mínguez, *La España de los siglos VI al XIII: Guerra, expansión y transformaciones. En busca de una frágil unidad*, 2nd edn (San Sebastían, 2004).

[6]   Memorably, Angus MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages, From Frontier to Empire 1000–1500* (London, 1977), p. 15, refers to this system as a "protection racket." The best guides to the tribute payment regime to which the Christian kingdoms submitted the petty-kingdoms remain José María Lacarra, "Aspectos económicos," 219–49; and Hilda Grassotti, "Para la historia del botín y de las parias en Castilla y León," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 39–40 (1964): pp. 43–132.

suffering significant military setbacks—when on the Muslim side a greater unity was emerging thanks to the appearance of an African Empire.[7]

In this respect, it is worth considering that for the Maghrebi, the attainment of high levels of cohesion in their domains in al-Andalus was always a transitory situation. Indeed, it was only a matter of time before their respective regimes would show increasingly deeper rifts which weakened their monolithism. Certainly, on two occasions, the *taifa* kingdoms felt the need to make explicit calls for help to the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar in order to prevent the inevitable advance of the Christians. In Andalusi circles, almost nobody denied that the African regimes were a hard, uncomfortable, and strange imposition from outside which were sanctioned without much consideration towards Hispano-Muslim local peculiarities. Although the enemies par excellence were the Christians, invariably the Africans had to work to impose and maintain their rule in al-Andalus, where there was a tendency towards unrest and hostility against them. This was expressed by means of either direct confrontation by the regional petty kings, who did not want to take for granted the Almoravid and Almohad regimes and sometimes even went so far as to ask for Christian help to reach their objectives, or by the outbreak of local resistance stimulated by the never dispelled belief that both the former and the latter were oppressive foreign elements. These turbulent times gave ammunition to the northern Christians, since any manifestation of internal problems on the Muslim side ensured that the Christians, normally quite observant in order to take advantage of any signs of politico-military weakness on the Muslim side, would take action in some way. The reasons are obvious. An excellent strategic option which almost certainly would favor them consisted precisely of instigating and fomenting any type of conflict, discord, or protest among their Muslim rivals. And if a conflict worsened, then they would support it from outside in order to obtain some advantage. For example, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* refers to one of those situations:

> Then, when the princes, commanders and all the Hagarene people [Andalusi] saw that miseries were multiplied, and that the emperor [Alfonso VII] and his forces did encamp themselves in their borders every year, and that the armies of Toledo, Segovia, Ávila, Salamanca and the other towns destroyed their land daily, they gathered in the squares, in the porticos of the towns, and in the mosques and they said: "What can we do, since we shall not be able to withstand war with the emperor and his commanders?" Some of them replied saying: "The Moabites [Almoravids] eat the fat of the land, they take away our possessions and our gold and silver from us, and they oppress our wives and children. Let us fight against them, therefore, let us kill them and cast off their lordship, for we have no part in King Texufin's palace neither have we inheritance in the

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[7]   Key answers can be found in José María Mínguez, "Sociedad feudal, guerra feudal," in *La guerra en la Edad Media*, (ed.) José Ignacio de la Iglesia Duarte (Logroño, 2007), pp. 17–48; and Felipe Maíllo Salgado, *De la desaparición de al-Andalus* (Madrid, 2004).

sons of Ali and of his father Yusef." Other said: "First of all, let us make a peace agreement with the emperor of León and Toledo, and let us give him royal tribute, just as our fathers gave it to his father." This seemed good in their eyes and they agreed to make ready for war against the men of Marrakesh … Sending messengers, they called upon King Zafadola [Ahmad ibn Hud Saif al-Dawla, Alfonso VII's ally] and all the linage of the kings of the Hagarenes to come and make war on the Moabites.[8]

It already has been pointed out that during the long century between the emergence of the first *taifa* kingdoms due to the 1009–31 *fitna* that caused the disintegration of the Umayyad Caliphate of Córdoba, and the irruption and progressive consolidation of the Almohad regime in al-Andalus after the mid-twelfth century, a series of decisive developments took place in Iberia. From the perspective of the conflict between the Christian polities and the Muslim orbit, the most important development was that the various Christian kingdoms were able to advance considerably in the areas of territorial conquest and the consolidation of occupied areas. Therefore, the Christian realms expanded significantly.[9] It is true that the last great territorial advance the Christians tried to achieve in this period, which should have moved the frontier line from the river Tagus as far as the high Guadalquivir valley and present-day Andalucía, never materialized because of the irruption of the Almohads. But it is also unquestionable that, towards the mid-twelfth century, years of strengthening and repopulating the regions of the river Tagus, from its estuary in Lisbon and also in the Ebro basin, made the border regions of the kingdoms of Portugal, León, Castile and Aragon virtually impenetrable to Muslim attacks.

But apart from this fundamental point, two other remarkable factors should be stressed. First, most of these expansive actions were carried out by the Christian kingdoms using their own resources, while the Andalusi petty kings, in order to stop their adversaries' advance and escape vassalage, had no other option than to ask for help twice from two emerging African empires, which implied the loss of their political independence. During some specific military episodes, the Christian leaders, particularly in Aragón and Portugal, but occasionally also in León-Castile,

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[8]   For practical reasons, I use the English edition and translation by Simon Barton and Richard Fletcher, *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, (hereafter *CAI*) in *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest* (Manchester and New York, 2000), 2.93, at p. 242. The passage corresponds to the year 1144, when Almoravid power in al-Andalus was declining.

[9]   Save in the case of Navarra. Sancho IV of Pamplona's death in 1076 necessitated the sorting out of the kingdom by conquest between Alfonso VI of León-Castile and Sancho Ramírez de Aragón. When, after the death of Alfonso I the Battler in 1134, Navarra recovered its lost independence, "the lines of a potential expansion were already occupied by the two giant neighbors, Aragón and Castile-León, which definitely blocked Navarra and prevented it from the conquest of al-Andalus": José María Mínguez, *La España,* p. 236.

received help from contingents from beyond the Pyrenees in order to take by storm some main strongholds—Zaragoza (1118), Lisbon and Almería (1147) or Tortosa (1148), and several others of lesser importance –,[10] but those enterprises were an integral part of Hispano-Christian strategic plans, not campaigns initiated by foreign hosts. In other words, it was one thing to receive some collaboration from non-peninsular soldiers who were incorporated into the local armies, and a different matter altogether to put the operational strategic initiative in the hands of a foreign power, and give them freedom to act without any tutelage.

Another key factor—even more important than the first—was that the expansive nature of the Christian societies was not easily alterable, at least as far as its deeper directives were concerned. As is well-known, this process of territorial conquest was neither systematic nor gradual; it was not even uniform spatially speaking. Of course, more than once there were cases of stagnation and even times when the Christian kingdoms suffered withdrawals on their advance lines because the Muslims reacted violently against Christian aggressiveness, particularly thanks to the injection of African energy. It was then that the Muslims managed some partial success in pitch battles, took some strongpoints, and initiated great predatory expeditions that seemed to be able to demolish the Hispano-Christian contention fronts in some vital sectors of the frontier, such as when the Almoravids attacked—between the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth—the four vital nuclei of Alfonso VI of León-Castile's machinery, Coria, Toledo, Valencia, and Aledo, as well as a series of secondary bordering positions. Out of the four main cities, only Toledo remained in Christian hands, and even this city was greatly overcome in the east because of the defeats suffered by the King of León-Castile in Consuegra (1097) and Uclés (1108).[11] However, the fundamental point in regards to grand strategy is that the Christian kingdoms

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[10]   The *locus classicus* remains Marcelin Defourneaux, *Les français en Espagne aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1949). Since then, the bibliography has increased significantly. A general state of the question can be found in Pascual Martínez Sopena, "Los francos en la España de los siglos XI al XIII," in *Minorías y migraciones en la Historia*, (ed.) Ángel Vaca Lorenzo (Salamanca, 2004), pp. 25–66. Concrete cases in, for example, Jean Gautier-Dalché, "Les colonies étrangères en Castille: I. Au nord du Tage," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 10 (1981): pp. 469–86; José María Lacarra, "Los franceses en la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro en tiempos de Alfonso el Batallador," *Obra Dispersa, 1961–1971*, pp. 351–64; Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970-c. 1130* (Oxford 1993), pp. 70–114; Carlos Laliena Corbera, "*Larga Stipendia et Optima Praedia*: Les nobles *francos* en Aragon au service d'Alphonse le Batailleur," *Annales du Midi: Revue de la France meridionales* 112 (2000): pp. 149–69. On the particular case of the Normans and Anglo-Normans, see Lucas Villegas-Aristizábal, *Norman and Anglo-Norman Participation in the Iberian 'Reconquista,' c. 1018-c. 1248* (Nottingham, 2007, D. Phil. thesis).

[11]   See Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas del reconquista durante las invasiones africanas*, 2nd edn (Granada, 2000), p. 19 ff.; and "'Ali b. Yusuf y sus empresas en al-Andalus," *Tamuda* 7 (1959): pp. 77–122.

always ended up imposing themselves over their Islamic adversaries, no matter how strong, dynamic, and unstoppable they seemed during the initial stages of their meddling in Iberian affairs.

The obvious question then would be why. It would take far too long to analyze the peculiarities of contemporary Islamic societies, peculiarities that would render them, sooner rather than later, less efficient in political and military areas than Western Christian societies. This question does not find a conclusive answer if one focuses only on the long series of victories the northern kingdoms achieved against the Muslims, particularly when Muslim strongpoints were taken by conquest, pact, or unconditional surrender, a process that implied a series of valuable territorial acquisitions; in the end, this was a geo-strategic dynamic in perfect harmony with the characteristics of most position fighting typical of the period. However, one could conclude that this constituted more a consequence than a cause and, in any case, it must be related to strategic operational logic and tactics. The true answer to this fundamental question must be related, mainly, to the issue of how the different Christian leaders were able to exploit, from the perspective of grand strategy, the internal means offered by societies which had reached high levels of maturity in their development, and whose structural attributes included an almost insatiable hunger for land. It is what José María Mínguez calls "the activating components of conquest."[12] In this sense, it is worth considering that the territorial disputes among the Christian kingdoms were always constant and continuous to the point that, if we make a quick calculation of the number of years the Hispano-Christian entities were in conflict among themselves, we find that they spent longer fighting among themselves than against Islam.

Therefore, it is worth stressing that during this long century the Christian leaders, relying on the internal characteristics acquired by their respective societies, were able to generate a series of politico-military directives, by means of which they achieved desired goals, and, furthermore, transformed these directives into an irreversible general orientation dynamic. The Muslim powers, divided into *taifas*, or with a tendency towards political disintegration when a block unity was imposed by an African empire, could slow down this dynamic for a few decades, but they were never able to stop it completely. Even after periods of partial setbacks on the frontiers, or of *impasse*, the Christians would impose it again to the dismay of their Islamic adversaries. A close analysis of events demonstrates that deadlocks on the frontiers and Muslim advances were the direct consequence of the periodic military irruptions of Berber troops in the Iberian Peninsula or during periods of temporary consolidation. This was a type of energy that, when those empires reached their expansive limits, provoked decentralizing movements from within. This was the moment when the Christians took the military initiative again. Indeed, by the early years of his reign, Alfonso I the Battler was able to act against the Almoravids with the offensive efficiency that would lead to the

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[12]   José María Mínguez, *La España*, p. 239–42.

conquest of Zaragoza in 1118, the jewel of his many conquests.[13] On the other hand, once the serious problems caused by the Lamtuna at the end of Alfonso VI of León-Castile's reign were solved and, particularly, the internal disputes that arose during Queen Urraca's government, a short time before his imperial coronation in 1135, Alfonso VII could go on the offensive, albeit with some diffidence at first.[14] Therefore, if we focus on the front of the central and western regions of the Iberian Peninsula, Almoravid rule lasted little more than thirty years. But in the valley of the river Ebro, the solidity demonstrated by the emerging kingdom of Aragón managed to weaken the North African strength in a much shorter period of time.

In general, the Christian kingdoms were sufficiently effective in pursuing their grand strategy that they were able to recover after suffering initial setbacks and to counterbalance the military strength applied by the Africans, and then impose their expansive or coercive pressure again, despite conflicts between the kingdoms. For example, even after terrible defeats in battle such as at Sagrajas, also known as Zalaca (1086), and Uclés (1108),[15] León-Castile pressure on Muslim adversaries only ceased temporarily.[16]

Soon after Sagrajas, Alfonso VI imposed his hegemony and demanded new and heavy tributes from the *taifa* kings, using military threat as a coactive

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[13]   José María Lacarra, "La conquista de Zaragoza por Alfonso I (18 de diciembre 1118)," in *Obra Dispersa, 1945–1950* (Pamplona, 2008), pp. 169–93.

[14]   *CAI*, 2.20, at p. 213: "When the war with the king of Aragon had finished, there arose another war in Castile with King García of Pamplona and with King Afonso of Portugal, who attacked Galicia … On account of these wars the emperor did not campaign in the land of the Saracens, and for this reason the Saracens prevailed over the land of the Christians. The strength of the Saracens and their great power continued until the Emperor Alfonso went to Jerez [de la Frontera, 1133], and until he captured Oreja [1139] and Coria [1142]."

[15]   Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas*, pp. 17–82 and 100–134. See also Vincent Lagardère, *Le Vendredi de Zallaqa* (Paris, 1989); John Slaughter, "De nuevo sobre la batalla de Uclés," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9 (1974–79): pp. 393–404; Félix Manuel Martínez Fronce, "La dinámica estratégica hacia Uclés y sus puntos de encuentro," *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 7 (1987): pp. 75–91; Miguel Salas Parrilla (coord.), *La batalla de Uclés (1108) contra los almorávides: Su contexto histórico* (Tarancón, 2008).

[16]   The death of Alfonso I the Battler's in 1134 due the injuries received in the battle of Fraga, without a direct heir, and after having stipulated in his last will that the legitimate heirs of the kingdom of Aragón were the Military Orders, opened a period of deep crisis not only so far as the direction of the kingdom was concerned, but also as regards the active expansive strategies employed by Aragón during his reign. More than the military results of the battle of Fraga, this was its most important consequence. This is not the place to debate the Battler's testament, but see, for example, Ana Isabel Peña Paul, *Ramiro II de Aragón, el rey monje (1134–1137)* (Gijón, 2008), p. 89 ff.

formula.[17] The defeat at Uclés endangered a considerable part of the western sector of the Tagus frontier. However, Toledo and the rest of the western areas remained unreachable objectives for the Almoravid armies. When the glorious victor of Sagrajas, Caliph Yusuf ibn-Tashfin, returned to the Iberian peninsula on two occasions in the following years, his campaigns ended in defeats: first at Aledo in 1089, and then at Toledo in 1090.[18] However, what the defeat of Uclés did generate was a series of very serious internal political conflicts. During the attack, which was a very bloody one, Don Sancho, heir apparent, and many of his noble supporters, fell in battle, which allowed Queen Urraca to reign, and gave way to years of internal conflict that lasted until Alfonso VII took control of the kingdom after 1131. From this date onwards, it was only a matter of time before the Emperor resumed a continuous war of attrition against the Almoravids, used Sayf al-Dawla b. Hud's ambitions to his advantage, conquered strongpoints which had been lost during his grandfather, Alfonso VI's, time, and tried to move the Castilian-Leonés frontier as far as the high basin of the Guadalquivir, a situation which seemed to anticipate the total collapse of al-Andalus. This advance was only halted due to the arrival of the Almohads.[19]

High levels of social maturity and consistent efforts at repopulation in order to consolidate the occupied areas constitute two key factors which help to explain the Christian success. So, during the long century and a half when the disintegration of the caliphate took place, the first *taifa* kingdoms appeared and disappeared, the fierce fight against the harsh Almoravid regime took place, the confusing years of the second *taifa* kingdoms emerged, and the Almohad storm landed on the peninsula, Christian leaders managed to create strategic formulas and learned—sometimes painfully—a series of practical lessons that influenced the development of the Christians' future political relationships with the Muslims. But these developments, no matter how decisive they were from the perspective of the grand politico-military strategies, are simply a part of the general panorama. From c. 1009 until c. 1057, a series of internal processes took place that enabled the

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[17] Évariste Lévi-Provençal and Emilio García Gómez, (ed.) and trans., *El siglo XI en 1ª persona: Las 'Memorias' de 'Abd 'Allāh, último rey Ziri de Granada, destronado por los Almorávides (1090)* (Madrid, reed. 2010), 58, p. 262. There is an English translation of this source—*The Tibyān: Memoirs of* 'Abd *Allāh B. Buluggīn*, *Last Zīrid Amīr of Granada*, trans. Amin T. Tibi (Leiden, 1986) –, but it does not reach the precision and quality of the Spanish version. In this essay, all references to this chronicle and the textual quotations, translated into English, will be made to the Spanish edition.

[18] On the siege of Aledo, see Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Las grandes batallas*, pp. 81–99. There are certain doubts that Yusuf ibn-Tashfin could have led an expedition in the lands of Toledo in 1090, but see Jacinto Bosch Vilá, *Los almorávides* (Tetuán, 1956), pp. 146–7. If this expedition really took place and ended in a defeat, this circumstance could explain the silence of the Muslim sources.

[19] Manuel Rojas Gabriel, "The Iberian Christian Kingdoms in the Face of the Almoravids (ca. 1086-ca. 1148): Strategic Response and Defeat," in *La conducción de la guerra en la Edad Media*, 2: *Estrategias*, (ed.) Manuel Rojas Gabriel, forthcoming.

Christian societies, which by now had reached high levels of systemic maturity, to offer their different governors the expansive energy they needed in order to subjugate, defeat, or curb non-Christian polities that appeared in al-Andalus. This made the Christian societies not only more aggressive, but also provided them with better executive instruments to develop more effective offensive actions. At the same time, the Christian polities progressively configured a deeper and stronger political map. Two factors derived from this developing state of affairs. Firstly, it was more feasible to repel the Muslim attacks, particularly the African ones, to the point that their campaigns would no longer go beyond certain geographical limits.[20] Secondly, the internal political development of the Christian kingdoms provided their rulers with expanded resources to carry out much more ambitious territorial conquest strategies. As a result, the Muslims could only curb the expansionist policies of the northern kingdoms for a short time and, occasionally, *in extremis*, as when the petty-kingdoms called the Almoravids and the Almohads for help.

From the point of view of grand strategy, it cannot be denied that at the end of the period under analysis here, the division that took place between León and Castile upon the death of Alfonso VII in 1157 was a serious development; particularly because it was an event that took place after more than eighty years of union, since the time of Alfonso VI's ascension to the Castilian-Leonés throne in 1072 (although as early as 1037 Fernando I had achieved a first unification). In fact, if the systematic attacks against the Muslims can be interpreted as a methodical and regular process, then this secession was a strategically deleterious event that ended up having various and long-lasting effects on the main Christian lines of expansion. The old border disputes among Christian kingdoms reappeared, new alliances and counter-alliances were generated, and the unity of action and joint resources that in previous years had enabled León-Castile to maintain an unquestionable hegemony was lost.[21] The Almohads, who were not naïve, made the best out of this situation.[22] However, leaving aside false teleologies and self-

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[20]   According to Jean-Pierre Molénat, "Les diverses notions de "frontière" dans la région de Castilla-La Mancha au temps des Almoravides et des Almohades," in *Alarcos 1995: Actas del Congreso Internacional Conmemorativo del VIII Centenario de la Batalla de Alarcos*, (eds) Ricardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez (Ciudad Real, 1996), pp. 103–23, at pp. 112–15, what both the Almoravids and the Almohads always intended was to consolidate a "front line" on the left bank of the river Tagus, since while Toledo remained under Castilian-Leonés control, it would be impossible to maintain permanent strongpoints north of the river.

[21]   For example, only a few months after the division of the kingdom, the first disputes between Leonés and Castilian people for the control of Tierra de Campos appeared. The result was a military conflict which, temporarily, was solved by the 1158 Treaty of Sahagún. On the division of León and Castile and this first conflict, see Julio González, *El Reino de Castilla en la* época *de Alfonso VIII*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 663–71, and *Regesta de Fernando II* (Madrid, 1943), pp. 24–5.

[22]   Francisco García Fitz, *Relaciones políticas y guerra: La experiencia castellano-leonesa frente al Islam, siglos XI-XIII* (Sevilla, 2002), p. 109 ff.

interested presentisms, for contemporaries neither the separation of the *territorium portugalense* by the queen-*infanta* Teresa—mainly after 1127 with her son Alfonso Henríquez—nor the division between León and Castile, was understood as the fragmentation of a unified political identity, since, politically, there was no other union but that derived from the juxtaposition of territories and of men bound to a monarch by means of personal and private relationships. By this time León, Castile, Portugal, Navarra and the Crown of Aragón—the "Spain of the five kingdoms" according to a traditional but amphibological denomination[23]— were well established polities in their own right and were not concerned with the possibility of being conquered by the Muslims.

It is true that the Christians lost some pitched battles, and strongholds, and suffered a certain number of significant Muslim raids. In addition, some lands returned to Muslim hands. However, from the great mass of events in this period one can deduce that since the time of the *fitna* that fragmented the Caliphate of Córdoba in the fighting between Christianity and Islam in Iberia a directive was forged which was the most remarkable of all from the politico-military point of view. I am talking about the fact that the Christian polities—each one according to its own opportunities and rhythms, while at the same time participating in a complex and difficult competitive struggle among themselves—managed to determine which should be the strategic *tempo* against the Muslims. In this way, they transformed the strategic initiative not only into a tendency of inescapable character, but also, should that initiative be lost, they considered it a *sine qua non* condition to recover it as soon as possible.[24] Therefore, if we focus on grand strategy, the most important circumstance was that the al-Andalus orbit, either divided into weak *taifa* kingdoms or united under the fierce transitory subjection of an African Empire, had no other option but to stay on the defensive. This was true despite the different situations of strength or weakness of the Christian kingdoms caused by a huge variety of internal or external factors, including aristocratic revolts and dynastic disputes, wars between Christian kingdoms, as well as typical problems derived from the process of occupation, repopulation, and social articulation of the frontier regions.

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[23]   Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *El Imperio hispánico y los cinco reinos* (Madrid, 1950).

[24]   In this sense, it is significant that after the Treaty of Tudilén (1151) a number of agreements were signed in order to delimit the areas of expansion towards the south of Aragón-Cataluña and León-Castile. See Juan Torres Fontes, *La delimitación del Sudeste peninsular (Tratados de partición de la Reconquista)* (Murcia, 1950); Julio Valdeón Baruque, "Las particiones medievales en los tratados de los reinos hispánicos. Un precedente de Tordesillas," in *El Tratado de Tordesillas y su proyección* (Valladolid, 1973), pp. 1:21–32. A thorough narrative summary and fairly complete bibliography can be found in Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Sobre la evolución de las fronteras medievales hispanas (siglos XI a XIV)," in *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI-XIV)*, (eds) C. de Ayala, P. Buresi, and Ph. Josserand (Madrid, 2001), pp. 3–49.

In sum, the Muslims were forced to apply and follow a frontier contention strategy. In this respect the fact that the Iberian Peninsula was, save for short periods of time, a secondary front for the Almoravids and Almohads, whose respective empires had the north of Africa as their priority, was not a minor issue. For the African Islamic powers that had to impose their authority in al-Andalus and fight against the Christian kingdoms, the Strait of Gibraltar was a serious obstacle from the point of view of their strategic plans and their very military operational capacity. In fact, and save for certain periods of time, the Andalusi issue was always secondary for the Almoravids, the Almohads, and later for the Merinids. For all of them, the core of their power was in the Maghreb, and the main strength of their politico-military power was directed against indigenous challenges. In fact, Almoravid and Almohad emirs and caliphs only remained on this side of the Strait of Gibraltar for short periods of time and, almost always, their stays had to do with offensive campaigns against the Christians. Clear evidence that the peninsula was normally a secondary front is the fact that when Almoravid power was seriously threatened in Africa because of the Almohad movement, the Lamtuna used their main military force in order to counteract it in the Maghreb and that struggle became their main objective. This meant that they not only stopped strengthening their possession in al-Andalus, but also transferred numerous troops, resources, and the most able rulers to the other side of the Strait. The most obvious case was that of Tashfin b. 'Ali in 1138. This year, Tashfin, successful governor of al-Andalus since 1126, was forced to leave his position and return to Africa to face the unstoppable Almohad storm.[25]

Stressing the ideas of the previous paragraph, any period characterized by a *status quo* situation, or even by partial territorial advances of the Islamic forces, was considered by the Christian leaders as a transitory situation that had to be confronted before driving the politico-military tendency in the direction it should go: taking the initiative of expansive strategy again or, alternatively, subjugating the Muslim powers to a high degree of vassalage. On the basis of this, not only the periods of Muslim weakness should be taken into account—which was the case during the first *taifa* kingdoms and in the years of Almoravid disintegration anticipating the second *taifa* kingdoms—happy years for the northern kingdoms because they could act from a position of unquestionable strength that forced the petty kingdoms to accept their demands. We also should consider that a good part of the politico-military Christian pressure, including that employed during the hardest moments of confrontation against the African empires, was mainly directed to force the Muslims to play the weaker role on the strategic board. If

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[25] See Ibn Abī Zar,' *Rawd al-qirtās*, (ed.) and trans. Ambrosio Huici Miranda (Valencia, 1964), 1, pp. 311–12; Jacinto Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, pp. 241–2. On the military role played by the emir between the years 1126 and 1138, see Ambrosio Huici Miranda, "Contribución al estudio de la dinastía almorávide: El gobierno de Tāšufīn ben 'Alī ben Yūsuf en al-Andalus," in Études *d'orientalisme dediées* á *la memoire de Lévi-Provençal*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1962), vol. 2, pp. 605–21.

we take into account that one of the most remarkable peculiarities of the Islamic societies was their almost innate tendency towards political fragmentation—a circumstance that made them easier to erode by the Christians—then it is logical to infer that the Hispano-Christian rulers, who knew their adversaries very well and where their weaknesses lay,[26] did everything possible to provoke political divisions within the Islamic field. The basic strategy of the Christian leaders was, then, to prevent any possible reversion of the politico-military initiative achieved during the *fitna*. Although it was impossible to force the Africans to accept pacts at a disadvantage and pay tribute save at times of complete disintegration,[27] the Christian monarchs, individually most often, but sometimes united by temporary alliances, were able to design grand strategic principles and put them into practice whose repeated application and consolidation was guaranteed by success in the medium and long terms.

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However, one should not overlook an important fact. Despite the fact that the Muslims were the adversaries par excellence of Christianity in Iberia and, by extension, of the whole western Latin orbit, and that a doctrinal body progressively emerged which sanctified, supported, and maintained the war against Islam, the different Hispano-Christian power entities also competed among themselves because of the need to establish control over certain territories or to establish hegemony over other peninsular kingdoms.[28] It was very unusual that the

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[26] For example, the fact that the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* shows a deep knowledge of the Muslims, their political geography, their social customs, etc., is clear evidence that the Christians knew very well the internal peculiarities of the Islamic sphere. See Simon Barton, "Islam and the West: A View from Twelfth-Century León," in *Cross, Crescent and Conversion: Studies on Medieval Spain and Christendom in Memory of Richard Fletcher*, (eds) Simon Barton and Peter Linehan (Leiden-Boston, 2008), pp. 153–74. So, it is symptomatic that the *Chronica* makes a clear distinction among "Agareni," "Moabitas," and "Muzmutos;" that is, among Andalusis, Almoravids, and Almohads. While the first could be captured and the possibility of establishing agreements with them even existed, the only possible fate of the Africans was their total elimination, at least while they had not come to a phase of political fragmentation that allowed the Christians the real possibility to dominate them. See Ron Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval (el enemigo en el espejo)*, trans. M. Bar-Kochba y A. Komay (Madrid, 1984), pp. 140–44.

[27] As happened to 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. Ghaniya, the last Almoravid governor of al-Andalus. See Manuel Rojas Gabriel, "The Iberian Christian Kingdoms"

[28] Perhaps the only exceptions were the two decades during which Alfonso VII enjoyed the imperial title. Indeed, after some very hard years, in 1135, he was crowned emperor "because King García (IV Ramírez de Navarra), King Zafadola of the Saracens, Count Ramón of Barcelona, Count Alfonso of Tolouse and many counts and magnates from Gascony and France obeyed him in all things": *CAI*, 1.70, at p. 193.

Christian powers acted against Islam as a homogeneous block and in search for a common tactical goal, i.e. the defeat and systematic occupation of al-Andalus. The Christians perceived other kingdoms not only as potential or real rivals, but also competed among themselves for territorial expansion areas in al-Andalus and for the tribute and vassal subordinations that the Andalusi petty kings could be obliged to accept.[29] It is true that because of vassal subordinations, family bonds at high levels, and shared interests at particular moments, on some occasions, and almost always for short periods of time, the Christian polities were able to forge transitory agreements to combine efforts in order to fight the Muslims. But these situations were more an exception than the rule. Fighting against the Islamic enemy was often a particular enterprise of each individual Christian kingdom. Therefore, the strategies developed and the objectives and the operative plans executed belonged to each individual Christian polity. Looking at a handful of conquests of important strongpoints, in the conquests of Toledo (1085), Zaragoza (1118), Lisbon (1147) and Tortosa (1148) there was no mixed participation of Christian troops from different peninsular kingdoms (although in Almería (1147) there were Castilian-Leonés and Catalan-Aragonés contingents). In the same way, there were no Christian troops from neighboring kingdoms in the armies that fought the pitch battles of Sagrajas (1086), Consuegra (1097), Uclés (1108), Cutanda (1120), Fraga (1134) or the mythic confrontation of Ourique (1139). To a great extent, it was not uncommon for a Hispano-Christian leader to avoid a campaign against the Muslims or, similarly, to halt military actions already under way because of the threat or aggression of another Christian power; all this, of course, not taking into consideration frequent aristocratic revolts and exiles who sought support or refuge on the Muslim side,[30] a practice that sometimes was used by the Christian kings

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[29]   Already in Fernando I of León-Castile's testament (1065), apart from the division of his possessions among his sons, the monarch left Sancho (II) the tributes paid by Zaragoza, Alfonso (VI) those of Toledo, and García (II) those of Badajoz and Seville; see Enrique Flórez (ed.), *Chronicon ex Historiae Compostellanae*, *España Sagrada* 23 (Madrid, 1767), p. 326. While the widow queen lived, the sons accepted the territorial distribution and the perception of tributes, but when she died in 1068, the following years were characterized by fratricidal disputes and confrontations derived from the qualitative differences in the inheritance. See e.g. Antonio Viñayo González, *Fernando I, el Magno (1035–1065)* (Burgos, 1999), pp. 222–4; César González Mínguez, "El proyecto político de Sancho II de Castilla (1065–1072)," *Publicaciones de la Institución Tello Téllez de Meneses* 73 (2002): pp. 77–99; José María Mínguez, *Alfonso VI: Poder, expansión y reorganización interior* (Hondarribia, 2000), pp. 11–48; Ermelindo Portela Silva, *García II de Galicia: el rey y el reino (1065–1090)* (Burgos, 2001), p. 49 ff.

[30]   This was an old tradition. Already, al-Hakam I (796–822), emir of Córdoba, recruited Christian warriors for his army; see Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1952–53), vol. 3, pp. 71–2. In the tenth century, during the period of high splendor of the caliphate, some Christian magnates took sides with the Muslims in their frequent expeditions against the northern polities, receiving good compensations; see, for example, José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, "Rebeliones leonesas contra Vermudo III,"

themselves in order to attack, defend themselves, or undermine other Christian monarchs.[31] Therefore, in fighting against the infidel, each individual Christian kingdom progressively consolidated its own areas of control and influence in competition against other kingdoms, while, simultaneously, the strategic directives that were planned and developed in order to defeat the Muslims were carried out in close competition with the other Christian kingdoms.

From before the end of the *fitna* in 1031, and with the advantage of having al-Andalus divided into many local powers, the Christian leaders learned practical lessons they would not forget regarding what their politico-military relationships with the Muslims should be like. Firstly, the Christian kingdoms would try, by any means they had at hand, to instigate disputes among the Muslims, and, at the same time, become arbitrators of those disputes. Although simple in appearance, this plan was devilishly efficient. The intention was to progressively sap the energy of adversaries by supporting one or another Muslim faction, depending on the Christian interests of the moment, and in order to prevent any possibility that the Muslims might manage to organize a resistance. This would be the most serious difficulty the Christian powers would find when trying to carry out expansive advances. If this plan followed its own natural course without interference, this strategy (which included economic attrition of the enemy and the enrichment of the Christian kingdoms by means of tributes paid by the Muslims), should result in the exhaustion of the Muslims' capacity to maintain prolonged periods of hostility and, at the same time, create such an intense psychological feeling

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Archivos Leoneses 23 (1969): pp. 215–41; Margarita C. Torres Sevilla, *El Cid y otros señores de la guerra* (León, 2000), p. 57 ff. Of course, the most famous "amphibious" personage was Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, the Cid, who served as a mercenary for the Zaragoza *taifa* between 1081 and 1086 before he created an autonomous principality from 1094 onwards. Among the many titles on his career, see Richard Fletcher, *The Quest for el Cid* (Oxford, rev.ed. 1991) and Gonzalo Martínez Diaz, *El Cid histórico* (Barcelona, 1999). In general, see Simon Barton, "Traitor to the Faith? Cristian Mercenaries in al-Andalus and the Maghreb, c. 1100–1300," in *Medieval Spain: Culture, Conflict and Coexistence. Studies in Honour of Angus MacKay*, (eds) Roger Collins and Anthony Goodman (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 23–45.

[31]   There is the remarkable case of Sancho I of León, repudiated by his own subjects, who was affected by morbid obesity that even prevented him from raiding and who, in 958, went to Córdoba hoping to find some remedy for his obesity from Caliph Abd-al-Rahman III's physicians and also to ask for military help to recover his lost throne: *Historia Silense*, (ed.) Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atiliano González Ruíz-Zorrilla (Madrid, 1959), p. 170. There is also the sad case of Ordoño IV of León, who ended up finding refuge in Córdoba, where he died in 962 or 963: Justiano Rodríguez Hernández, *Sancho I y Ordoño IV* (Burgos, 1997); Manuel Rubén García Álvarez, "Ordoño IV de León, un rey impuesto por Castilla," *Archivos Leoneses* 42 (1967): pp. 203–48. Perhaps the most significant case was that of Alfonso VI of León-Castile who, in 1072, after being dispossessed of his throne of León by his brother Sancho II, "driven by necessity to keep barbarian company," took refuge in Toledo: *Historia Silense*, p. 120.

of demoralization that made the Muslim powers surrender spontaneously and willingly or, at least, reduce them to a state in which they could not offer much resistance. In the *Memoirs* of 'Abd Allah, the last monarch of the Ziri dynasty of Granada, there is a passage that deserves to be included in a privileged place in any anthology on strategy:

> "This is a business,"—[Alfonso VI de León-Castile] said to himself—"out of which I must make the most, even if the city [Granada] is not taken, for what shall I get out of taking it away from the hands of these ones to give it to those other ones but giving the latter reinforcements against myself? The more agitators there are and the more rivalry rises among them, all the better it is for me." Therefore, he decided to obtain money from both sides [the *taifa* kingdoms of Granada and Seville] and make one of the adversaries clash against the other without any intention of obtaining territories for himself. "I do not believe in their religion—he said to himself making his calculations—and they all hate me. What reason do I have to take Granada? Its subjugation without fighting is impossible and, if I have to conquer it by war, considering the number of men that would die and the amount of money I would spend, the losses would be superior to the benefit, and that in the case I succeeded in winning it. On the other hand, should I win it, I would not be able to keep it unless I could count on the loyalty of the inhabitants, who would not give it to me, and it would also be out of question that I should kill all the inhabitants to repopulate the city with people of my own religion. Therefore, there is no other possible line of conduct than to sow discord among the Muslims princes and get money from them continuously, so that they exhaust their resources and become weaker. When that happens, Granada, unable to resist, will spontaneously surrender to me and will be willingly subjugated, in the same way it is happening with Toledo which, because of the misery and the fragmentation of the population and the fleeing of its king, is coming to my hands without any effort."[32]

Secondly, either jointly with, or independent of, these directives the Christian kingdoms would always try to have enough politico-military power to force the Muslims to play on the strategic board by the Christians' own rules. In other words, the Muslims must understand that the only alternative they had if they wanted to survive was to accept vassal subordination to the Christians and pay tribute.[33] Although expansion and territorial acquisition was the ultimate goal of

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[32]   *'Memorias' de 'Abd 'Allāh*, 36, pp. 182–3.

[33]   In 1067, Sancho II of Castile, who had inherited from his father, Ferdinand I, the tributes from the Zaragoza *taifa*, besieged the capital city of this petty-kingdom. The siege only was raised after the Muslims agreed to pay a great sum of wealth, to pay tribute on a yearly basis, and to be subjected as vassals. As far as I know, it is in a late Christian source— the *Primera Crónica General*, (ed.) Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1977), 815, pp. 495–6—and referring to this particular episode, when for the first time we find a clear

this strategic program, the most efficient method to reach that goal consisted of a patient and continuous combination of time and pressure.

This strategy had many advantages but, to summarize, I would point out two primary ones. On the one hand, the Christians wanted to impose in al-Andalus a political order characterized by subjugation and the payment of tributes, and an Andalusi sphere irreversibly forced to accept Christian domination, although they could continue being governed by their own rulers. Perhaps in no other place is this idea better expressed than in the advice given by the Mozarab Count Sisnando Davídiz to Alfonso VI regarding how the Castilian-Leonés king should behave towards Toledo:

> "Extend your protective wings on the inhabitants and take their tributes in exchange for the shade you provide them. Show mercy to the kings of the peninsula, because you will not be able to do without them, and furthermore, you will not find more obedient leaders. Note that if you do not show mercy to them and keep on harassing them unabated, you will eventually make them leave your influence and force them to resort to the intervention of others … this attitude will inflame other peoples' breasts with anger, will disable the policy (launched), will cast back those who are willing (to help) and will stop those who move (in our favor)." [34]

On the other hand, the Christians also tried to avoid using complex war machinery, with all the difficulties that implied, when attempting conquests of enemy space which, obviously, could not always be successful, and could end in insecure control of conquered territory or even result in a pyrrhic cost-profit ratio:

> In the years when the Christian King [Alfonso VI], once he took Toledo, was advancing in the peninsula, and after having said he was happy with our paying him tribute, he treated us with little dignity. What he really wanted was to conquer our cities; but in the same way he had Toledo under his control because of the progressive weakness of its sovereign, thus he intended to do with the other territories. His strategy was not, then, to besiege castles or lose troops attacking

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allusion to the payment of tributes and vassal subordination of a Muslim power in exchange for protection: "King (al-Mutqtadir of Zaragoza) and his moors … gave (Sancho II of Castile) much gold and much silver, and valuable clothes and precious stones and pearls from their ladies. And the vassalage was made firm there as they remained as his vassals and tribute payers, and the city and the land as part of his possessions; and king Sancho agreed to keep and help and protect them from Christians or Muslims if there was need." It is likely that this information was derived from a Muslim source: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956), vol. 2, pp. 694–5.

[34]   Emilio García Gómez and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, "El conde mozárabe Sisnando Davídiz y la política de Alfonso VI con las taifas," *Al-Andalus* 12 (1947): pp. 27–41, at p. 32.

cities, since he knew it was difficult to win them and that their inhabitants, who were against his religion, would oppose him, but to take tributes from them year after year and to treat them in a harsh way by all possible violent means, until being reduced to impotence, they would fall in his hand in the same way it happened with Toledo.[35]

There is no doubt that this grand-scale strategy could not always be fully developed, but it is also true that when the general politico-military situation made an immediate or short term execution impossible or difficult, the tendency of the Christian leaders was to generate the necessary conditions so that, sooner or later, this strategic plan could be carried out, if not in full, at least in some of its basic points.

An important requirement, or at least an advisable one, in applying this grand-strategic approach with reasonable chances of success was that the Andalusi powers fight either divided or on their own, without much external help;[36] or, alternatively, that the African contingents that came in aid of al-Andalus experience serious internal conflicts or, even better, undergo uncontrollable political fragmentation and so not have enough forces to attend to the Iberian theatre of operations. From the geo-political point of view, it was at these junctures when the North African territories in the Iberian Peninsula behaved like the local *taifa* kingdoms and, therefore, could be treated according to the same strategic formulation of dissolution, subjugation, and circumstantial alliances mentioned before.[37]

In the second half of the tenth century, the author born in Nisibis (present-day Turkey), Ibn Hawqal, transmits with delight an image of opulence and power of al-Andalus, "the ornament of the world," as Hrotsvit of Gandersheim, the contemporary Saxon canoness, referred to it.[38] However, immediately after that, he shows deep surprise. He refers with perplexity to the fact that the peninsula still remains in Muslim hands; the reasons for that being the weakness, cowardice, imprudence, and lack of courage and knightliness of the Andalusi, who "were not even skilled in the use of the stirrups."[39] It is true that this criticism by a foreign visitor was one of the common literary tropes of the period which often listed the "virtues" and "vices" of the inhabitants of a country. But there is some truth in his

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[35]   '*Memorias' de 'Abd 'Allāh*, 46, pp. 229–30.

[36]   In *Memoirs of '*Abd *Allāh*, 58, at p. 262, this situation is very well described. When, after the failure of the siege of Aledo in 1089, the *taifa* kingdoms asked the Almoravid emir, Yusuf b. Tashfin, to leave an army to protect them against future attacks by Alfonso VI, his answer was clear: "if you become sincerely united, you can confront your enemy."

[37]   A paradigmatic example is the relationship between Alfonso VII and Ibn Ghaniya, the last Almoravid governor of al-Andalus; see Manuel Rojas Gabriel, "The Iberian Christian Kingdoms."

[38]   *Pelagia*, in Walter Berschin (ed.), *Opera Omnia* (Munich/Leipzing, 2001), line 12.

[39]   *Configuration de la terre (Kitab Surat al-Ard)*, (ed.) and trans. J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet (Paris, 1964), 1, at p. 108.

words. As I have tried to show, once the Iberian Christian realms managed to take the strategic initiative thanks to caliphal political disintegration, they never lost it again, save for the short periods of time when they had to defend themselves from African onslaughts. But even then, these were transitory situations which did not essentially modify the expansive forces within the Hispano-Christian polities. This is why the long century between c. 1031–1157 was a decisive one, not only in regards to politico-military relationships with al-Andalus, but also for the ultimate destiny of the peninsula.

Chapter 11

Contrary Winds: Theories of History and the Limits of *Sachkritik*

Stephen Morillo

Introduction

I entered academic combat in the field of medieval military history virtually unsupported. I had worked essentially alone as a graduate student; I was an American with an English degree and supervisor; and my first academic job came after an interlude during which I worked as a graphic artist and cartoonist for a New Orleans weekly newspaper. I felt alone and exposed on the academic battlefield. Fortunately, before I had a chance even to think about panicking and deserting, I stumbled into the camp of a group of scholars based in the Haskins Society. The senior scholars, the platoon commanders of this group, were Warren Hollister and Bernie Bachrach, and they both welcomed me. Having now achieved veteran status and contributed already to a collection of articles in honor of Warren (a collection co-edited by Bernie),[1] it is with pleasure that I can now repay my debt of gratitude to Bernie by contributing to his well-earned Festschrift.

I am especially appreciative of Bernie's friendship and support over the years since we first met because we have rarely agreed in our interpretations of medieval warfare, yet we have been able to remain personal friends despite our academic differences. This article, therefore, will be a fitting tribute from me to Bernie, because I will argue with him. Still, I offer it in the spirit of friendship and admiration for his vast and learned corpus of work on medieval warfare, with confidence that he will accept it (if not its arguments) in the same spirit. Indeed, what better tribute can one pay to a scholar than reasoned argument, for it shows that the original position is substantial enough to be worth arguing with. And it is by argumentation, synthesis, and the discovery thereby of new questions that historical knowledge advances.

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[1] "Milites, Knights and Samurai: Military Terminology, Comparative History, and the Problem of Translation," in *The Normans and their Adversaries at War: Essays in Honor of C. Warren Hollister*, (eds) Bernard Bachrach and Richard Abels (Boydell and Brewer, 2001), pp. 167–84.

I intend in this article to examine one of Bernie's central principles for doing medieval military history, *Sachkritik.* In his impressive tome on *Early Carolingian Warfare,* he defines this principle as follows:[2]

> This approach to the sources, originally labeled *Sachkritik* by German scholars, can be rendered into English as testing against "objective reality": does objective reality permit the described behavior? Accounts that fail the test of *Sachkritik* must be disqualified as evidence …

I do not intend to argue that *Sachkritik* is not a valuable principle of source criticism. Instead, I propose to examine the limits of the technique, focusing on two. First (a limit Bernie undoubtedly recognizes and agrees with), that *Sachkritik* cannot always rule out differing interpretations of a source, even when objective physical reality is at the heart of the difference. Second and more importantly, however, I will try to problematize the notion of "objective reality" by viewing it in the context of theories of history, or the philosophical assumptions that different investigators bring to their tests of "objective reality."

I will do this primarily through a focused case study of one particular episode, the timing of William the Conqueror's invasion of England in 1066. But I hope to draw more general lessons from this case study at the conclusion of this article.

A Case Study: The Timing of William the Conqueror's 1066 Channel Crossing

What determined the timing of the Conqueror's crossing of the Channel in 1066? Why did he wait so long to invade England? Until the late 1980s, the account of William of Poitiers went unquestioned: that the Conqueror was held up for a long period, at least a month if not two, by unfavorable winds, and that he would have crossed much earlier if he could have. But, of course, the delay turned out to William's advantage, as Harold's coastal defense forces had to go home for lack of supplies after a long wait. And when William did invade, he met a foe already worn down from fighting another invader, Harald Hardraada of Norway.[3]

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[2]   Bernard Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia, 2001), p. 161.

[3]   The key primary sources for the campaign of 1066 are William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers*, (ed.) and trans. R.H.C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1998); the Bayeux Tapestry: *The Bayeux Tapestry. A Comprehensive Survey*, (ed.) Sir F. Stenton, 2nd edn (London, 1965); and *Carmen de Hastingae Proelio of Bishop Guy of Amiens*, (eds) C. Morton and H. Muntz (Oxford, 1972). The Bayeux Tapestry does not show a delay in William's invasion due to contrary winds, but the limits of an essentially cartoon format would have made portraying a wind and a non-event particularly difficult, so I think for the purposes of this topic the Bayeux Tapestry is not relevant. The *Gesta Guillelmi* and

But the winds of revisionism then blew, and a new interpretation of these events arose that claims William was not delayed by winds. Instead, he was waiting on events in England. That is, the apparently fortuitous results of the delay—Harold Godwinson's supply problems and thus William's unopposed landing, Harald Hardraada's invasion and the weakening of William's potential foes as they fought each other—were really a part of William's master plan. He was ready to sail by early August, but waited until late September on purpose.

Marjorie Chibnall seems to have been the first to propose this interpretation,[4] and it subsequently gained some notable support. Bernard Bachrach and John Gillingham, in particular, argue in favor of this interpretation on grounds that stress logistics.[5] The influence of the new interpretation is clear if the third and later editions of Frank Barlow's *Feudal Kingdom of England* are compared. In the 1972 edition, Barlow devotes nearly half a page to telling William of Poitiers' story, perhaps in overly scientific terms but following William nonetheless. The key to the campaign was that:[6]

> An anti-cyclone centred to the west of the British Isles remained stationary in August bringing a northerly air stream down the North Sea and the Channel. Harold Hardrada took advantage of it to leave Norway; but William could not sail.

But in the fourth and fifth editions in 1988 and 1999, the anti-cyclone disappears entirely, and the story is now that William "waited probably not only for a favorable

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the *Carmen* both refer to bad weather, probably corroborating each other independently. For a thorough review of the sources for the campaign and battle and a definitive (as far as possible) narration of the battle, see M.K. Lawson, *The Battle of Hastings 1066* (Charleston, SC, 2002). Lawson's only comment on the question of the timing of the 1066 invasions, tentative yet clearly influenced by the Chibnall interpretation, is "Harald [Hardraada], like William, did not sail until autumn, and it is likely that both were hoping to profit by doing so. Surely there would already have been serious fighting involving the other, which would leave them to face a weakened victor?" Lawson, *Hastings*, p. 37.

4   R. Allen Brown, "The Battle of Hastings," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980): pp. 1–21 and 197–201, at n. 20, indicates that Dr Chibnall suggested the possibility at the Battle Conference after Brown's paper; the written version appears in Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England 1066–1166* (Oxford, 1986), p. 11: "The delay may have been a deliberate tactic of William … to outwit Harold and complete the training of his own followers." She returns to the theme in her editor's introduction to William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guillelmi*: William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, pp. xxv-xxvi.

5   Bernard Bachrach, "Some Observations on the Military Administration of the Norman Conquest," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8 (1985): pp. 1–26, uses the suggestion as one of his themes; John Gillingham, "William the Bastard at War," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, (eds) Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher Holdsworth and Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1989), pp. 141–58, at 157.

6   Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England 1042–1216,* 3rd edn (London, 1972), p. 62.

wind but also for encouraging news from England."[7] A cautious synthesis, but the direction of the winds of change is clear.

I shall attempt to show here why I find this new interpretation unconvincing. I shall examine the problem from two perspectives. First, we must re-examine the various pieces of evidence in light of the new interpretation, asking how we must read them to uphold the old and new views. Close reading of sources in light of known physical possibilities is simply the *Sachkritik* approach recommended by Delbrück*,* as Bernie has reminded us on many occasions.[8] But second, we should ask what theories of history lie behind each interpretation, shaping the questions we ask of the evidence and the (perhaps hidden) assumptions behind those questions, to see whether either view is more or less problematic at that level. In other words, it may be the plausibility of the evidence not in terms of timeless physics but of very time-bound psychology—the intellectual framework of modern historians—that forms the more important limitation and determinant of interpretation. Even more critically, deconstructing differing interpretations at the theoretical level allows us to examine how "objective" our "objective reality" really is.

The Evidence

There are, I think, two sorts of evidence bearing on this problem. We have, obviously, several contemporary accounts of events, of which William of Poitiers and the *Carmen* are the most important for this question. Before looking at them, however, there is what might be called scientific evidence, which bears on the question of the normal wind patterns and the likelihood of the sequence of events as we have it. Was a cross-Channel operation likely to face contrary winds?

Bachrach, in his article on "The Military Administration of the Norman Conquest," cites modern studies of wind patterns at Dives in the month of August that demonstrate the likelihood that if modern wind patterns prevailed in the area during the eleventh century then William would have had no trouble at all in getting the wind that he needed in order to sail across the Channel.[9] But Carroll Gillmor, in her article "Naval Logistics of the Cross-Channel Operation,"

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[7]   Barlow, *Feudal Kingdom,* 4th edn (London, 1988), p. 80; 5th edn (London, 1999), p. 65.

[8]   Three separate times in *Early Carolingian Warfare*, pp. 96, 131, 161. In the last instance, it is interesting for my purposes that he chooses a meteorological example to explain the principle: "if the chronicler's principal deployed his forces to the east of his adversary at dusk in a Western European theater of operations, he could not position himself so that the sun was in the eyes of the enemy." (Is there a place outside of Western Europe where this would be possible?)

[9]   Bachrach, "Some Observations," p. 8, n. 14. He also cites evidence of silting patterns suggesting no change in wind patterns since the Conquest. But what this shows is that the prevailing wind pattern favors such a venture at a ratio of better than 2:1. A

cites evidence of normal wind patterns that would not have been favorable to a crossing.[10] Of course, what constitutes an unfavorable wind clearly depends on the sailing characteristics and capabilities of the ships involved. The capabilities of William's ships, rigged with a single square sail, seem to have been fairly limited.[11] Combining the evidence of weather patterns with nautical expertise, Christine and Gerald Grainge conclude that the westerly winds that were likely to have prevailed in the Channel in late summer and early fall would not have been unproblematic for ships such as William's, especially from a base at Dives that required a northwest exit into the Channel with a dangerous lee shore looming throughout the initial run for open seas.[12]

There is analogical evidence that may be brought to bear here. We have accounts of many other Channel crossings from this period. Are other delays to be found? Certainly. To cite only a few examples, according to William of Jumièges, Duke Robert of Normandy organized an invasion of England in 1033 or 1034, but contrary winds and storms actually prevented the crossing.[13] Henry I prepared to cross to Normandy in 1133, but was delayed and lost ships due to bad weather.[14] Henry was held up again in 1135, this time trying to go back to England.[15] A fleet prepared by William Rufus for an invasion of Scotland was destroyed by storm in 1091.[16] The Flemish money fief of 1101 builds delay time into the provision for

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statistical argument, as I shall argue shortly, should lead him to assert that William *should* have had no (or at least not too much) trouble, not that William *would* have had no trouble.

[10]   C.M. Gillmor, "Naval Logistics of the Cross-Channel Operation," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1984): pp. 105–31, at p. 124, n. 114.

[11]   See, e.g., J. Neumann, "Hydrographic and Ship-hydrodynamic Aspects of the Norman Invasion, AD 1066," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 11 (1988): pp. 221–42; and in general Archibald Lewis and Timothy Runyon, *European Naval and Maritime History, 300–1500* (Bloomington, 1985); Sean McGrail, *Ancient Boats in Northwest Europe: The Archaeology of Water Transport to AD 1500* (London, 1987); and Richard Unger, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600–1600* (London, 1980).

[12]   Christine and Gerald Grainge, "The Pevensey Expedition: Brilliantly Executed Plan or Near Disaster," *The Mariner's Mirror* 79 (1993): pp. 261–73, reprinted in Stephen Morillo, *The Battle of Hastings: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 129–42; pagination hereafter refers to the reprint. The Grainges reach the same conclusion I do here, based exclusively on a close review of the meteorological and nautical evidence in close comparison with the primary accounts, especially the *Carmen* and the *Gesta Guillelmi*.

[13]   William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, (ed) J. Marx (Rouen, 1914), pp. 109–10.

[14]   John of Hexham, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, (ed) T. Arnold, (Rolls Series, 1885), pp. II:295–6.

[15]   *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, (ed) and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1980), p. VI:444.

[16]   Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis* (ed) B. Thorpe (London, 1848–9), p. II:26.

transporting Flemish knights to England: the treaty states that if Henry could not provide enough ships to take all 1,000 *milites* at once, "the remaining *milites* shall wait in port from the day that the ships leave for one whole month unless within the month they sail over."[17] Henry II was held up for several months trying to cross from Ireland back to England in 1172.[18] Perhaps most significantly, in 1610 an English merchant fleet with vastly greater sailing capabilities than any eleventh century fleet was held in port for ten weeks by unfavorable winds.[19]

That ships could be held up in port for over a month, therefore, should not seem odd to us. There is some evidence that it did not, in fact, seem odd to William's contemporaries. Channel crossings formed a regular part of royal itinerations; they were planned for well in advance and the king often conducted business in port before crossing. [20] This indicates that delays of some duration were probably expected. At the least this means that we probably do not hear of any number of delays, which had absolutely no consequences and were thus not worthy of comment. A careful reading of William of Poitiers and the *Carmen* on the 1066 weather reveals no surprise (on the part of the chronicler or the Duke) at the weather, just the Duke's frustration.

The cautious conclusion from the mass of *Sachkritik* brought to bear on this question is that William might not have *expected* to be held up for a month or two waiting for a favorable wind. That is, such an event might have been statistically unlikely. But odds of somewhat more than 2:1, as calculated by Bachrach,[21] do not actually constrain the bounds of possibility much.[22] Odd things do happen; no laws

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[17]   *Diplomatic Documents Preserved in the PRO*, vol. 1, 1102–1272, (ed) Pierre Chaplais (London, 1964), no. 1.

[18]   W.L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973), p. 115.

[19]   John Chamberlain, *The Chamberlain Letters. A Selection of the Letters of John Chamberlain Concerning Life in England from 1597 to 1626*, (ed) Elizabeth Thompson (New York, 1965), no. 256; cf. no. 298. Chibnall compares the "alleged delay" with "William's swift crossing on his return from Normandy to England in bitter weather and rough seas on 6 December 1067": William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, p. xxv, n. 55. But the crucial factor is neither the temperature nor the velocity of the wind, but its direction. A strong, cold wind blowing in the right direction was still favorable; a summery zephyr blowing in the wrong direction would prevent sailing, as Chamberlain's letter (referring to an early summer sailing) shows.

[20]   John Le Patourel, *The Norman Empire* (Oxford, 1976), pp. 170–71.

[21]   See n. 9 above.

[22]   The Las Vegas odds on any team winning the World Series at the start of any baseball season are always more than 2:1 against, and for most teams approach 100:1 against (the odds available on the Florida Marlins before the 2003 season). Yet, somehow, some team manages to win the World Series each year. In 1991, two teams that had finished last the year before, the Atlanta Braves and Minnesota Twins, played one of the greatest World Series of all time. The odds against that outcome were astronomical (well, at least several thousand to one) beforehand. More recently, as late as September 1, 2011, the eventual World Series champion St Louis Cardinals' odds of even making the post-season,

of nature need be violated. Perhaps some delay was not even unexpected. Where does this leave us? We know delays could happen; that does not prove William was delayed. It is possible that this particular delay was unlikely; that does not prove William was not delayed. Where this leaves us is with our sources.

On the Saxon side, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says little about the weather except to note the storms that battered Harold's fleet as it moved from the Channel to London in early September.[23] William of Jumièges says William left St Valery when a favorable wind began to blow, but does not explicitly refer to a long delay.[24] Two accounts do give us more detail about the weather. First, William of Poitiers' account is worth quoting in full.[25]

> Presently the whole fleet, equipped with such great foresight, was blown from the mouth of the Dives and the neighboring ports, where they had long waited for a south wind to carry them across, was driven by the breath of the west wind to moorings in Saint-Valery. There too the leader, whom neither the delay and the contrary wind nor the terrible shipwrecks nor the craven flight of many who had pledged their faith to him could shake, committed himself with the utmost confidence by prayers, gifts and vows, to the protection of heaven. Indeed, meeting adversity with good counsel, he concealed (as far as he could) the loss of those who had drowned, by burying them in secret; and by daily increasing supplies he alleviated want. By divers encouragements he retained the terrified and put heart into the fearful. He strove with holy prayers to such a point that he had the body of Valery, a confessor most acceptable to God, carried out of the basilica to quell the contrary wind and bring a favorable one; all the assembled men-at-arms who were to set out with him shared in taking up the same arms of humility. At length the expected wind blows … .

The *Carmen* also gives us an account of the weather, telling us that the winds were not only contrary but that the weather was rainy and stormy. The poet first tells us that "for a long time foul weather and ceaseless rain prevented [William] from

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according to the *Baseball Prospectus* website, stood at less than 1 per cent. Put another way, at 2:1 for, William still faced a one in three chance that the winds would be against him for at least a time. A .333 batting average puts a major league hitter in the elite, and hitters that good regularly go stretches of several weeks or months when they hit over .400, balanced by stretches under .270. Statistical odds are simply averages of data with sometimes wide standard deviations. In general, human perceptions of statistical odds are notoriously subject to subjective misunderstandings and mis-estimation and so to unwarranted surprise. See Richard Dawkins, *Unweaving the Rainbow: Science, Delusion, and the Appetite for Wonder* (New York, 2000), esp. chs. 6 and 7.

[23] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* trans. D. Whitelock et al. (London, 1961), (E), an. 1066.

[24] William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, p. 134.

[25] William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, pp. 108–11.

leading the fleet across the Channel" from his own port at Dives; and then that he continued to be held up for a fortnight after moving "willy-nilly" to St Valery. But "redoubling [his] supplications," William eventually gained God's favor and the weather broke out in sunshine and favorable winds.[26]

So, what we have is William's fleet ready to sail from Dives at the beginning of August but held there until mid-September, when it is driven by a westerly storm to St Valery. There a further two week delay passes before the fleet finally crosses to England in late September. This is the story that Bachrach, in light of the probabilities of wind patterns, thinks "must be regarded skeptically if not rejected outright as a chronicler's way of explaining a delay that had more to do with military cunning than with chivalric glory and therefore was not fully acceptable epic behavior for a hero of William's rank."[27]

What should be noted first is that we are rejecting not one chronicler's story but at least two—in addition to the *Gesta Guillelmi* and the *Carmen*, the fate of Harold's fleet mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *pace* Chibnall,[28] is not at all incompatible with mid-September westerly storms—and that they are stories remarkable in their details. How are we to view these details if we reject their context, bad weather?

We are told, for instance, that William caused those who had perished in the storm to be secretly buried.[29] This is hardly a chivalrous act in itself, but is a good example of military cunning, and so would be odd in a narrative intended to disguise military cunning. But never mind the secret burial, what about the westerly winds (storms?) that caused the shipwrecks and deaths?[30] Were they unrelated to the timing of the crossing? Did William try to move his fleet during bad late summer weather out of cunning? An odd sort of cunning, that. He was not a stupid man, so the most likely explanation of his motivation would seem to be that offered by both key chroniclers: desperation. The alternative is to claim that there was no storm at all, and that the westerly winds and rain mentioned variously by both William of Poitiers and the *Carmen* are elaborate fabrications. How likely is this?

Or take, for example, William's own shortage of supplies, which he disguised to his men by increasing their daily ration. In one view, we have William bravely facing adversity and in a clever bit of military cunning fooling his own men. In the other view, if we reject the weather, do we also reject that William was short of supplies? If we do, William of Poitiers is again constructing a mighty complicated fabrication. If we accept a supply shortage, we have William risking running out

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[26]   *Carmen,* ll. pp. 40–77.

[27]   Bachrach, "Military Administration," p. 8, n. 14.

[28]   William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, pp. 108–9, n. 4.

[29]   William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, p. 109.

[30]   Grainge and Grainge, "The Pevensey Expedition," pp. 137–9, on what was probably "a succession of Atlantic lows bringing rain and westerly winds" and the dangers of the lee shore of the Somme estuary.

of food on the gamble that Harold's forces will run out first. Is this a gamble we should expect him to have taken?

This is an important question, for as Bachrach and Gillingham both argue, and as is by now generally agreed on in medieval military history (and military history more broadly), logistical considerations were central to medieval strategy. For both Bachrach and Gillingham, delay as a deliberate strategy on William's part makes sense from a logistical point of view.[31] The argument is that Harold, as the defender, had the greater logistical problem, supplying a spread out force for a longer period than William had to feed his concentrated strike force. He therefore knew that Harold would run out of food first and that the coastal forces would disband. Therefore, he delayed.

This is an intriguing argument but not, I think, a conclusive one. For one thing, it must explain the two week delay in William's crossing after the *fyrd* disbanded and William moved to St Valery. In fact, Gillingham thinks William probably was held up by contrary winds at St Valery, at least for a short time.[32] For another, the logistics of the situation are not so clear. William's concentrated force, once gathered, would have been harder to feed than a spread out force.[33] And the real advantage that accrues to the attacker logistically, the ability to live off your enemy's land, only came into play after an invasion, not before. Finally, the strategy as carried out seems full of big risks. William had to make his own supplies hold out long enough (he nearly did not).[34] He had to wait into a season when forage for his invading army would not be as plentiful once he got to England. And he had to push the invasion dangerously late into the sailing season.

And all this just to achieve what? Not an unopposed crossing or landing; this was pretty well assured anyway. Even had he crossed while the Anglo-Saxon fleet were still on station at the Isle of Wight, there would have been little question of Harold's forces intercepting the Norman fleet at sea, as the crossing would have been staged, whenever it happened, as an overnight run putting the troops ashore

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[31]   Gillingham. "William the Bastard at War," pp. 156–7 and *passim*; Bachrach, "Military Administration," pp. 8–11 and *passim*. Chibnall's suggestion (*Anglo-Norman England*, p. 11) that the delay gave William time to train his army is unsupported by our sources and seems less likely, given the nature of his troops, than a logistical reason for the delay. As for "outwitting" Harold, what this would have meant in concrete terms is unclear and thus difficult to argue with.

[32]   Gillingham, "William the Bastard at War," p. 157.

[33]   Bachrach builds his reconstruction of the camp at Dives around the assumption that a concentrated force required organized and competent logistical support: "Military Administration," p. 8 and ff.

[34]   As Gillingham points out, Harold actually did at least as good a job as William in managing his supplies, holding his force in place from May until early September, as opposed to William feeding his force from August until late September: "William the Bastard at War," p. 156. And for Gillingham, Harold was doing this from the disadvantaged position of defender.

in morning daylight.[35] In short, conditions of visibility and distance guaranteed William an unopposed passage. Nor was William at all likely to have to fight his way ashore even had the levies still been mobilized. They were not standing in a line along the beaches of England, nor would an isolated contingent of local fyrdmen have been likely to meet the entire Norman army alone. Rather, they would have served as scouts and messengers, facilitating the rapid concentration of Harold's forces at the point of invasion, leading to a battle within a week of the landing.

But this is exactly what William desired. As Gillingham points out, "Indeed it is hard to see how William could have derived an advantage in any way commensurate with the scale of preparations for this war unless he brought Harold to battle. In that case it may well be that for the first time in his life he adopted a battle-seeking strategy … "[36] The delay in the timing of William's invasion may have bought him a week or two of preparation time in England before having to fight a battle, but at what cost? Had Harold been in the vicinity already with his army ready, a battle (that William wanted) would have been assured. Waiting for the *fyrd* to disband, or even more presciently waiting for Harald Hardraada to invade first so that he and Harold Godwinson could weaken each other, would seem, in fact, to have increased the risk that Harold would then adopt a more cautious logistical strategy, shadowing William's army but refusing battle. Such a strategy would simultaneously have threatened William's army with starvation while denying it the opportunity for the decisive encounter he needed to make the entire project worthwhile. William may well have recognized the risk that a weakened and less prepared Harold might adopt such a line: his ravaging of Harold's ancestral lands was exactly the sort of intense provocation to battle that would have been unnecessary had Harold been more ready to fight.

Indeed, the same considerations apply to any suggestion that Harald Hardraada delayed to wait for William and Harold to fight it out first.[37] As the sitting king, only Harold could afford to delay; either challenger would have wanted to strike the first blow to assure himself the best chance of claiming the throne outright, thus putting himself in Harold's position (capable of affording delay and logistical warfare) vis-à-vis any subsequent invader. In short, any delay would seem to have increased the risk of an indecisive, logistically-based campaign in which all the advantages lay with the incumbent, never mind the risks inherent to delay: sailing so late in the season, running out of supplies, and William losing the support of his cobbled-together army during the long period of inactivity.[38]

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[35]   Grainge and Grainge, "The Pevensey Expedition," pp. 134, 140–41, discuss convincingly the nautical impossibility of a defensive strategy based on interception at sea.

[36]   Gillingham, "William the Bastard at War," p. 158.

[37]   Lawson, *Hastings*, p. 37.

[38]   This analysis, from another perspective, constitutes a more telling criticism of Harold's generalship than I have been inclined to make before.

Perhaps none of this *Sachkritik* is decisive on either side of the question. There may have been logistical and strategic reasons both for sailing earlier and for delay, although in my own opinion the reasons urging haste outweigh the rationales others have presented for delay. In any case, we are left once again, therefore, with what the sources say in detailed and consistent narratives. Do we have enough reason to disbelieve their stories?

We do have some other evidence. Most importantly, we have a charter of the Conqueror himself to the church at St Valery that grants property rights in thanks for prayers that helped bring favorable winds.[39] Here we have no dissembling chronicler but the actor himself. Was he in on the great deception, too? It might be argued that only the short delay at St Valery is referred to. But would a short, unremarkable delay merit extraordinary prayers and thanks for those prayers? This evidence speaks to at least the two week delay at St Valery, and almost certainly to a longer delay provoking much anxiety and commemorated relief.

Chibnall argues that "a change of wind in response to the prayer of a man of God was a favourite theme in miracle stories," implying that this undermines the credibility of William of Poitiers' story.[40] And, in fact, the connection of favorable winds with God's favor (or good omens generally) occurs in a number of sources.[41] But how are we to interpret the presence of this motif? As an invention out of whole cloth to cover a whole series of episodes, or as a commonly accepted interpretation of actual meteorological events? For just because the narrative of an event fits into a common literary motif or trope does not mean the event did not happen. Looking beyond William may influence our answer. Unfavorable winds may well have carried messages of God's disfavor to William's army.[42] William had to deal with

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[39] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, (ed.) H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1913), no. 1. Jane Martindale, "Aimeri of Thouars and the Poitevin Connection," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7 (1985): pp. 224–45, at p. 226, n. 11, points out that some inconclusive doubts have been raised about the authenticity of this charter. For the purposes of this paper, however, such doubts hardly matter. Either the charter is authentic, in which case it provides virtually incontrovertible support for the story of contrary winds; or else it is a forgery that gains its patina of authenticity by reference to a commonly known truth: that William was held up by contrary winds. Put another way, it is hard to imagine a monastic forger participating independently in the vast historical cover-up initiated separately by William of Poitiers and the author of the *Carmen*.

[40] Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England*, p. 10.

[41] Michael Jones, "The Literary Evidence for Mast and Sail during the Anglo-Saxon Invasions," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 13 (1992): pp. 31–67, gives references from Claudian, Cicero and Bede. See also D.J. Nodes, "Benevolent Winds and the Spirit of God in *De Laudibus Dei* of Dracontius," *Vigiliae Christianae* 43 (1989): pp. 282–92, for a further discussion of winds in relation to theological views of nature.

[42] This raises another problem with the conscious but fabricated application of this motif to William's story by William of Poitiers. As Richard Abels pointed out to me in an email exchange, "At least in some stories, the adverse natural conditions are the result of some sin or religious deficiency in the protagonist, which is acknowledged by the leader

"the craven flight of many who had pledged their faith to him."[43] This desertion is easily explicable as a reaction to God's contrary signs. Take away the winds, and it is harder to explain why many would run from an apparently well-supplied camp with the prospect of riches and plunder still ahead.

Finally, what was William of Poitiers' (and the *Carmen* author's) motivation for disguising William's military cunning with a story about bad weather? William of Poitiers loved to compare his hero to Caesar; surely a clever delay based on careful consideration of intelligence from England would have appeared more Caesar-like to his audience than simply waiting for a favorable wind.[44] On the other hand, assuming that the winds really were contrary for so long, the Conqueror's greatness as presented by his hagiographer would have been even more obvious: here was a leader so clever, and so favored by God, that he could overcome not just his human opponent but Nature itself; of course with the aid of God, elicited through prayers, the parading of a saint's body, and commemorated in a grant of property rights. What is it about this story that seems implausible?

Theories

This thorough (though undoubtedly not exhaustive) review of the sources from the perspective of *Sachkritik* demonstrates the limits of this approach neatly. Neither interpretation of the events of 1066—that William was held up by contrary winds for a month or months, or that he delayed on purpose to wring strategic advantages from the developing situation—is ruled out by "objective reality." Some physical realities might be statistically more likely than others, but are not constraining. Some interpretations of the sources conform more closely to certain basic principles of scientific explanation than others—the principle of parsimony would seem to favor the simplest interpretation of our sources, taking them at face value about the weather since what they say conforms to "objective reality"—but such principles are not deterministic.

We may come at the problem from a somewhat different angle, however, by recognizing that "objective reality" is itself a concept in need of problematizing. One need not subscribe to the nihilism of a strict deconstructionist position, in which there is no objective reality, simply an infinite set of overlapping subjective discourses unconnected to "reality," to recognize that interpretations even of physical phenomena, never mind of complex human behavior, are shaped by the underlying intellectual assumptions the investigator brings to the observation of the phenomena. Such assumptions may or may not be conscious and may or may not be coherent, but nevertheless coalesce into a theory of history. It is likely that

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through his interaction with a saint, who then uses his spiritual power to make those conditions favorable." Would William of Poitiers really invent a story whose implication was that his hero had somehow *earned* God's disfavor?

[43]   William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, p. 109.

[44]   Thanks to Richard Abels for formulating this point to me in an email exchange.

the more consciously the assumptions are held, the more likely they are to be coherent, and that the theory will therefore be more sophisticated, plausible, and accurate as a description of "reality."

We may now, therefore, examine some of the assumptions behind these two conflicting interpretations of the timing of William's invasion in 1066 and the questions they ask of the sources in order to discover their theoretical frameworks. The sophistication and plausibility of the theories can then be added to the balance of factors inclining us towards one interpretation or the other.

I shall start with the new interpretation of the crossing. The key to this view, it seems to me, is in its focus on William, especially on what he knew. William knew Harold's logistical situation well enough to know that the Saxon army would have to go home in early September.[45] William knew that he could outwait Harold. William knew what was going on in England (and so could "wait on events there"), and presumably knew that those events would favor him if he waited (else why wait?). William had connections to the Norse world, and may well have known about Hardraada's impending invasion. Presumably this means he knew that such an invasion would be to his advantage, as his two rivals would beat each other up before he entered the field, and he knew Harold (and Harald?) well enough to know he would be able to draw Harold (or Harald?) into battle no matter what resulted from Hardraada's invasion. In all this, it is rarely asked what Harold Godwinson or Harald Hardraada knew, or what William's own men might have been experiencing.[46] William's knowledge and William's actions are what count, perhaps because he won. The thrust of this view seems to be to demonstrate that what happened, happened because William planned it that way.[47]

William, in this view, is a Great Man, with the course of events in his hand. In fact, he is a Really Great Man, with powers of knowing and predicting that would be impressive in the best of times. But I would argue that the summer and fall of 1066 were far from the best of times for historical predictability; a wide range of possible outcomes are easy to imagine from the starting point of "the day when King Edward was alive and dead."[48] Our view of these events should

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[45]   Bachrach, "Military Administration," p. 9.

[46]   Gillingham does consider what Godwinson knew of William's style of warfare, and makes the plausible suggestion that he was misled by William's caution in Brittany in 1064: "William the Bastard at War," p. 155.

[47]   I admit that this historiographical description best fits Marjorie Chibnall's reconstruction of events, and that both Bachrach and Gillingham allow some role to chance events and unpredictability in their views, as both have affirmed to me in personal discussions on this topic. Gillingham has in fact suggested that the Duke of Normandy should be known as "William the Lucky Bastard." Nevertheless, their interpretations of William's role in this campaign in relation to the vagaries of chance conform in the main to this characterization.

[48]   I explore this question from the perspective of "decisive battles" in the introduction to Morillo, *The Battle of Hastings*, pp. xvii-xx. True historical decisiveness in battles and

therefore include another significant actor on the historical stage, an actor long recognized by a number of names: chance; Lady Luck; the will of God or the gods; contingency;[49] or Chaos, in the technical sense of Chaos Theory.[50]

Chaos, in this sense, does not mean total randomness, which would be inexplicable even after the fact. Rather, a chaotic system is one whose trajectory is not predictable from its initial state because tiny variations in those initial conditions quickly lead to huge variations in subsequent states of the system. You can look back on what elements of the system have done and explain their actions, but you cannot predict what individual elements will do, because the level of information about the initial state of the system as a whole that would be required to make such predictions is beyond reach even in theory. This remains true even when the system as a whole shows behavior that is predictable at the macro level. Turbulence in flowing water is a good example of this difference between the system as a whole and the elements of the system. A turbulent stream runs predictably downhill with gravity and largely predictably within its banks, but the motions of particular molecules of water within the turbulent flow is chaotic and so unpredictable.

History, some philosophers of history have argued, is a chaotic system.[51] I think there is merit in this analysis. Certainly at the level of individuals and military campaigns, for example, the role of turbulent contingency ("for want of a nail") is easy to recognize, even if the larger flow of history, to extend the metaphor, exhibits enduring structures that are relatively predictable (whether in stasis or gradual transformation) from basic constraints of geography, environment and economic productivity. That there would be a king of England in December of 1067 would have been a safe, "structural" prediction a year earlier. That William the Bastard of

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the greatness of leaders are only really visible retrospectively, as one construction of the evidence of the past.

[49]   Stephen J. Gould, *Wonderful Life. The Burgess Shale and the Nature of History* (New York, 1989), takes as his theme a view of history, natural and human, that is largely driven by contingency, in the sense that natural processes like evolution may shape the general course of life's history, but they do not determine details (like whether humans will evolve). See especially Chapter V: Possible Worlds: The Power of "Just History" for a discussion of alternative outcomes relevant to the argument presented here.

[50]   James Gleick, *Chaos: Making a New Science* (New York, 1987) is a clear, non-technical introduction to the development and principles of Chaos Theory. See also Michael Waldrop, *Complexity. The Emerging Science at the Edge of Order and Chaos* (New York, 1992).

[51]   George A. Reisch, "Chaos, History and Narrative," *History and Theory* 30 (1991): pp. 1–20. A somewhat different approach to the same problem that reaches similar conclusions follows in the same volume: Donald N. McCloskey, "History, Differential Equations, and the Problem of Narration," pp. 21–36.

Normandy would be that king would have been a long shot, a contingent result of turbulent micro-flows that were neither predictable nor deterministic.[52]

From the point of view of this metaphorically stated theory—which we might call Structured Contingency, in order to capture both the large scale patterns and the smaller scale chaotic turbulence that characterize it—what William knew in the course of the 1066 campaign becomes far less crucial to its outcome, because he could not possibly have known enough to predict with any accuracy what was going to happen. Nor do I think that he thought he could. Individuals not blessed with the benefit of hindsight cannot fall into the temptation to teleology that hindsight provides. My reading of the implications of this view for William's actions is that he would have wanted to seize the initiative as soon as possible, so as to exert as much control as he could over the course of events. He would not want to wait two chaotic months before moving. This theoretical expectation accords well with the way the sources present him and his actions that summer, as well as with the analysis presented above of the dangerous possibilities in "objective reality" that an intentional delay would have raised and that an unintentional delay did raise. A theoretical view of history that gives appropriate weight to contingency therefore has the advantage in this case of allowing the simplest interpretation of our sources.

In this context, it is theoretically elegant that the phenomenon most often cited to illustrate a chaotic system is the weather. To borrow chaos theory's favorite image, if a butterfly in Sung China had flapped its wings differently, perhaps that anticyclone or series of Atlantic lows would not have appeared over Britain in August 1066 and William would have sailed early in that month.[53]

The appeal of Great Man history (or indeed any monocausal explanation of history) is that the narratives it can construct can be simple, apparently direct and therefore clearly and powerfully argued. The narratives of Structured Contingency are often messier, and must often be explained in more complex terms with less clear conclusions. And perhaps as creatures whose cognitive faculties have evolved to see patterns and construct meaning in the world, we find contingency and coincidence emotionally unsatisfying and are thus too ready to attribute pattern

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[52]   One interesting thing about the long-term results of Hastings is that, in terms of this metaphor, it may be said to have brought two streams together in such a way that the combined stream overflowed its banks and carved a new channel through the space of historical possibilities. In other words, the results of the synthesis of Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements that flowed from the decision at Hastings were not only unpredictable at the more usual level of individuals and turbulence, but were unpredictable at a higher level of a significant subset of the system.

[53]   The principles and images of Chaos Theory have entered popular culture far enough by now that a "major motion picture," as they say, *The Butterfly Effect* (released 2004)*,* is premised on the contingency and unrepeatability of particular life paths, and that small changes in initial conditions lead to large differences later. Stephen J. Gould would be proud.

and intent to chance occurrences.[54] But viewed dispassionately from outside any particular narrative, Structured Contingency is surely a more accurate theoretical take on "objective reality" than Great Man (or any determinist, monocausal) history. Thus, to the extent that our *Sachkritik,* our reading of the sources for the timing of William's 1066 invasion, conforms more closely to Structured Contingency than to Great Man-ism in its view of "objective reality," such a reading is to be preferred to one that disbelieves the sources in favor of a Great Man skepticism of our primary testimony for the narrative. Taking them at face value and believing that William was held up for two months by contrary winds does so. I conclude that this is what happened.

Conclusions

The timing of William's 1066 invasion and how it has been interpreted is just one case study, but it offers lessons with implications for other topics. One central lesson is that contingency, the turbulent and chaotic course of small scale events, probably plays a larger role in most history than our cognitive mechanisms would often like to admit. Yet this does not mean there are not large scale patterns and structures; I have called my view of history Structured Contingency to highlight both its small scale and large scale aspects. Thinking briefly about the connections between small scale contingency and large scale structure will allow me to restate an argument I have had many times with Bernie.

The obvious corollaries of contingency in historical analysis, especially in military history, are the laws of unintended consequences and the importance, noted by Clausewitz, of "friction" and the fog of war in shaping campaigns and battles.[55] But a less obvious one may be the importance of "emergent systems" in the creation of the patterns and structures historians are apt to see in the past. That is, the sum of many individually chaotic paths may, because those paths are constrained by deeper limits, appear falsely to be the result of planning or

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[54]   This is one of the fundamental themes of Dawkins, *Unweaving the Rainbow*; and see also Eric Baum, *What is Thought?* (Cambridge, MA, 2004). The medieval solution to this cognitive problem, of course, was to attribute everything that happened to God's will (at least at one level of explanation); when combined with an admission that God could work in mysterious ways, medieval chroniclers could thus maintain a role for chance within a larger cosmic history not devoid of meaning. Modern historians, obliged to an essentially atheist reading of the past, sometimes find the reconciling of chance and meaning harder to pull off.

[55]   Geoffrey Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War,* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 107–8 and *passim*, highlights these factors nicely in his analysis of Helmuth von Moltke's direction of the Prussian invasion of France in 1870.

a higher intent.[56] This gives us another way of viewing the connection between structure and contingency that has implications for a number of historiographically contested phenomena. I will focus here on "the State" in medieval history by way of example.

I would argue, against much that Bernie has written, that "the State" in early medieval military history was largely an emergent system. That is, what can look, from one perspective, like a rational, centrally directed institution, whether in eleventh century Anjou[57] or eighth and ninth century Francia, looks from another perspective like a complex and turbulently chaotic set of local interests and decisions cohering, more or less, within broad constraints to approximate some of the functions of a state, but that in crucial respects—especially in terms of what we can expect it to have planned and executed *intentionally*—was not a state. The second perspective is in accord with Structured Contingency as a theory of "objective reality." The first, arguably, is another result of Great Man theory, for the ability of Great Men to influence the course of history is immeasurably increased if they head rational, centrally directed institutions capable of implementing their will predictably.

One of the crucial functions Bachrach ascribes to the states he sees in early medieval Europe is training of troops: "The effectiveness of early Carolingian battlefield tactics, like that of all armies in the history of Western civilization, depended on the troops being well trained. Pippin II and his successors had well-developed training regimes … "[58] The evidence for this assertion comes down to two convergent lines of argument that both depend on a *Sachkritik* grounded in Great Man and state-centered assumptions about "objective reality": that Pippin and his successors read Vegetius and other Roman military handbooks (note the emphasis on what the leaders knew); and so must have implemented what those books recommend through state mechanisms that must have existed because Carolingian armies did things that required (in this view of "objective reality") training and only the state could provide such training.[59] It is relatively easy, however, to find

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[56]   The complex life forms produced by the undirected but physically constrained processes of biological evolution are the clearest example of this, as is evident from the continuing popularity of the discredited "argument from design" for the hand of a creator in producing life: in addition to Dawkins, *Unweaving the Rainbow*, Gould, *Wonderful Life*, and Baum, *What is Thought?*, see Dawkins, *The Blind Watchmaker: Why the Evidence of Evolution Reveals a Universe Without Design* (New York, 1986); Daniel Dennet, *Darwin's Dangerous Idea. Evolution and the Meaning of Life* (New York, 1995).

[57]   Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra, the Neo-Roman Consul 987–1040* (Berkeley, 1993).

[58]   Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare*, esp. ch. 3 and *passim*, quotes at pp. 130–31.

[59]   For a more extended critique of this sort of argument and of the question of the general shape of early medieval military history, see Richard Abels and Stephen Morillo, "A Lying Legacy? A Preliminary Discussion of Images of Antiquity and Altered Reality in Medieval Military History," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 3 (2005): pp. 1–13.

examples from "Western civilization"[60] of armies whose undeniable effectiveness resulted not from centrally directed training but from "emergent systems" effects, a fancy way of saying that their battlefield cohesion resulted from the cohesion of their local origins, their shared experiences and ideologies broadly conceived, and the force of circumstances. From the phalanxes of classical Greek *poleis* outside of Sparta, to the polyglot *ad hoc* Crusader army of the First Crusade and the Flemish townsmen who stood down the French chivalry at Courtrai, armies—especially infantry, but including the cavalry forces of medieval Europe whose cohesion and tactical skills were an expression of multiple household solidarities, not state-sponsored drill—have formed and fought with almost no direction from what we would recognize today as a state. Viewing the armed retainers of private households as extensions of a state-centered military system that had been decentralized (on purpose, by rational leaders) for fiscal reasons[61] is the necessary but implausible postulate of a theory of "objective reality" built exclusively around great leaders and the rational, centrally-directed institutions through which they planned and imposed their will on history.

As William the Lucky Bastard's experience with contrary Channel winds shows, however, things do not always work out the way they are planned. This does not mean nothing can be achieved, of course. Kingdoms can still be conquered by great leaders capable of trimming their sails to the shifting winds of chaotic fortune, just as real states can solidify from the sands of emergent systems built up by prevailing wind patterns. After all, it is an ill wind that blows nobody good.

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[60] A critique of this construct is beyond the scope of this paper.
[61] Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare*, pp. 209–10 and 216–17.

Chapter 12

Women in the Context of Romanesque Combat Scenes in Spain and France: Virtue, Judgment and Rape

James F. Powers and Lorraine C. Attreed

For more than a quarter century, the authors have been examining Romanesque ecclesiastical and secular sites possessing depictions of military themes in sculpture, fresco painting and mosaics. Such examples are especially numerous in Western Europe during the period from 1120 to 1230. One especially wonders at the large number (over three thousand) of such themes appearing in churches, especially monastic structures, presumably isolated from the bellicose activity of the secular world.[1] A useful explanation of this apparent conundrum can be found in the recent work of Katherine Allen Smith, who explores the considerable interest that monastic writers took in identifying their vision of the spiritual struggle with the analogous combats that took place in the secular world. Such comparisons appear as illustrations in numerous monastic manuscripts as well as in the decorative art manifest in their churches.[2] A second factor emerges with the importance of royal and noble patronage and its possible influence on artistic programs, especially with regard to the ongoing military pressure of the Spanish kingdoms on the Islamic-controlled south, sometimes perceived as a crusade.[3] State-sponsored warfare along with the periodic conflicts of feudal aristocrats, and even struggles among the nascent municipalities of the twelfth century, provided numerous instances of bellicosity from which churchmen and the artists they

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[1]   This is established by the database of medieval military art examples compiled by the authors and drawn from visitations to over five hundred churches of the period during the last 33 years.

[2]   Katherine Allen Smith, *War and the Making of Medieval Monastic Culture* (Woodbridge & Rochester, 2011), pp. 156–95.

[3]   Janice Mann, *Romanesque Architecture and Its Sculptural Decoration: Exploring Frontiers and Defining Identities* (Toronto, Buffalo, & London, 2009), pp. 46–74, 101–31; Elizabeth Valdez del Álamo, *Palace of the Mind: The Cloister of Silos and Spanish Sculpture of the Twelfth Century* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 202–5; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, 2003), pp. 177–208.

patronized could draw inspiration.[4] One should not be surprised by the fact that a war-like age would display a penchant for war-like art, even in its churches.

While the Spanish Reconquest of the Muslim south provides an important ambience for Iberian examples of military art, French art reflected an equally keen interest in the Near Eastern crusades. The earliest example of this phenomena occurred at Vézelay on the central narthex tympanum of the Basilique Sainte-Marie-Madeleine. Here, Christ was depicted as giving his mission to his apostles to convert the gentile peoples of the world. At his feet, a mail-clad warrior presents the newly emerging Crusader States to Christ as an early fruit of the revived mission.[5] While no site offers a more elaborate layout of battle conflict than the Templar chapel at Cressac-Saint-Genis, there are numerous more subtle indications of crusader themes, particularly in the cross-bearing shields borne by mounted warriors at Areines, Contrières, Faye-la-Vineuse, Saintes and Varaize, with even more examples in Spain. There are two notable French examples of the sanctification of war, both involving the appearance of the hand of God. In the church of Saint-Georges at Faye-la-Vineuse, a capital in the north ambulatory reveals two soldiers fighting on foot, one carrying a circular shield indicating a Muslim, the other on the right bearing a Christian kite-shaped shield. The hand and pointing finger of God appears behind the Christian warrior, blessing his endeavor (see Figure 12.1).

A rather more striking example can be seen in a fresco set in the embrasure of the interior apse window at the church of Notre-Dame at Areines. Displayed are two warriors occupying either side of the embrasure, and above them at the top center of the embrasure the hand of God is raised over both of the soldiers, extending two fingers to bless their mission of war (see Figures 12.2–3). The ecclesiastical linkage to contemporary warfare could not be clearer.

Given the religious and military background of the era, one element a viewer would not expect to appear in this art was a female figure. However, some historians have noted scattered chronicle references to women active on the battlefield, especially with regard to the Near Eastern crusades.[6] While one scholar has

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[4]   Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton & Oxford, 2009), passim; James F. Powers, *A Society Organized for War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000–1284* (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1988), pp. 13–58.

[5]   Adolf Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum at Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and Its Relation to the First Crusade," *Art Bulletin* 26.3 (1944): pp. 141–51. This church was, in fact, the place where the Second Crusade was preached, and the departure point of the French forces under Louis VII. For a discussion of various interpretations of this tympanum, see Jerrilynn Dodds, "Remembering the Crusades in the Fabric of Buildings," in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image and Identity*, (eds) Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager (Baltimore, 2012), pp. 119–20.

[6]   Megan McLaughlin, "The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe," *Woman's Studies* 17.3–4 (1990): pp. 193–209; Helen Nicholson,

Figure 12.1:   Saint-Georges at Faye-la-Vineuse, capital in the north ambulatory
Source: James F. Powers 2013

questioned some of the evidence derived from Muslim sources that cited female soldiers as a sign of alleged Western cowardice, one has to concede that women served in combat roles at least on rare occasions.[7] Given the incipient manpower shortage that often bedeviled the crusader states, and that the defensive situation

"Women on the Third Crusade," *Journal of Medieval History* 21.4 (1997): pp. 335–49; Keren Caspi-Reisfeld, "Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095–1254," in *Gendering the Crusades*, (eds) Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (New York, 2002), pp. 94–107. Indeed, a female skeleton wearing a hauberk from the crusading era has been excavated in Caesarea: see Kenneth G. Holum and Robert L. Hohlfelder (eds) *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (New York, 1988), pp. 224–6.

[7]   J. F. Verbruggen, "Women in Medieval Armies," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 4 (2006): pp. 119–36; Michael R. Evans, "'Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade," in *Gendering the Crusades*, pp. 45–57; Jean Truax, "Anglo-Norman Women at War: Valiant Soldiers, Prudent Strategists or Charismatic Leaders?" in *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Military and Naval History*, (eds) Donald J. Kagay and L. J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 111–25; Marjorie Chibnall, "Women in Orderic Vitalis," *The Haskins Society Journal* 9 (1990): pp. 114–15.

Figure 12.2:
Notre-Dame at Areines, fresco
in the embrasure of the interior
apse window. Source: James F.
Powers 2013

involved many desperate sieges, women might well have been pressed into combat in a number of situations. Nonetheless, there are absolutely no indications of women performing military service in the Iberian Kingdoms between 1120 and 1230. A number of the municipal charters in León and Castile specifically prohibited women from possessing arms, inheriting them, or deriving any booty from their use.[8] As Heath Dillard has pointed out, women were comparatively few on the Iberian frontier, and were far too valuable as wives and founders of settlement families to waste them in combat roles. Furthermore, in the over five hundred churches we have visited and in the many photographs we have seen in our archival research, we have never encountered their presence in active combat in the decoration of ecclesiastical architecture in the West.

The biblical text calls for the appearance of women near soldiers in two instances that were frequently illustrated on ecclesiastical architecture: the visitation of the Three Maries to the tomb of the resurrected Christ, where sleeping soldiers often lie nearby, and the distraught mothers of the dying children in the Massacre of the Innocents by Herod's soldiers. Neither of these occasions involves the direct

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[8]   James F. Powers, trans. and (ed.) *The Code of Cuenca: Municipal Law on the Twelfth-Century Castilian Frontier* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 166; Powers, *Society Organized for War*, p. 122; Heath Dillard, *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100–1300* (Cambridge and New York, 1984), p.29. Dillard notes the economic disadvantage this placed on women, deprived of an important source of revenue from the economics of the Castilian Reconquest.
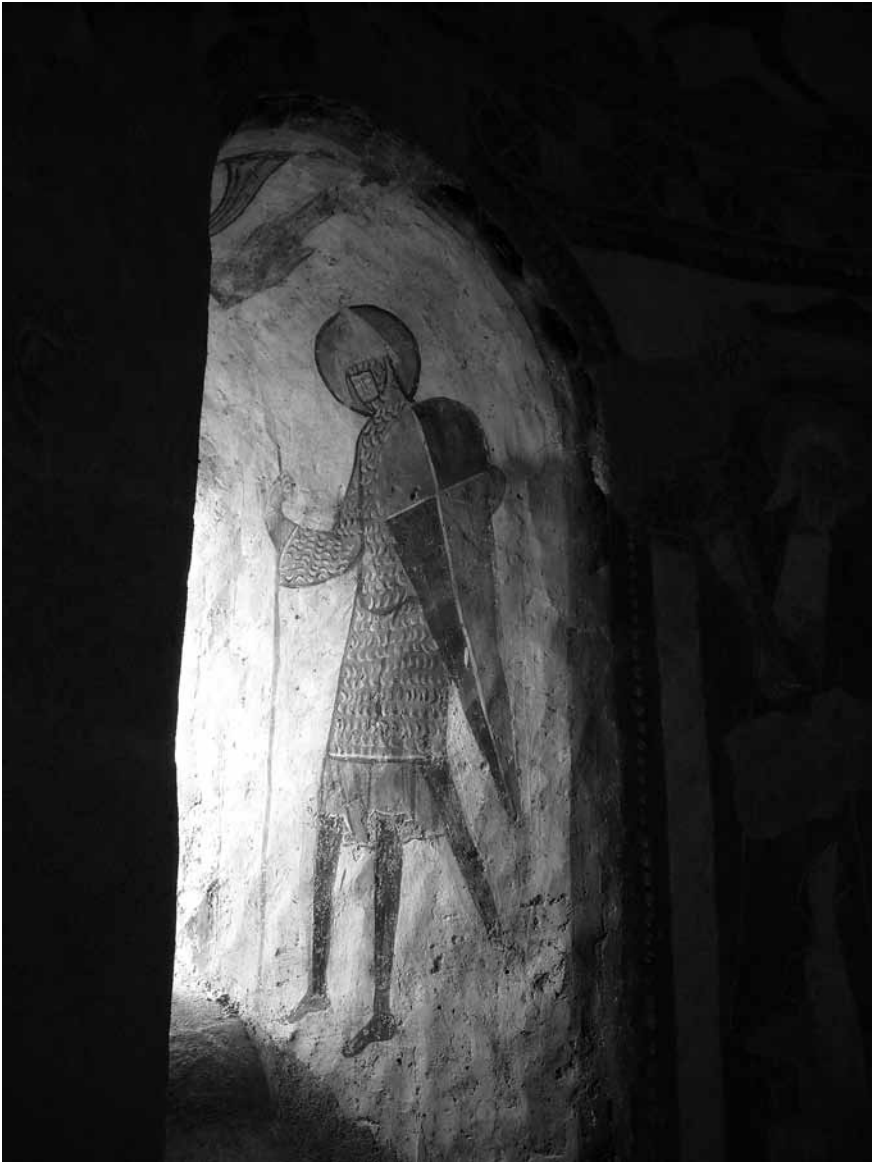
Figure 12.3:   Notre-Dame at Areines, fresco in the embrasure of the interior
               apse window. Source: Lorraine C. Attreed 2013

participation by women in warfare. The New Testament accounts that offer
military representations most often are the aforementioned Herodian slaughter, the
events recounted from Holy Thursday to Easter Sunday, and the disastrous events
dealt with in the Book of Revelation. Any presence of women in these military

events is purely tangential. The same can be said about the Old Testament and post-biblical Christian writing as well as the literature rather more contemporary with the creation of Romanesque art. This latter body of work exhibits a greater variety of thematic materials than those present in the New Testament. But it is in these later materials and the legal sources of the age that a number of curious exceptions begin to draw our attention.

Perhaps the most striking imagery given the normally passive representation of women associated with warfare occurs in the Saintonge region of southwestern France. Here, one encounters, primarily on church portals, a series of women wearing helmets and equipped with swords, shields and spears. These figures and their Valkyrie-like dress find their origin in the allegorical poem of Prudentius, a Hispano-Roman Christian writing in the later fourth and early fifth century. His work, entitled *Psychomachia*, personifies the struggle between the virtues and vices that contest for man's salvation in a series of conflicts between women, representation familiar from Greek and Roman mythology which usually presented female models to represent virtues.[9] Monastic library consolidations that occurred in the later ninth and tenth centuries contributed to a revival of interest in Prudentius, producing several illustrated manuscripts of his *Psychomachia*. Interest blossomed anew in the period between 1120 and 1140 in the Saintonge, where some eighteen sculptural examples decorate churches of the region.[10] The layout of the Virtue-Vice conflicts involved the creation of a new form of archivolt, which divided the figures into vertical sections, and placed each individual conflict on top of one another in each half of the archivolt, bringing the topmost virtues head to head at the keystone of the arch.[11] Argenton-Château and Aulnay are thought to be the two earliest examples (1120–30), and the only ones with surviving inscriptions that cite Prudentius' descriptions (see Figures 12.4–5).[12]

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[9]　　Aurelius Prudentius Clemens, "Psychomachia" [Fight for Man's Soul], in *Prudentius*, trans. H. J. Thomson, Loeb Classical Library 387, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1949, reprint 1969), pp. I:280–333.

[10]　　Anat Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture in the Duchy of Aquitaine c. 1090–1140* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 147–152. The list of church sites includes Argenton-Château, Aulnay (which has two examples), Fenioux, Melle, Civray, Blasimont, Saint-Pompain, Chadenac, Pont-l'Abbé, Varaize, Pérignac, Fontaines-d'Ozillac, Parthenay, Nagers, Corme-Royal, Saint-Symphorien and Castelvieil.

[11]　　While this is clearly a Romanesque innovation, its format would later be exploited extensively in Gothic architecture. At the church of Saint-Pierre in Aulnay de Santonge on the west portal, *Humilitas* (Humility) defeats *Superbia* (Pride) while facing *Largitas* (Generosity) defeating *Avarica* (Avarice).

[12]　　Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture in the Duchy of Aquitaine*, pp. 147–9. In Figure 5, *Fides* (Faith) defeats *Idolatria* (Idolatry) and *Concordia* (Peaceful Agreement) defeats *Discordia* (Discord).

Figure 12.4:   Saint-Pierre at Aulnay de Santonge, archivolt Source: James F.
                Powers 2013

Notwithstanding the fascination these female warriors hold for the viewer, this is
theoretical and spiritual conflict, not the everyday brutal struggles of the genuine
battlefield. Rather, it represents the adaptation of contemporary combat motifs to
articulate the nature of spiritual conflict.

Dueling represents a more intimate form of combat, a battle between two
individuals on horseback or on foot, usually bearing similar arms in the interest
of fairness.[13] The same considerations that kept women from engaging in warfare
operated in the ambient of dueling as well, but this did not prevent women from
finding their way into artistic representations of the duel. For example, there are
at least two instances where a woman appears next to the dueling pair, the first of
these at the Ermita de Nuestra Señora del Soto near Revenga, a site just south of
Segovia dating from the early thirteenth century (see Figure 12.6).

Here, on a capital situated at the base of the north side of the triumphal arch,
a pair of mounted duelists occupies the south face. Immediately adjacent on the
west face of the capital, a woman is shown raising her skirt. This gesture clearly

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[13]   François M. Besson, "'A armes égales': une représentation de la violence en France
et en Espagne au XIIe siècle," *Gesta* 26.2 (1987): pp. 113–26. Besson argues that these are
representations of evil, but he had not examined a considerable body of Spanish artistic
examples and charter references before making this assumption.
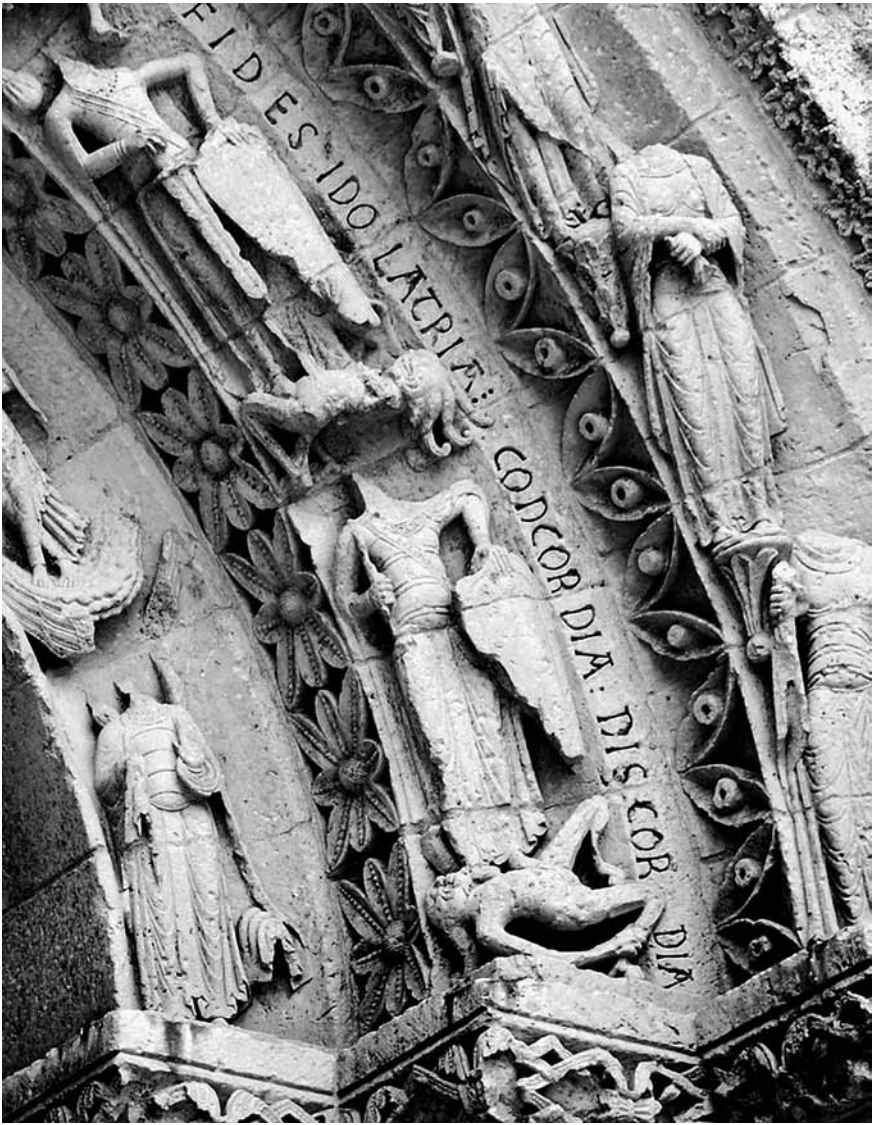
Figure 12.5:   Saint-Pierre at Aulnay de Santonge, archivolt Source: James F.
               Powers 2013

Figure 12.6:   Ermita de Nuestra Señora del Soto near Revenga, capital at the base of the north side of the triumphal arch   Source: James F. Powers 2013

symbolizes a woman of reputed low morality, as exemplified by the figure of Hagar in the Sacrifice of Isaac portal at San Isidro in León and by the adulteress condemned to hell on the south portal of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.[14] In all probability, the knightly duel adjacent to her was being fought to defend her honor with an ordeal by combat, in which one of the figures fought as her champion. A number of contemporary Castilian municipal charters (*fueros*) give the right of judicial ordeal to women charged with being a *mediatrix* (procuress) for sexual liaisons or for having carnal relations with a specified number of men. In such cases, the ordeal of hot metal was required. The Revenga capital suggests

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[14]   John Williams, "*Generationes Abrahae*: Reconquest Iconography in Leon," *Gesta* 16.2 (1977): pp. 3–14; *Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León: Segovia,* 3 vols. (Aguilar de Campoo, 2007), pp. II:1201–6. The *Enciclopedia* author believes the female figure bears a nimbus, but close examination would indicate that it is actually the hood of her outer coat.

that for less serious sexual charges, the accused could opt for hiring a champion to defend her innocence in a duel.[15] On the east face of the capital, a male figure carries the carcass of a sheep (or possibly a goat) away from the duel behind him, a possible indication of a fine for making a false accusation that provoked the judicial combat.

A second example occurs almost a century earlier at the English parish church of Saint Kyneburgha at Castor (Cambs.) dating to c. 1124 (see Figure 12.7). The church possesses an interior capital on the west side of the south tower arch. Carved on its south face is the figure of a woman with a billowing dress and sleeves and very long hair. Her appearance is that of a person in considerable anguish, facing away from a duel between two individuals on foot presented on the east face of the same capital. While some have claimed that this is a representation of Saint Kyneburgha herself, nothing regarding the capital's position in the church, nor the contents of the scene, seems related to her saintly legend.[16] The juxtaposition of the woman and the combatants seems to indicate that the former is involved with the fight, which may well be a duel for which she is somehow the cause. Thus, both at Revenga and Castor the appearance of a woman so close to an armed conflict reflects the possibility that females, while banned from battle even in the restricted form of a duel, can still constitute a causative factor in generating armed conflict. Similar examples can be found at the church of Saint-Nicholas in Blois (France), Sainte-Germain in Blet (France), Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, and the Duomo San Geminian in Modena (Italy).[17]

There is a more striking and far reaching iconography involving the presence of a woman at a duel, one where she is positioned between the combatants themselves. The origins of this particular iconography present a complex evolution that originates in the French Saintonge before it spreads to northern Spain. The initial example occurs at the abbey church of Sainte-Marie aux Dames in Saintes dating from c. 1130. It appears on the west face of a capital on the western façade positioned at the northern end near eye level (see Figure 12.8).

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[15]   Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 84–5; "Fuero de Alarcón," in *Les fueros d'Alcaraz et d'Alarcón*, (ed.) Jean Roudil, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), p. I:229; "Fuero de Alcaraz," in Roudil, *Fueros*, p. I:229; "Fuero de Alcázar," in Roudil, *Fueros*, p. I:229; "Fuero de Huete," in *Los fueros de Villaescusa de Haro y Huete*, (ed.) María Teresa Martín Palma (Málaga, 1984), p. 183; *El fuero de Plasencia*, (ed.) Jesus Majada Neila (Salamanca, 1986), p. 40; "Fuero de Villaescusa de Haro," in Martín Palma, *Fueros*, p. 184; *El fuero de Zorita de los Canes*, (ed.) Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud (Madrid, 1911), p. 152.

[16]   Nikolas Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough* (Harmondsworth, 1968), pp. 227–9. The north face of the capital contains only vegetation and offers no assistance in interpreting the sculpture.

[17]   For Poitiers, see Mickey Abel, "Recontextualizing the Context: The Dispute Capital from Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers and Storytelling in the Poitou around the Time of the Peace of God Movement," *Gesta* 47.1 (2008): pp. 51–66.

Figure 12.7:
Saint Kyneburgha at
Castor, interior capital
on the west side of
the south tower arch
(south face) Source:
James F. Powers 2013

Flanking it on the north face is a female figure pulling at her hair in apparent anguish, similar to the figure at Castor. On the south face a male figure seems to be leaning on the horse of the right rider. Virginia Stotz provides the most detailed and clarifying description of the capital and the scholars who have written about it.[18] Although the sculpture has suffered some damage and erosion, one can observe that the central figure has his/her arms extended toward the two combatants and is turned somewhat in the direction of the left rider. The right rider has a cross on his shield, while both riders wear helmets and knee-length hauberks, carry shields, and couch lances under their arms. The arms of the central figure are so badly damaged that we can no longer discern the precise nature of their activity. Given that there is no known precedent for this iconography, a diversity of scholarly views has emerged regarding the substance of its meaning.

Most scholars suggest that the capital represents the Peace or the Truce of God movements within the church in the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries in southwestern France, an interpretation that is best argued by Stotz in her detailed explanation of the violence near Saintes in the period of the façade's construction.[19] A well-known authority on the Saintonge, René Crozet, initially thought the capital represented a Truce of God depiction in 1956, but by 1971 had evidenced some uncertainty, describing it as an enigma. The sexual identity of the intervening figure is extremely important. Of the several writers who have suggested an identity, only Linda Seidel has proposed that the gender might be female.[20] The remainder assume it to be male, presumably a churchman, since the

[18]   Virginia Stotz, "Romanesque Sculpture on the Facade of Notre-Dame, Saintes" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1995), pp. 135–41 and Figures 95–100.

[19]   Stotz, "Romanesque Sculpture," pp. 138–40; Elizabeth Lawrence Mendell, *Romanesque Sculpture in Saintonge* (New Haven, 1940), pp. 83–4.

[20]   René Crozet, "L'Abbaye aux Dames de Saintes," *Congrés archéologique de France*, 114 (1956): pp. 106–18; René Crozet, *L'art roman en Saintonge* (Paris, 1971), p. 162; Linda Seidel, *Songs of Glory: The Romanesque Façades of Aquitaine* (Chicago & London, 1981), pp. 37 and 62. Seidel seems to accept Mendell's view of a Truce of God, but

Figure 12.8:   Sainte-Marie aux Dames at Saintes, west face of a capital on the
              western façade at the northern end Source: James F. Powers 2013

Peace and Truce require a clergyman representing this ecclesiastical intervention
in warfare. But if it is male, the clothing bears little resemblance to that of a priest,
damage to the sculpture notwithstanding. Since neither the Peace nor the Truce of
God appears in any prior known depiction, there is no standard to set it against for
comparison. With all of the interpretations in the conjectural stage, it is possible to
suggest a new theory for consideration.

  One basis for this theory is the work of Anat Tcherikover, who has studied
the figures of the horse riders that dominate the façades of a number of the
Saintonge churches in the period. She argues that these figures reference the
Roman equestrian depiction of Marcus Aurelius that stood adjacent to the papal
palace, and signify papal and ecclesiastical authority over justice in this world,
a symbol of the Gregorian reform movement.[21] One of these horsemen formerly

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then introduces the theme of *Luxuria* to the capital, suggesting that the figure between the
horses might be representing the theme and could therefore be female. Crozet concedes that
the identification of feminine dress of the time can be very hard to establish in this period:
"Sur un detail vestimentaire feminine du XIIe siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation medieval* 4
(1961): pp. 55–6.
  [21]   Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture in the Duchy of Aquitaine*, pp. 152–6;
Linda Seidel has a very different interpretation of these figures, seeing them as warriors
against Islam: Seidel, *Songs of Glory*, *passim*. It should be noted as well that Notre-Dame
was under direct papal protection: see Stotz, "Romanesque Sculpture," p. 63.

decorated the upper left façade of Saintes abbey above the capital, later removed by Huguenot zealots in the sixteenth century.[22] If one combines this with the use of female figures as the representative of the Psychomachia virtues, and the depiction of Justice as one of these virtues in twelfth-century art, one can argue that the intervening figure on the capital indicates divine justice controlling the outcome of an ordeal by combat.[23] Moreover, the cross carved on the shield of the right rider could indicate that he is the church's champion in this conflict. Churches have in fact hired champions in judicial combats in the period to decide land disputes, including Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, which had memorialized its victory with a depiction of such a struggle in sculpture on the left triforium of its apse. More to the point, since a judicial combat was summoned by the Abbess Agnes of Poitiers and performed in front of the Abbaye aux Dames in 1134, it is very likely that the Saintes capital represents that conflict.[24] While it can be argued that the Peace and Truce of God constitutes a more widely-held interpretation of the capital, given the doubt concerning this enigmatic iconography, a Justice figure is at least worth considering.

No other capital similar to that of Saintes is known to exist in France. However, a highly similar example emerged at Salamanca in Spain over forty years later. The capital occupies a position in the *Catedral Viejo* of Salamanca under the central tower at the crossing on the left side of the south transept arch adjacent to the triumphal arch that frames the apse. Its interior location has left it in a far better state than its predecessor at Saintes. Its differences in time and geography from the original can be partially explained by the indications of other contemporary importations from the Saintonge region that related to the construction of the cathedral. The crossing of the cathedral is vaulted by a handsome tower sometimes described as a lantern, called the *Torre de Gallo* because of the cock which decorates its weather vane. This tower is a close copy of the newly-constructed lantern crossing tower of the Cathedral of Zamora, some forty miles to the north. The Zamoran builders needed to reinforce their tower during construction, and used a form of smaller flanking towers adopted from a similar architectural turret utilized in some of the churches in the Saintonge, including the church of Sainte-

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[22]   Tcherikover, *High Romanesque Sculpture in the Duchy of Aquitaine*, 88; Crozet, *L'art roman, p. 113; Stotz,* "Romanesque Sculpture," *Figures* 348–9. Damage to other churches occurred at this time as well.

[23]   Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Alan J. P. Crick (New York, 1964), pp. 8, n. 1, 10 and Figs. 8a, 8b, 30–31, n. 3 and Figure 32. While *Justicia* had not been included amongst the original Psychomachia virtues, the twelfth-century artists added her to the group, and created an *Injusticia* with whom she could struggle.

[24]   Besson, "'A armes égales,'" pp. 118–20; Stotz, "Romanesque Sculpture," pp. 307–8.

Marie aux Dames in Saintes.[25] In addition, portals unique to the Saintonge with multiple archivolts and an absence of a tympanum appear on the south portal of the Zamoran cathedral and on the north portal of the church of Santiago del Burgo also in that city. Some of the Saintonge expertise that contributed to Zamora's tower may well have been drawn south to assist in Salamanca's cathedral construction. The atelier that carved the striking interior capitals of the cathedral finished its work in 1175 and departed across the Pyrenees.[26]

If the Saintes capital did exercise influence on the Salamancan example, its enigma travelled southwest along with it. Since we are the first to connect these two pieces of sculpture, we seek to investigate whether the Spanish ambient better illuminates the sense of its meaning. Here again, two mounted and armored figures charge each other with lances, and a third figure appears between them (see Figure 12.9). The vine motif on the abacus of the capital is strongly reminiscent of the similar décor that surrounds the Saintes predecessor. But here the central figure, standing above the fray, clearly interferes with the rider on the left, apparently probing him with a long pole or lance. The Greek aspects of the capital are emphasized both with acanthus leaves and volutes, possibly causing Ruiz Maldonado to comment that the central figure might be a Greek adolescent male (*efebo*). She also allows that the iconography might possibly indicate God's intervention in a judicial ordeal by combat.[27] This concept is also reinforced by the existence of such dueling in Salamanca, the regulation of which is specified in Salamanca's contemporary municipal code or *fuero*.[28] No scholar suggests a Peace or Truce of God for this capital as its theme. However, the gender of the central figure is as ambiguous here as it is in Saintes, given the length of the skirt and the hair style. A female figure could lend credence to the possibility of a personification of God's justice represented as a virtue. The central figure here is interfering with one of the riders and thus controlling the outcome of the conflict. That justice would prevail was the central purpose of having the ordeal by combat in the first place. It might even be what the atelier at Salamanca believed to be the intent of the original capital at Saintes.

While the intervening figure appeared only once in France, Spain seems to have found this iconography more appealing. In the half century following Salamanca's example, some twenty later versions were produced, all of them to

[25]   Carl K. Hersey, *The Salmantine Lanterns: Their Origins and Development* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937), pp. 129–86.

[26]   *Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León: Salamanca* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2002), pp. 262–6.

[27]   Margarita Ruiz Maldonado, *El caballero en la escultura románica de Castilla y León* (Salamanca, 1986), pp. 112–13.

[28]   *Fuero de Salamanca*, (eds) José Luis Martín & Javier Coca (Salamanca, 1987), pp. 46, 53–4.
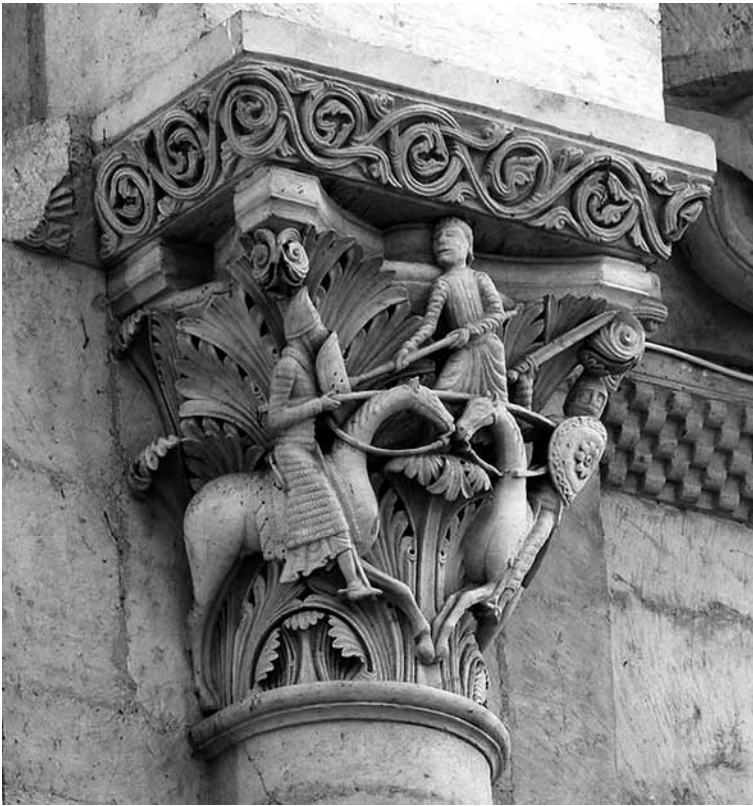
Figure 12.9:   Catedral Viejo at Salamanca, interior capital under the
central tower Source: James F. Powers 2013

the east of the original.[29] Ruiz Maldonado is the only scholar who has examined
any of these collectively, and she appears not to have been aware of the Saintes
example, which would have been outside the scope of her book. She regards all of
them as examples of the Peace or Truce of God. In establishing this, she considers
all of the intervening figures to have been males, a priestly personage representing
the Church. As supporting documentation, she summarizes the process by which
the Peace and Truce of God concepts entered Spain in the eleventh and early
twelfth centuries, noting that the last ecclesiastical proclamation occurred there

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[29]   In Palencia province: Resoba, Astudillo, Revilla, Cezura, Gama, Rebanal de las
Llantas and Villavega de Aguilar. In Burgos province: Fuenteurbel, Los Ausines (two
versions), La Cerca and Boada de Villadiego. In Cantabria province: Santillana, Yermo,
Retortillo and Villacantid. In Segovia province: Segovia (San Juan de Caballero Church).
In Soria province: San Juan. In Vizcaya province: Fruñiz. In Navarra province: Azcona. In
Álava province: Ribera de Valdejero.

in 1129.[30] This is more than forty years before the Salamanca capital, at a time when such legislation could be considered to be moribund both in France and in Reconquest Iberia. Notwithstanding, she makes a reasoned argument, and she is in good company with the French scholars who formed a similar impression of the Saintes capital.

Ruiz Maldonado does indicate being troubled by one example, that in the church of Santa Maria in Retortillo (Cantabria). The church dates from the end of the twelfth century, and here the figure between the riders is unquestionably a female, which does not fit her priestly model of the Church.[31] At best, all of the figures she studied are ambiguous in their gender, but it could be argued that they are all female, especially those represented at Cezura, Rebanal de las Llantes, Resoba and Ancona.[32] At Retortillo, the capital is located on the south side at the base of the triumphal arch (see Figure 12.10). Unique to this church's program, the capital at the base of the north side of the arch also contains two riders in conflict. The left horseman wears Christian-style armor, bearing especially a kite-shaped shield, and couching a lance which strikes the circular shield of his opponent. The right rider seems clearly to be a Muslim in the style of his dress and the shape of his shield, and bears a sword. This provides a sharp contrast to the south capital, where we have two riders both dressed in Christian-style armor, both brandishing swords. As with most of the other nineteen intervening images Retortillo's figure clutches the reins of each horse. She awkwardly positions her right arm in front of the horse's neck of the left rider, while her left arm is behind the neck of the right horse. This female figure does something only performed at Saintes and Salamanca: she faces one of the riders. In contrast to those two examples, however, she faces the rider on the right, and beyond that there is no indication of her interfering with either of the combatants.

In making the case that these Spanish examples are women, namely the personified virtue of Divine Justice taking part in an ordeal by combat, one can draw upon a good deal of documentary evidence far more contemporary than that available in precedents supporting a Peace or Truce of God motif. Municipal laws indicate the existence of dueling in the Spanish Kingdoms dating from the eleventh century.[33] These references continued to grow in numbers throughout the twelfth century, by the end of which elaborate discussions of the legitimacy of ordeals

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[30]   Ruiz Maldonado, *El caballero en la escultura románica de Castilla y León*, pp. 25–34.

[31]   Ruiz Maldonado, *El caballero en la escultura románica de Castilla y León*, p. 32; *Enciclopedia del Románico en Cantabria: Cantabria*, 3 vols. (Aguilar de Campoo, 2007), pp. III:1196–214.

[32]   *Enciclopedia del Románico en Castilla y León: Palencia* (Aguilar de Campoo, 2002), pp. 75–80, 281–8.

[33]   Mauricio Molho, (ed.) "El fuero concedido a Jaca por Sancho Ramírez (c. 1076)," in *El fuero de Jaca* (Zaragoza, 1964), p. 4, no. 10; *El Fuero de León: Comentarios*, (ed.) Rogelio Pérez-Bustamante (León, 1983), p. 41.

Figure 12.10: Santa Maria at Retortillo (Cantabria), capital on the south side at
the base of the triumphal arch Source: James F. Powers 2013

by judicial combat and the ordeal by hot metal had emerged to regulate these procedures in detail. Such material can be found in numerous municipal codes of Aragon, Castile and Leon in the same timeframe as the sculptures appearing on the capitals of the churches under discussion.[34] The role of the church in these ordeals was carefully delineated, especially the participation of the priest in the ordeal of hot metal, as well as the role of holy texts and the church building employed prior to the ordeal by combat.[35] Since the populace of these towns were required to form militias in order to secure their territories and assist royal forces, there was doubtless an ample supply of trained fighters capable of serving as champions in such conflicts, as well as fighting on their own behalf if need be.

Nevertheless, there is some difficulty with the case to be made for seeing the intervening figure as a representation of Divine Justice. Many of the illustrative

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[34]   Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 135–9; *El fuero latino de Teruel*, (ed.) Jaime Caruana Gómez de Barreda (Teruel, 1974), pp. 189–98; "El fuero latino de Albarracín (fragmentos)," (eds) Angel González Palencia and Inocenta González Palencia, *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 8 (1931): pp. 445–9; "El fuero de Coria," (ed.) Emilio Sáez, *El fuero de Coria*, José Maldonado y Fernández del Torco, gen. (ed.) (Madrid, 1949), pp. 85–6; *Fuero de Usagre (siglo XIII) anotado con las variantes del de Cáceres*, (eds) Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud and Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin (Madrid, 1907), pp. 110–12; "Fuero Alarcón," pp. 356–66; "Fuero Alcaraz," pp. 356–66; "Fuero Alcázar," pp. 356–66; *Fuero Plasencia*, pp. 91–3; "Villaescusa de Haro," pp. 346–52; *Fuero Zorita*, pp. 219–27; "Fuero Cáceres," pp. lxxiii–iv.

[35]   Powers, *Code of Cuenca*, pp. 85, 136; *Fuero Teruel*, pp. 192, 324; "Fuero Albarracín," pp. 446, 472; "Fuero Coria," p. 86; *Fuero Usagre*, p. 112; "Fuero Alarcón," pp. 229, 358; "Fuero Alcaraz," pp. 229, 358; "Fuero Alcázar," pp. 229, 358; *Fuero Plasencia*, pp. 40, 91; "Villaescusa de Haro," pp. 184, 347; *Fuero Zorita*, pp. 153–4, 221; "Fuero Cáceres," p. lxxiv.

presentations of Justice assign a set of weighing scales to her as an attribute. Had that attribute been present in any of the examples where she appears between riders, the case would be irrefutable. It is possible that a scale might have been in one of the damaged hands of the Saintes example, but, if so, time and weathering have rendered it undetectable. The attribute clearly did not migrate to the well-preserved intervener at Salamanca. On the other hand, when the representation appears with scales in other illustrations, she is usually joined with other virtues from whom she must be distinguished. As an intervening figure in an ordeal by combat, the task of controlling two warriors bent on combat would have been identified by the context; moreover, holding scales while grasping the bridles or wielding a lance might have been beyond the capabilities of both the sculptor and the intervener, as well. Nonetheless, those opting for a Peace of God interpretation of the figure would doubtless note its absence. The lack of any precedent for the personification of a Peace or Truce depiction, the lack of a proper attribute assigned to such an entity, and the choice of a female figure, all present difficulties evident in the Peace or Truce interpretation. We believe the female gender, the position and activity of the figure, and the nature of the contemporary documentary materials best support a Justice interpretation, but at this point it can be no more than a well-argued surmise. In either instance, the woman plays a vital spiritual role and the church patrons are acknowledging that achievement by her placement in the church configured in a combat situation. As with the Hand of God at Faye-la-Vineuse and Areines, the women symbolize the divine determination of the conflict's outcome.

The final category of women depicted in military contexts is by far the most disturbing, namely rape juxtaposed with battle. The first of these examples can be found at Ochánduri in the parish church of Santa María de la Concepción in the province of La Rioja. Its sculpture dates from the late twelfth century.[36] The most unusual feature of the church involves the interior apse's single window that is decorated by capitals on either side. These capitals were revealed only during renovations that took place in 1991, when an altarpiece was removed which had hidden the window.[37]

The badly-damaged northern capital depicts on its western and southern faces a battle waged between mounted knights and foot soldiers. All of the soldiers are garbed in calf-length hauberks with pointed helmets; the unmounted warriors carry kite shields and lances. Portions of some of the participants have been lost through time, but the figure of a centaur firing his arrow to the rear appears at the edge of the southern face (see Figure 12.11). The juxtaposition of a realistic battle scene common to the twelfth-century frontier with a mythical creature is not unusual, given the centaur's symbolic association with violence, brutality,

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[36]   *Enciclopedia del Románico en La Rioja: La Rioja,* 2 vols. (Aguilar de Campoo, 2008), p. II:501–17.

[37]   *Restauraciones del patrimonio artístico de La Rioja* (Logroño, 1991), pp. 21-4.

Figure 12.11: Santa María de la Concepción at Ochánduri, northern capital in the interior apse Source: James F. Powers 2013

anger, and lust.[38] On the southern capital opposite, a remarkably explicit scene depicting the rape of a woman takes place on its northern face. Both figures are nude and bear genitals of exaggerated size. The emotion conveyed in the scene takes us very far from what has been called an "exuberant … treatment of erotic subjects" at the Cantabrian monastery of San Pedro de Cervatos, or the many whimsical exhibitionists carved on corbels tucked under the eaves of countless churches.[39] The woman grimaces in horror, using her left arm to push the man

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[38]   George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford, 1959), p. 14; Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976), pp. 40–56; Elizabeth Atwood Lawrence, "The Centaur: Its History and Meaning in Human Culture," *Journal of Popular Culture* 27.4 (Spring 1994): pp. 65–6. Noteworthy is the centaur's association with rape, as seen in the famous illustrations of their battle at the Lapiths' wedding party carved on the metopes of the Parthenon and on the pediment of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia.

[39]   For analysis and review of the pertinent literature, see Glenn W. Olsen, "On the Frontiers of Eroticism: The Romanesque Monastery of San Pedro de Cervatos," *Mediterranean Studies* 8 (1999): pp. 89–104, which argues that the sculpture expressed views of popular culture familiar to both clergy and laity. Anthony Weir and James Jerman,

Figure 12.12: Santa María de la Concepción at Ochánduri, southern capital in the interior apse Source: James F. Powers 2013

away and succeeding in twisting his head at an extreme angle. His own right hand either touches her left breast or grabs her left side. Two damaged figures with their arms extended in apparent anguish occupy the adjacent western face (see Figure 12.12).[40] Although one scholar suggests we see the figures as illustrating fables and fabliaux such as those of Gaius Julius Phaedrus, the context argues against this.[41] The depictions of the two capitals must be treated as a pair, although it is impossible to say definitively that the action of one follows or causes the

Images of Lust: Sexual Carvings on Medieval Churches (London, 1986) provide examples from all over Europe. See also Maria Paz Delgado Buenaga, "Sexo y Arte en el Románico Campurriano," *Cuadernos de Campoo* 4 (June 1996): http://personales.mundivia.es/flipi/Cuadernos/Cuaderno_4/Erotico_campurriano.htm.

[40]   The author of the Ochánduri entry in the *Enciclopedia del Románico* identifies the male figure as being tonsured, but such a mark of clerical status is not apparent upon close examination.

[41]   Minerva Sáenz Rodríguez, "La imagen de la mujer en la escultura monumental románica de La Rioja," *Berceo* 147 (2004): pp. 149-227, at pp. 187-9. Sáenz Rodríguez compares the Ochánduri depictions to those illustrating Aesop's fables in the borders of the Bayeux Tapestry, citing H. E. J. Cowdrey, "King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry: A Critical Introduction," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry* ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Woodbridge and Rochester, 2005), pp. 1-15, at pp. 4-5; Catherine E. Karkov, "Gendering the Battle? Male and Female in the Bayeux Tapestry," in *King Harold II and the Bayeux Tapestry,* pp. 139-47, at pp. 141-2.

Figure 12.13: Nuestra Señora de la Asunción at Alaitza (Álava), vaulting
           spanning the apse and chancel Source: James F. Powers 2013

other.[42] The images become even more disturbing when one realizes the close proximity of these capitals to the holiest part of the church.

The second example, the parish church of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción in Alaitza (Álava), greets visitors with a complex narrative of warfare, pilgrimage, and rape. Paintings in monochrome reddish-brown in a flat style reminiscent of silhouetting cover the vaulting spanning both the apse and chancel (see Figure 12.13).

Discovered only in 1982, the paintings have so far inspired little academic research.[43] This has not inhibited amateur internet sites from identifying them as fourteenth-century works, on the basis of paintings discovered fifteen years earlier in a neighboring church and of an inscription at the base of Alaitza's scenes written

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[42]   While literate audiences accustomed to books and writing would tend to "read" the images from left to right, there is no evidence that all medieval artists conveyed meaning this way. For a trenchant discussion of left vs. right placement of figures, and left or northern sides of churches containing images of violence and sin, see Corine Schlief, "Men on the Right—Women on the Left: (A)Symmetrical Spaces and Gendered Places," in *Women's Space: Patronage, Place and Gender in the Medieval Church*, (eds) Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (Albany, 2005), pp. 207–49, esp. 224–30.

[43]   *Enciclopedia del Románico en el País Vasco,* 3 vols. (Aguilar de Campoo, 2011), pp. I:221–7.

in Gothic script.[44] We suggest, however, that the depictions of weaponry and choice of themes argue for an earlier date, no later than the early thirteenth century.

Alaitza's paintings illustrate the brutality of warfare in the extreme. At the center of the apse vault is a crenellated fortress defended by figures bearing crossbows and lifting stones ready to drop on the besiegers. In design and details, the image bears a striking resemblance to the siege of Jerusalem in the Spanish Beatus manuscripts of the mid-tenth through early thirteenth century.[45] On the southern side of the apse, figures of indeterminate gender bear goblets and branches. Continuing into the south side of the chancel, paintings in poor repair consist primarily of horses and other livestock, with pilgrim-like figures bearing cross-topped staffs and a figure blowing a horn. On the northern side of the apse, a corpse borne by two men nears a church, followed by two female mourners.[46] Foot soldiers bearing shields and maces surround a centaur archer, while two riders, one of them crowned, charge the central castle, bearing lances with pennants and wearing pointed helmets with nose guards. Deer, horses, and birds are scattered throughout.

The paintings on the northern chancel vault exist in three registers within borders of intertwined foliage. The bottom register features two pairs of confronted mounted warriors. A male exposer sits to the far left. The middle register presents figures, mostly female, bearing cups to a church nearly identical to the one depicted in the apse, including a figure ringing two bells in the belfry. In the top register, the far left figure seems to be a female exposer. Three horses hold center ground, followed by a female with a dog or small horse. At the far right, a woman lies in a bed, her legs raised and ankles grabbed by a man apparently set on rape. Over

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[44]   The polychrome paintings of the life of Christ in the church of Gazeo are more firmly dated to the central third of the fourteenth century. For speculation on Alaitza's paintings depicting the Battle of Nájera (1367), see: http://belosticalle.blogspot.com/2012/11/alaiza-paredes-que-hablan.html; http://belosticalle.blogspot.com/2011/04/teatro-de-sombras-en-alaiza-1.html; http://www.noticiasdealava.com/2012/09/30/sociedad/euskadi/misterio-en-alaitza.

[45]   See, for example, the oldest illustrated Beatus of Liébana manuscript, dating to 940, published in John Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus: A Corpus of the Illustrations of the Commentary on the Apocalypse*, 5 vols. (London, 1994–2003), II: Figure 103, depicting the siege of Jerusalem and the blinding of King Zedekiah, the slaying of his sons, and the lamenting Jeremiah. Alaitza's warriors themselves bear a stronger resemblance to those in the Silos Beatus dating to the early twelfth century: Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, IV: Figures 314 and 330b.

[46]   The church with bell ringer and belfry is similar to the one painted on the chancel's northern vault, and both resemble the church depicted in the Tábara Beatus dating to 970: Williams, *The Illustrated Beatus*, II: Figure 257. Mourners carrying a body to a church also are illustrated in the late eleventh-century Bayeux embroidery (Edward the Confessor's corpse brought to Westminster Abbey), whose warriors wear mail and carry weapons similar to that of Alaitza, and whose borders contain figures of blatant sexuality: *The Bayeux Tapestry*, (ed.) David M. Wilson (New York, 1985), plates 17, 29, 57–61.

Figure 12.14: Nuestra Señora de la Asunción at Alaitza (Álava), northern
chancel vault Source: James F. Powers 2013

him looms another male figure, preventing him from reaching for his weapon, and
threatening him with a sword (see Figure 12.14).

Rape as a weapon of war is probably as old as conflict itself.[47] As a means of
demoralizing and intimidating the enemy, martial rape is neither erotic nor sensual,
but "violence and terror masquerading as passion."[48] Modern total warfare of the
past century alone calls to mind examples ranging from the Rape of Nanking,
Vietnam's My Lai incident, the "rape camps" of the Balkan wars, attacks in

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[47]   Representative literature in the field would begin with Susan Brownmiller, *Against
Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* (New York, 1975). See also: Claudia Card, "Rape as a
Weapon of War," *Hypatia* 11.4 (Fall, 1996): pp. 5–18; Kelly Dawn Askin, *War Crimes
Against Women: Prosecution in International War Crimes Tribunals* (The Hague, 1997);
Kevin Gerard Neill, MPH, "Duty, Honor, Rape: Sexual Assault Against Women During
War," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 2.1 (November 2000); Jonathan Gottschall,
"Explaining Wartime Rape," *Journal of Sex Research* 41.2 (May 2004): pp. 129–36. Rape
was established as a war crime in 1996 by the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague
in the case of Bosnian Serb military rape of Muslim women.

[48]   David Rosen, "Rape as an Instrument of Total War," *CounterPunch* 2–6 April 2008,
http://www.counterpunch.org/2008/04/04/rape-as-an-instrument-of-total-war/, accessed 11
May 2013.

Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and the recent abuses of soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan. Artists have long been fascinated by the agonies of war, including sexual violation: Jacques Callot's 1633 series *Les Grandes misères de la guerre*, Francisco de Goya's early-nineteenth-century *Los Desastres de la guerra*, and Käthe Kollwitz's 1907 *Peasants' War* cycle of etchings come to mind. All of these works present a world of extreme violence, whose disturbing images not only record the dehumanization of victims but which reach out to shock, involve, and move the viewer as well.[49]

Whatever contemporary examples they may have found in their own frontier society of the *Reconquista*, the twelfth-century artists of Ochánduri and Alaitza could also have found ample inspiration in the Bible for the linking of rape and warfare, and particularly for the definition of women as the spoils of war.[50] Passages in the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy associate female captives with livestock and other plunder given by God Himself to victorious armies for their enjoyment. Such females may have had to be ritually purified before one could enjoy their sexual favors, but young virgins especially were prized for capture.[51] That the ravishing of one's wife or daughters was interpreted as a calamitous but just punishment for sin can be seen in God's threat of such actions to the adulterous David, and in the Book of Lamentations, whose author had witnessed the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and listed rape amongst the horrors of war.[52]

In addition to these general descriptions of martial rape, there are specific stories within the Old Testament of rape leading to warfare which could have inspired the Ochánduri and Alaitza depictions. Genesis 34 describes the rape of Dinah by the Hivite prince Shechem and the resultant warfare waged by her vengeful brothers. Judges 19–21 tells the complex story of the rape of the Levite's concubine and the warfare, capture, and forced marriages consequent upon it. Less

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[49]   For parallels between Goya's etchings and contemporary humanitarian aid workers faced with the extreme violence of war, see Paul Bouvier, "*'Yo lo vi.'* Goya Witnessing the Disasters of War: An Appeal to the Sentiment of Humanity," *International Review of the Red Cross* 93.884 (December 2011): pp. 1107–33. Deliberately excluded from our analysis here are the portrayals of mythological incidents of capture and rape, such as Poussin's "Rape of the Sabine Women," already well-studied in *Rape in Antiquity: Sexual Violence in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, (eds) Susan Deacy and Karen F. Pierce (London, 2002), and Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The "Heroic" Tradition and Its Alternatives* (Cambridge, 1999), chapter 1.

[50]   Susan Niditch, "War in the Hebrew Bible and Contemporary Parallels," *Word & World* 15.4 (1995): pp. 402–11, and more general discussion in Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (Oxford, 1993).

[51]   For typical passages, see Numbers 31:7–18; Deuteronomy 20:10–14; Deuteronomy 21: 10–14 (purification of the female); Judges 5:30; Judges 21: 10–14, 21.

[52]   See 2 Samuel 12: 11 for God's threat of public rape; Lamentations 5:11; and Zechariah 14: 1–2 for threats, including rape of Jerusalem's women, as just punishment for the communal sins of the people.

of a rape than illicit sexual behavior, 1 Samuel 2 describes the immoral behavior of priests Hophni and Phineas, and the battle with the Philistines that resulted. Finally, 2 Samuel 13 tells the story of Tamar, her rape by her half-brother Amnon, and her full brother Absalom's revenge on the assailant. The Old Testament took rape seriously, describing the actions as heinous offenses so grave and damaging to the fabric of society that warfare and death frequently resulted.[53]

While there are problems identifying any of these narratives as the source of the sculptures or paintings, the stories certainly provided inspiration for medieval artists in other media. Diane Wolfthal's study of the illuminations in a variety of picture bibles and other manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reveals a number of gestures and conventions shared with the sculpture and paintings. The Egerton Genesis manuscript of 1350–75 includes a miniature of the story of Dinah, with Shechem raping her in the foreground while she tries to push his head away in a gesture reminiscent of the Ochánduri apse capital depiction.[54] Holding the wrist or arm, or touching the victim's breast, were recognized gestures of power and dominance signifying rape. These gestures all appear in depictions of the gang rape of the Levite's concubine, the story of Tamar and Amnon, and the tale of evil priests Hophni and Phineas grabbing women by the wrists and breasts. Nudity, so explicit at Ochánduri and rendering the subjects so vulnerable, is rare in the manuscripts, where disheveled clothing and unbound hair signal the act of violation. Consequences, however, were clearly depicted in the manuscript illuminations: either by one man or an army, in one scene or several, "punishment was felt to be an integral part of these stories, a part not to be overlooked."[55]

Images of rape, either in books or sculpture, communicated meanings even beyond that of the obvious sexual and martial themes. They played important roles in the education of the literate in the twelfth century, including and especially that of clerics. The works of Marjorie Curry Woods explore the use of literary texts featuring scenes of erotic violence as "an established pedagogical tool for teaching verbal skills … "[56] Readings in classical works such as Ovid and medieval texts such as *Pamphilus, de Amore* presented scenes of rape, seduction, and erotic violence designed to grab student attention and inculcate lessons in grammar

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[53]   Mary Anna Bader, *Sexual Violation in the Hebrew Bible: A Multi-Methodological Study of Genesis 34 and 2 Samuel 13* (New York and Frankfurt, 2006), pp. 37, 175. The description is used thirteen times in the Bible, seven times referring to sex crimes, and five of the seven proving to be fatal for the man who committed the offense.

[54]   Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, p. 45, Figure 24.

[55]   Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, pp. 42–56 passim, 48 (quotation).

[56]   Marjorie Curry Woods, "Rape and the Pedagogical Rhetoric of Sexual Violence," in *Criticism and Dissent in the Middle Ages*, (ed.) Rita Copeland (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 56–85, at p. 66; see also Woods, "The Teaching of Writing in Medieval Europe," in *A Short History of Writing Instruction From Ancient Greece to Twentieth-Century America*, (ed.) James J. Murphy (Davis, California, 1990), pp. 77–94.

and rhetoric.[57] Woods argues that the readings also taught empathy, as students compelled to practice declamation and form extemporaneous oral arguments were forced to understand the role of both victim and perpetrator of violence.

While there is little evidence to conclude that images of rape so close to church altars prompted clergy to empathize more with the victimized among their flocks, the images may nonetheless have served as warnings. Manuscript illuminations of the Tamar and Amnon story were often paired with parallel images of tonsured priests abusing laywomen, while the accompanying text bemoaned the existence of "wicked clerics who take the good virgins and force them … and take their virginity and their goodness."[58] Augustine, wrestling with the rape of Christian women in his own time, as well as classical accounts of individuals like Lucretia, argued that rape could fulfill a divine purpose, in chastising those who were arrogant about their virginity and proud of their virtue.[59] Jerome and Bernard of Clairvaux both cited Dinah's story as a warning against curiosity about the outside world, a prelude to the sin of pride.[60] Surrounded by these images of martial violence and rape, parish clergy might well have pondered the wickedness of the outside world and its temptations of anger, pride, and sensuality. Images of violent warriors, angry and lustful centaurs, and perverted sexuality may have been intended to remind them of their spiritual obligations and prompt them to rededicate themselves to their vocation.

Even today, as the United States Armed Forces debate the propriety of women in combat, female presence in warfare remains fraught with contradiction. Can women be taken seriously as soldiers when issues of physical stamina and a host of long-held cultural prohibitions stand against them? Can women achieve parity in today's military when sexual abuse remains prevalent? No age is without its dilemmas regarding the impact of gender on violence and warfare. Where one might have expected silence on the subject in the Christian West during the Central

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[57]   *Pamphilus* was composed at the end of the twelfth century and became influential on Boccaccio and others: see Thomas Jay Garbaty, "*Pamphilus*, *de Amore*: An Introduction and Translation," *The Chaucer Review* 2.2 (1967): pp. 108–34. Amongst the many studies of rape in literature, see especially Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia, 1991); E. Robertson and C. M. Rose, (eds) *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature* (New York, 2001); Corinne Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2001).

[58]   Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, pp. 52–3, and Figure 30. The same manuscript (*Bible moralisée*, c.1215–30, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554, f.35v) illustrates 1 Samuel 2 in a similar way, depicting priests seizing women outside the tabernacle: Wolfthal, *Images of Rape*, Figure 31.

[59]   Corinne J. Saunders, "Classical Paradigms of Rape in the Middle Ages: Chaucer's Lucretia and Philomela," *Rape in Antiquity*, (eds) Susan Deacy and Karen F. Pierce (London, 1997), p. 251.

[60]   Joy Schroeder, *Dinah's Lament: The Biblical Legacy of Sexual Violence in Christian Interpretation* (Minneapolis, 2007), pp. 12, 15–17, 19, 24.

Middle Ages, artists instead introduced images of women to illustrate the varying roles warfare played in society. As warriors vanquishing personifications of vice, as the subjects of judicial duels, and as objects of abuse and exploitation, women gained a place in medieval art that deserves serious consideration.[61]

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Chapter 13
The Battle of Bouvines 27 July 1214

John France

"In the year of our Lord 1214, on the sixth calend of August, something worthy of remembering occurred at the bridge of Bouvines, in the confines of the Tournaisis".[1]

Few events demonstrate the impact of military events on history more clearly than the battle of Bouvines. As a consequence of this victory of Philip II Augustus of France (1180–1223) over an alliance constructed by King John of England (1199–1216), the French king ensured that he would hold Normandy, Brittany and the Loire principalities, the elements of the lands of the house of Anjou which he had conquered in 1204, and extend his control into the Poitou. At the same time he established his authority over the great county of Flanders, whose Count Ferrand he captured. The downfall of his major Flemish and Angevin rivals, and the consequent vast increase in his own lands, enabled Philip to spread his influence over all the lands of what we call France. On a wider scale, the defeat of King John's nephew, the Emperor Otto IV (1209–18), at Bouvines opened the way for the accession to the Empire of his rival, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1212–50), who was supported by both Philip and Pope Innocent III (1198–1216). Thereby the outcome of the battle signalled a marked shift of power in Europe from the German Empire to the French monarchy to which the popes of the thirteenth century would increasingly turn for support. In England, the defeat of King John's allies at Bouvines, and of the king himself in Poitou, produced an explosion of rage against a king who had trampled upon the privileges of many of the barons in pursuit of victory and the recovery of the Angevin lands. Out of this arose *Magna Carta*, a document which provided English, and ultimately also American people with a rallying cry against untrammelled royal power: the year 2015 will mark eight hundredth anniversary of its adoption. England had been governed by French rulers since 1066, and while there was no immediate change in their cultural outlook – indeed the "Hundred Years War" after 1337 saw John's heirs trying to reconquer what he had lost – it forced them to pay more attention to the interests of their island kingdom.

Here, then, is an event at least as significant as the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 whose centenary promises to fill our screens, our newspapers, our

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[1]   *Relatio Marchianensis*, (ed.) Georg Waitz, MGH SS 26 (Hanover, 1882), p. 390. English translation in Georges Duby, *The Legend of Bouvines. War, Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages* trans. Catherine Tihanyi (Cambridge, 1990), p. 192.

bookshelves and even our internet with sepia-tinted nostalgia and an unwholesome dwelling on casualties at the expense of any real effort to come to terms with its historical importance. Its commemoration will certainly eclipse the memory of Bouvines which is feeble enough in the English-speaking world and even in the Francophone one. Nor, I suspect, will the anniversary of *Magna Carta* in 1215 change this. The great charter has been adopted by so many and served so variously as a slogan that its origins, in a clash of arms in a muddy field on the Franco-Belgian border, have been forgotten.[2] If political sloganizing has contributed to the eclipse of the memory of Bouvines, so has historical fashion. The *Annales* school insisted that major events could only arise from long and deep-rooted causes and called on historians to bury themselves in the *longue-durée* at the expense of what they saw as the froth of the immediate and the obvious, which included mere military victories and defeats. Military history, in any case, has often been seen as a poor relation of academic history, largely because it was associated with military academies and the training of officers. To take an interest in such matters has too often been seen by many academics as in some vague sense "militaristic". It is not the least of the virtues of Bernard Bachrach, to whom this volume is dedicated, that he has worked hard to establish military history, and specifically medieval military history, as a worthy subject of scholarly labour, and something much greater than the preserve of soldiers, metal-bashers, and military geeks and gawpers. It seems an appropriate juncture, therefore, to reconsider this "something worthy of remembering", the battle of Bouvines, and to see what the event itself has to tell us about medieval warfare.

The momentous consequences of Bouvines meant that it received widespread attention from contemporaries and near-contemporaries, and in fact we have descriptions in French, Flemish, German, English and even Italian works. For the most part, these are brief and derivative, as in the short Latin *Historia Francorum ad annum 1214* which is of French origin.[3] French accounts usually celebrate victory and excoriate the allies. The Latin Marchiennes account damns the allies as supporters of the excommunicate Otto IV and portrays Philip as a pious king, reluctant to spill blood but driven to fight when his enemies, "like enraged dogs", pursued him. In this situation he prayed to the lord and then righteously destroyed his enemies. This is a partisan account of limited value, despite the proximity of the abbey to Bouvines.[4] The Anonymous of Béthune produced an Old French chronicle, written probably for Robert of Béthune about 1220, which provides a brief but very interesting account of the whole campaign, noting, for example, the capture of Philip's cousin Robert by King John and providing a good list of the

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[2]	Anne Pallister, *Magna Carta: The Heritage of History* (Oxford, 1971) provides a good survey of the way in which succeeding generations have viewed the great charter.

[3]	*Historia Francorum usque ad annum 1214*, (ed.) Auguste Molinier*, MGH SS 26* (Hanover, 1882), pp. 394–6.

[4]	*Relatio Marchianensis*, pp. 390–91 (Duby, *Bouvines*, pp. 192–3).

nobles on the allied side.[5] John Gillingham has suggested that its author had real military knowledge, and indeed his account of the knightly combat contains some excellent vignettes.[6] However, the Anonymous of Béthune virtually ignores the footsoldiers who played, as we shall see, a major role. This may well be the result of writing for a noble patron.[7] The most valuable accounts of the battle are the two written by Guillaume le Breton. He continued the *Gesta Philippi Augusti* of Rigord from 1209 to 1224 in Latin prose, and somewhat after that wrote a stirring Latin poem, the *Philippidos*, based on the earlier work.[8] Guillaume probably became Philip's chaplain about 1200 and he seems to have accompanied his master for the rest of his life. He certainly was present at Bouvines and was standing behind the king at the moment when he delivered a stirring prayer before the whole army.[9] Guillaume was devoted to Philip, and his account of the whole campaign in the *Gesta* is clear, and compatible with our other sources, yet enlarges upon them, and provides by far the best narrative of Bouvines itself. The *Philippidos* is much more rhetorical and its highly dramatic account of Bouvines adds little to our knowledge of the battle.[10] A rather later French chronicle shows the influence of legend, attributing vastly inflated numbers to both sides and stressing that Otto, with 20,000 knights and 80,000 foot, outnumbered Philip with 9,000 and 50,000.[11] A Brabanter chronicle emphasises the role of their duke but says little about the actual battle.[12] Roger of Wendover provides the most important English account of the battle. It is deeply flawed, suggesting that Philip and his army crossed the bridge and lined up to confront the allies before any decision was taken to fight. But Wendover casts some light on the dramatic moment when Philip was almost

[5]   Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, (ed.) Leopold Delisle, RHGF 24 (Paris, 1904), pp. 767–8.

[6]   John Gillingham, "The Anonymous of Béthune, King John and Magna Carta", in *Magna Carta and the England of King John*, (ed.) Janet S. Loengard (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 27–44.

[7]   Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, pp. 768–70 (Duby, Bouvines, pp. 194–7).

[8]   Rigord, *Gesta Philippi Augusti* and Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti* and *Philippidos Libri XII*, in H.-F. Delaborde, (ed.) Œuvres *de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, 2 vols (Paris, 1885), pp. I:158–9, I:212–20, and II:7.407–795. Parts of Books 10, 11, and 12 of the *Philippidos* are translated in Duby, *Bouvines*, pp. 197–205

[9]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 273.

[10]   It is worth noting that Guillaume provides a much better account of the siege of Château Gaillard at which he was certainly present in 1203–04 in the *Philippidos* Book 7 than in the *Gesta*.

[11]   Richerus, *Gesta Senoniensis Ecclesiae*, (ed.) Georg Waitz, MGH SS 25 (Hanover, 1880), p. 294.

[12]   Baldwin of Ninovensis, *Chronicon*, (ed.) Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 25 (Hanover, 1880), p. 540.

killed. His account was later incorporated into that of Matthew Paris.[13] German sources like the *Annals of Cologne* tend to be brief, but there is a rather longer, although not very useful account, in the Ursberg *Chronicle*.[14] The victory of Philip and the defeat of Otto was noted, albeit briefly, in a Genoese chronicle.[15] It is a mark of the importance of the battle that it inspired so much poetry, at least in France. Between 1242 and 1272 Philippe Mousket, a canon of Tournai who later became bishop of that city (1272–82), wrote a *Chronique rimée* which told the history of France from the earliest times. The "Minstrel of Rheims" produced a vernacular pseudo-history about the year 1260 with a highly dramatized account of Bouvines in which Philip is the very personification of righteousness pitted against the forces of darkness. These provide interesting insights into the aristocratic outlook, but little of any moment for understanding the battle.[16]

The political context of the battle is well known and here requires only a short sketch. When he succeeded his father, Philip found himself at risk of domination by some of the great lords of France, the counts of Flanders and the house of Champagne, whose most prominent members were the counts of Troyes, of Blois-Chartres and of Sancerre.[17] Above all, the vast "Empire" of Henry II of Anjou (1154–89), which included most of Western France as well as the kingdom of England, threatened to eclipse the Capetians. Adroit diplomacy and a fortunate series of deaths and quarrels within the house of Anjou enabled Philip to build up his territorial power, while participation in the Third Crusade heightened his prestige. The disputed accession of King John in England enabled Philip to strengthen his lordship over the Angevin lands in France, and he was able to take advantage of that monarch's troubled relations with his barons and his military incompetence to seize Normandy, Maine, Anjou and Brittany in 1204–05.

The reasons for the loss of Normandy in 1204 have been much debated, with a considerable focus on a comparison of the financial resources of the Capetians and

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[13]   Roger of Wendover, *Chronica*, (ed.) Henry O. Coxe, 4 vols. (London, 1842), pp. III:287–90 (Duby, *Bouvines*, pp. 205–8). Matthew Paris, *Flores Historiarum*, (ed.) H. R. Luard, 3 vols. (London, 1890), p. II:151 continued and edited the work of Wendover, and provides a much briefer account of the battle with some interesting details.

[14]   *Annales Colonienses Maximi*, (ed.) Charles Pertz, MGH SS 17 (Hanover, 1961), p. 827; Burchardi et Cuonradi, *Chronicon*, (eds) Otto Abel and Ludwig Weiland, MGH SS 23 (Hanover, 1874), pp. 377–8.

[15]   Ogerii Panis, *Annales*, (ed.) Georg Pertz, MGH SS 18 (Hanover, 1863), p. 135.

[16]   Philippe Mousket, *Chronique rimée*, (ed.) Adolph Tobler, MGH SS 26 (Hanover, 1882), pp. 757–62, contains the relevant parts, and there is a partial translation in Duby, *Bouvines*, pp. 208–14; The Minstrel of Rheims's account, (ed.) Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 26 (Hanover, 1882), pp. 538–41 is translated in Duby, *Bouvines*, pp. 214–16. There is also a full translation: Robert Levine, *A Thirteenth-Century Minstrel's Chronicle (Récits D'un Ménestrel De Reims) A Translation and Introduction* (Lampeter, 1990).

[17]   On Philip's early problems see John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus. Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 3–27.

Angevins. While there can be little doubt that the French monarchy was effectively the richer, I very much doubt the notion that this made the loss of Normandy inevitable. Rather, on one side John lacked confidence as a political and military leader and failed to inspire trust amongst the English and Norman barons, some of whom were clearly traitorous. On the other, Philip rationalized his exploitation of his increased royal demesne to create an effective army forged in the long wars against the Angevins and inspired by a record of success, at least after the death of Richard Lionheart (1198–99). At the heart of Philip's army were the knights of his own lands, and those of his great vassals. In an age when evolving technology was providing the wealthy with effective armoured protection, these men, whether fighting on foot or horseback, formed an impressive backbone in any western army.[18] Philip was not really a natural soldier and, indeed, he had suffered a notable humiliation at the hands of Richard in 1198 when he was ambushed near Gisors and made to "drink of the river into which he fell".[19] He preferred to wage war by devastating the lands of his enemy – making war on peasants was cheaper and lower risk compared to military confrontations. But he also was well-organized and this was especially important in sieges. His attack on Château Gaillard was prepared for by seizing its supporting fortresses, and successfully sustained from August 1203 to March 1204.[20] Along with this powerful military effort, Philip used the feeble response of John to persuade Norman nobles and cities to defect, especially under the threat of devastation.[21]

From 1204 John tried to recover his lost lands, and despite many setbacks and much discontent and even overt treason from his baronage, by 1213 things were turning in his favour, especially in Flanders. On the death of Count Baldwin IX of Flanders on crusade at the battle of Adrianople in April 1205, Philip, as overlord, seized control of Baldwin's daughters and dominated the county until 1212 when he married off the heiress Joan to Ferrand of Portugal.[22] This Portuguese prince was virtually unknown in the county and subjected to such massive French pressure that he cast around for allies against Philip. King John was ready with the offer of subsidies, and when Philip proposed an invasion of England in 1213

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[18]   Philippe Contamine, "L'Armée de Philippe Auguste", in *La France de Philippe Auguste*, (ed.) Robert-Henri Bautier (Paris, 1982), pp. 577–94, especially pp. 579–80.

[19]   Roger of Hovenden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeris de Hovenden*, (ed.) William Stubbs, 4 vols. (London, 1886–9), pp. IV:58–9.

[20]   Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 7.407–795. At 599 Guillaume makes it clear he was present.

[21]   For a survey of all the factors leading to the seizure of Normandy, placing emphasis on military factors, see Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus King of France 1180–1223* (London, 1998), pp. 130–65; the most thorough analysis of the sources remains Maurice Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy 1189–1204* (Manchester, 1961).

[22]   On Adrianople see Russell Mitchell, "Light Cavalry, Heavy Cavalry, Horse Archers, Oh My! What Abstract Definitions Don't Tell Us About 1205 Adrianople", *Journal of Medieval Military History* 6 (2008): pp. 95–118.

Ferrand dissented. The French army was then turned against Flanders, which was savagely ravaged, and on 30 and 31 May Philip's fleet was wiped out at the battle of Damme by an Anglo-Flemish naval force under William Longsword, earl of Salisbury.[23] As the French army retreated, John recruited more and more support, largely through his mercenary leader Hugh of Boves, and, most especially, Renaud of Danmartin who was a prime mover in the emerging anti-Capetian alliance. A former associate of Philip, Renaud had broken with Philip who confiscated his county of Boulogne. Between them John's men brought over numerous lords of Flanders and the Netherlands including the counts of Namur and Holland, and the dukes of Brabant, Limbourg and Louvain, although the latter was a reluctant participant. John's greatest coup was to recruit his nephew, Otto IV. Otto's hold on the Empire was being challenged by Frederick of Hohenstaufen, who was backed by Innocent III, Philip of France, and a substantial number of German lords. In consequence, he had relatively few troops, although he brought in his train a few distinguished German magnates.

The coalition leaders seem to have agreed that King John would attack Philip from the south while the allies attacked in the north. Synchronizing the movements of widely separated forces has always been a major problem. In 1124 Henry I of England (1100–1135) anticipated John in allying with the Emperor, in this case Henry V (1105–1125), but coordination failed and the German invasion of eastern France was a fiasco.[24] During the Second Crusade the Capetian and Imperial armies had arranged to follow the same route to Constantinople, but once there the Emperor Conrad did not wait for Louis VII but plunged into hostile territory on his own.[25] John had more than once projected major expeditions to Poitou, but had to abandon or scale them down for one reason or another.[26] In such circumstances the grand alliance did very well. John created a substantial army, despite stiff resistance from many of his barons and the attacks of external enemies in Wales and elsewhere: "From the summer of 1212 onwards his main objective was to launch a counter-attack against Philip Augustus in France and to this end all else could for a time be sacrificed".[27]

On 16 February 1214 John and his army landed at the secure base of La Rochelle. The precise size of his force is not known, but it was big enough to draw Philip, his son Louis, and a very large army southwards where they concentrated

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[23] On the battle see Frederick W. Brooks, "The Battle of Damme, 1213", *Mariner's Mirror* 16 (1930): pp. 264–71 and Susan Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare 1000–1500* (London, 2002), pp. 28–9.

[24] Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, trans. Richard C. Cusimano and John Moorhead (Washington, 1992), pp. 127–32.

[25] Jonathan Phillips, *The Second Crusade. Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London, 2007), pp. 168–206.

[26] For example John's expeditions to Poitou in 1205 and 1206, on which see Bradbury, *Philip Augustus*, pp. 155–6.

[27] J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 148.

at Châteroux. For Philip the real danger was that any success by John would draw into his allegiance the barons of the northern Poitou, the Loire and, most fatally of all, those of Normandy.[28] At first things went well; John seized numerous castles, entered Nantes in mid-June and Angers on 17 June. On 19 June John besieged the minor fortress of La Roche-au-Moine, but its garrison held out bravely and appealed to Philip for relief. By late April Philip had become aware of the gathering of John's allies in the north, and took away much of the army. Louis went boldly to the relief of La Roche-au-Moine, and on 2 July deployed for battle against John. The English king was more than ready to fight, but the Poitevin barons who had declared for him were not prepared for such a hazard, and John fled back to La Rochelle.[29]

John has been much blamed for the fiasco in Poitou, but this is perhaps unjust. La Roche-au-Moine was not a very great castle but the determination of its garrison had exercised a crucial influence on events – a clear illustration of the importance of fortifications in medieval warfare. As for John's retreat from the confrontation with Louis, it needs to be recognised that, although his army was originally large, it had been campaigning for some five months, a long period by medieval standards. Its size would have been reduced by the need to leave garrisons in many places and the inevitable losses from disease and desertion. His Poitevin allies refused to fight because the victory of either king would establish over them a strong overlord, which was the last thing they wanted. It was better, therefore, to avoid such drastic action and to await events. In such circumstances it seems unlikely that John actually enjoyed an advantage in numbers and he was probably wise to retreat. This, of course, killed any hope of a domino effect on behalf of the Angevins opening the way into Normandy, but Philip had been obliged to split his army and something like 800 knights, 2,000 mounted troops and 7,000 infantry under Prince Louis stayed to hold John at La Rochelle, at the very moment that his allies were gathering in the north.

King Philip, leaving his son to hold off John, gathered his army at Peronne from where he set out on 23 July, for Tournai. He had taken time to gather all the forces he could, while the coalition, as is the way of such creations, was slow to come together. This was largely because Otto was delayed in Germany. However, Count Ferrand and the other allies concentrated in Hainaut from where they ravaged hostile lands, capturing the French royal centre of Tournai whose citizens paid 22,000 *livres* to refrain from destroying the city. Philip's army marched eastwards

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[28]   We may doubt whether John could have gone so far because his relations with the Norman barons were deeply compromised, on which see Daniel Power, "King John and the Norman Aristocracy", in *King John. New Interpretations*, (ed.) S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 117–36; Daniel Power, "The End of Angevin Normandy: the Revolt at Alençon (1203)", *Historical Research* 74 (2001): pp. 444–64.

[29]   The campaign in the south and the check at La Roche-au-Moine have received very little attention. The best account is that of Sean McGlynn, *Blood Cries Afar. The Forgotten Invasion of England 1216* (Stroud, 2011), pp. 94–102.

ravaging as they went until they arrived at Tournai which they recovered on 26 July. Otto IV joined the rest of the allies at Valenciennes on 23 July, and together they reached Mortagne, only about 14 kilometres (8 miles) to the south-east of Tournai as Philip seized the city.[30]

These dates should command our attention. Philip had gathered an army centred around men he knew and trusted, such as William des Barres and Matthew de Montmorency. Of special importance on the day of battle was Guérin, bishop-elect of Senlis, who had previously been a member of the military monastic Order of St John of Jerusalem.[31] Beyond this inner circle were great magnates like Odo Duke of Burgundy, Henry Count of Bar and Raoul of Soissons. Amongst this latter group was Walter Count of St Pol who many regarded with suspicion, and who, cynically, promised to be a good traitor on the day.[32] It was characteristic of contemporary armies to be layered in this way, for the political structure from which they were raised was highly decentralized. These men were drawn from a wide area and those of Champagne would not have known comrades from the Vexin. Their loyalty to the commander was mediated via their lord, and their familiarity with tactics and sense of solidarity was limited to the immediate circle with whom they fought. In all cases their loyalty was conditional. It was, therefore, vital that the commander could count on a strong core of followers who were ready to serve come what may, and who knew his mind. These people would command the French, and especially the French cavalry, at Bouvines. They were greatly assisted by the presence of strong infantry forces drawn from militias of the royal cities who proved to be very loyal. This make-up has to be contrasted with that of the opposing force.

Its members were very diverse and came together for the very first time only days before the great battle. They had no obvious leader. William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury had a small force which included the mercenary leader Hugh of Boves, and he was John's paymaster. But how far he could command Ferrand of Flanders and Renaud of Danmartin, let alone the Emperor Otto, is uncertain.[33] The size of the contingents provided by each leader is uncertain, but the distance between them in all senses was much greater than that between the French contingents. Above all, there was no solid central core – this was a disparate army bound together by hatred of Philip and King John's money. Both armies had been brought together in haste, and, as so often happened they had had no time to exercise together to gain coherence. But there was a sharp contrast between them in that Philip could

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[30]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, pp. 266–7.

[31]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 272, mentions this inner circle in some detail. Some of them are noted, along with the magnates of France like the Duke of Burgundy, amongst the "high men" who accompanied Philip by the Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, p. 768 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 194).

[32]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 276.

[33]   Matthew Paris, *Flores Historiarum*, p. II:152 says of Hugh "*dux omnium videbatur*", but this seems unlikely.

count on a loyal and practised core of senior men who could act as his eyes, ears and executors, and while some of his magnates might have had reservations about him, there was no doubt that he was in charge. This single command was the great advantage of the French.

The sources bearing upon the size of the rival armies have been examined by J. F. Verbruggen, and his figures for the number of knights in the French army are well supported. These mounted men were the strike-force of any army, by far the best armed and practised troops in virtually all circumstances. Moreover, contemporary chroniclers paid far more attention to them than to others because of their connection with their readership, the aristocracy and their armed followers.[34] In his account of the war between Count Philip of Flanders and Philip Augustus in 1185 Gilbert of Mons says that the French king had 2,000 knights.[35] Guillaume le Breton says that there were 2,000 knights in the French army which marched against King John in 1214, and that Philip left Louis with some 800 when he went north against the allies. This figure, in the region of 1,200, is sustained by an analysis of the *Servitia Feodorum*, a list of the military contingents owed to the French crown which, however, probably underestimates the total which could be raised in a major effort.[36] Overall it seems likely that Philip had 1,200–1,300 knights and about 300 mounted sergeants at his command. Verbruggen's figures for the French foot are much more impressionistic, but his suggested total of 5–6,000 seems reasonable. It is far more difficult to arrive at figures for the allies. In the accounts of the battle Ferrand of Flanders appears to have had the largest contingent of mounted men, and we know that in 1182 his predecessor, Count Philip, had raised 1,000 knights.[37] But since then Flanders had fallen on evil times, and Verbruggen's suggestion of 650 seems reasonable. We know that Otto IV had very few knights because Ferrand sent 200 to escort him through the lands of the hostile Bishop of Liège to Valenciennes. Probably the other leaders between them raised 600, so Verbruggen thinks that the allies had about the same number of knights as the French, or perhaps a few less. We are totally in the dark about the number of allied foot. There were many Germans amongst them, and large forces drawn from the militias of the Flemish cities. Numbers are essentially speculative, though the 4–700 mercenaries of Renaud of Danmartin made a great impact.[38] It is

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[34]   To give another example, numbers on the First Crusade are highly contentious, but at least at one point the total number of mounted men can be estimated: John France, *Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 122–42, and especially pp. 129–30.

[35]   Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, trans. Laura Napran (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 99.

[36]   *Servitia Feodorum*, (eds) Léopold Delisle, Charles-Marie-Gabriel Bréchillet Jourdain, and Natalis de Wailly, RHGF 23 (Paris, 1894), pp. 693, 807–8.

[37]   Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, p. 77.

[38]   J. F. Verbruggen, *The Art of Warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages* trans. S. Willard and R. W. Southern (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 240–47.

perhaps safest to conclude that the allies would not have been willing to court battle if they had been outnumbered. Essentially, the two armies were roughly equal, so the great issues of European politics were to be decided by forces which together totalled less than 16,000. To raise armies of this order was an enormous effort for the poorly articulated governments of medieval Europe. In 1066 Hastings had been fought between armies approaching the same size. Throughout the twelfth century the Angevins and Capetians had generally conducted their wars with much smaller forces, though they were able to muster greater numbers on occasion.[39]

On 26 July 1214, therefore, two substantial armies were surprised to find themselves in close proximity, setting the stage for the battle which would rage on the following day. Neither appears to have expected this situation. According to Guillaume le Breton in the *Gesta*, when the king heard that the enemy were only 14 kilometres (8 miles) away at Mortagne he proposed an attack but was dissuaded by his barons because the approach was narrow and difficult.[40] Philip was ready to fight; he could not, after all, be sure that Prince Louis could contain King John. However, once the difficulties of an immediate attack were pointed out he decided to retreat and, Guillaume le Breton testifies, find another route to ravage Hainaut. With this in mind, on 27 July the French moved westwards towards their base at Lille.[41] Philip's daughter had married Duke Henry I of Brabant who had been his ally until the battle of Damme in 1213 after which he had been forced to make peace with Ferrand to whom he surrendered his two sons as hostages. The marriage of Henry's daughter, Marie, to Otto IV in May 1214 was part of the diplomatic web which held him in the alliance. He secretly stayed in touch with Philip right up to the battle.[42] Philip probably thought that there was, therefore, every prospect that the allied army might fall apart without a battle.

The allies also had to make decisions in the light of their close proximity to the enemy. We have no sympathetic account of their discussions. In his *Gesta*, Guillaume le Breton makes no mention of any discussion, while in the *Philippidos* he portrays the arrogance of the allies, riding for a fall. He does, however, make Philip lament that "anyone would dare initiate a battle on this holy day [Sunday]"[43] This short remark, probably inserted to heighten the impression of Philip, the pious king, seems to have ushered in a grand theme which others would develop considerably – that the allies quarrelled over whether to engage in battle on a holy day. Roger of Wendover presents the issue of whether to fight on a Sunday as

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[39]   Bernard S. Bachrach, "Some Observations on the Military Administration of the Norman Conquest", *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8 (1985): pp. 1–26; John Gillingham, *Richard I* (Newhaven, 1999), pp. 83–4.

[40]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 267.

[41]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 267: "Per aliam viam planiorem Henonie fines invaderunt".

[42]   Balduinus Ninovensis, *Chronicon*, (ed.) Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS 25 (Hanover, 1880), p. 539; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 10.672–9.

[43]   Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 10.756 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 197).

central in the discussions of the allies. He says Renaud of Boulogne "stated that it would not be honourable to wage a battle on such a solemn day", and that Otto agreed. However, John's mercenary leader, Hugh of Boves, denounced this idea, calling Renaud a "despicable traitor" and, in the name of King John, demanded an immediate battle. The Minstrel of Rheims inflates this into the story that Otto challenged Philip to battle and then rejected a pious request that the conflict be put off until the next day because it was a Sunday, and this found echoes in Mousket and others. Interestingly, the Marchiennes account, which is so anxious to present Philip as a pious king, makes no mention of the issue of fighting on a Sunday. The Anonymous of Béthune, like Guillaume le Breton, says that Philip would have preferred not to fight on a Sunday.[44] Perhaps Guillaume le Breton mentioned the matter to excuse Philip's rather slow reaction to the danger threatening his army. In the *Philippidos* he makes Philip regret fighting on a Sunday in rather more dramatic terms, but only briefly.[45] It is at least possible that the Sunday issue was raised amongst the allies, but it was probably less important than the decision of whether to go for battle or not. This was never an easy issue for medieval commanders and it would not be surprising if it raised the kind of passion Roger of Wendover portrays.

John Gillingham, in a series of important articles, embedded in our perception the notion that battle was only an aspect of medieval warfare, and one that contemporaries tended to avoid because of its potential risks and poor rewards.[46] This view has not gone unchallenged, but most scholars now accept that the decision for battle in medieval conditions was always a difficult one.[47] A particularly savage debate on the issue of whether to give battle took place in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem on the eve of the battle of Hattin.[48] A discussion along these lines may be the reality behind the Sunday legend. Those in favour of delay would have known that catching an alerted enemy was difficult. But John's men knew that

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[44] Roger of Wendover, *Chronica*, pp. III:288–9 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 206); Minstrel of Rheims, *Chronica*, p. 538 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 214); *Relatio Marchianensis*, p. 390 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 192); Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, p. 768 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 194).

[45] Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 10.831.

[46] John Gillingham, "Richard I and the Science of War in the Middle Ages", in *War and Government in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich*, (eds) John Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 78–91; John Gillingham, "William the Bastard at War", in *Studies in History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, (eds) Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher Holdsworth, and Janet Nelson (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 141–8; John Gillingham, "War and Chivalry in the History of William the Marshal", in *Thirteenth Century England II*, (eds) P. R. Cos and S. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 1–13.

[47] Stephen Morillo, "Battle Seeking: the Contexts and Limits of Vegetian Strategy", *Journal of Medieval Military History* 1 (2002): pp. 21–42.

[48] "The Old French Continuation of William of Tyre", in *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade*, (ed.) and trans. Peter Edbury (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 36–40.

without a decisive victory the alliance might collapse, and that the king would find it difficult to raise the money for another try. The allies decided on a battle, but we do not know their precise intentions, and they can only be guessed in the light of their actions, which in turn only can be understood in the light of geography.

Philip intended to retreat to Lille about 23 kilometres (14 miles) east of Tournai. The allies were about 14 kilometres (8 miles) south-east of Tournai. They would have known that the bridge at Bouvines over the River Marcq, about 8 miles (14 kilometres) east of Tournai was a major bottle-neck which would delay his army. The Marcq itself was a small river, but in the Middle Ages its banks would have been marshy, making it a formidable obstacle. Just north of Mortagne another route, the *Chaussée Brunehaut*, led directly north-west through the woods to Bouvines via the abbey of Cysoing, and this was the route the allies followed. This involved a march of some 12 miles and offered the opportunity to ambush Philip. His army had set out early in the morning from Tournai and, according to the Béthune account, "all those who saw them said that they had never seen such a great armed host riding at such a speed". By midday Philip was at Bouvines where he rested while much of his army crossed over the bridge, leaving the cavalry on the eastern bank of the Marcq.[49] Philip, now over halfway to Lille, seems to have been confident to the point of complacency.

However, the Vicecount of Melun and bishop-elect Guérin appear to have taken a detachment to watch the enemy. This does not seem to have been on the instructions of the king, for Guillaume never tells us that. The Anonymous of Béthune says Guérin returned to warn the king who was eating, and that he promptly prepared for strife. Guillaume le Breton is much more specific. He says that Guérin left the Vicecount and informed Philip that the enemy were approaching and ready for battle, pointing out that they had sent their infantry ahead which he regarded as a sure indication of their intention to fight. However, the king and his advisors were unconvinced and decided to continue their retreat to Lille. Guillaume adds that the enemy seemed to be turning towards Tournai as they crossed a stream and this may explain the decision. In any case, Philip's army continued on its way, and the king stripped off his armour to enjoy lunch at Bouvines. This was rudely interrupted by the arrival of emissaries from the Vicecount saying that the enemy were close and in contact with the rearguard of the French army under the duke of Burgundy.[50] It seems from this that the vicecount and Guérin had taken the *Chaussée Brunehaut* to watch the enemy whose army would have been strung out over perhaps 7 kilometres on the narrow road through the forest. The Vicecount of Melun's crossbowmen and light cavalry had tried to contest the enemy's advance but had been pushed back to Cysoing

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[49]   Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, p. 768 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 194).

[50]   Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, p. 769 (Duby, *Bouvines*, pp. 194–5); Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, pp. 267–71.

about 1kilometre southeast of Bouvines where the road led into an open plain, forcing the Duke of Burgundy to reinforce them.

This moment, probably sometime after midday, marked a crisis for the French. The allies had succeeded in doing something very unusual in medieval warfare – they had forced a battle. Usually, because one side could retreat as quickly as the other could advance, both sides needed to have decided on battle. On this occasion Philip had been so complacent that he was being driven into a battle, and on very disadvantageous terms. The enemy were only 1 kilometre away to his south-east at Cysoing while much of his army, mainly the infantry, had already crossed the bridge at Bouvines. If he tried to retreat across the bridge his cavalry, the flower of his army, along with other elements east of the bridge, would be massively outnumbered and probably massacred. However complacent he hitherto had been, Philip now acted decisively. Ordering timber to be laid alongside the bridge so as to expedite the return of his infantry, and pausing only for a brief prayer to rally his men, he led the mass of his cavalry "so that no-one stood between him and the enemy". This, says Guillaume le Breton, shocked the enemy – which was Philip's intention.[51]

The allied army had no way of knowing what to expect as it fought its way up the *Chaussée Brunehaut*. Had it been presented with a scene of panic and withdrawal there is no doubt it would have charged across the plain and pinned the enemy against the Marcq. Instead, it confronted a reasonably well-organized mass of cavalry and had no obvious means of knowing what lay behind. In these circumstances the massive charge which Philip obviously feared was out of the question. Both armies now had to deploy for a set-piece battle on an open plain bounded on the west by the marshy valley of the Marq, on the north by the Marais de Willems and on the south by the Marais de Louvil. North to South the battlefield measured about 2 kilometres, a considerable distance offering both sides opportunities to outflank, and it was roughly bisected by the Bouvines-Tournai road. But both had to reorganize, hence the comment by the Anonymous of Béthune that "As the hosts came close enough to see each other clearly, they stopped for a long time and put their affairs in order".[52] Philip needed to get his men from across the bridge and the allies to sort out their army strung along the *Chaussée Brunehaut*. This process seems to have occupied the armies deep into the afternoon, for we are told that the sun in their eyes blinded the allies who were facing west. Guillaume le Breton, who stood close to the king throughout, makes it clear that before actual combat began Philip took position surrounded by his most trusted men close to the bridge at Bouvines. Here he could organize his returning troops and direct them to strengthen his forces. He left the great mass of his cavalry, about 700, to the south of the road under the command of the Duke of Burgundy and Guérin who ordered the mounted knights to spread out across the

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[51]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 271.

[52]   Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, p. 769 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 195).

space between the road and the Marais de Willems to form an unbroken line. This was probably because he feared being outflanked. Guillaume, in the *Gesta*, says they were spread out over 1,000 paces, while the whole front of the two armies was some 2,000. Guérin put the best knights in the front rank, and when some nobles insisted on joining them, he pushed them into the second line.[53] As the allies emerged from the narrow road by Cysoing they saw that they were threatened by this huge force, and so Ferrand created a similar mass of cavalry to protect the unscrambling of the allied army. Otto IV turned north behind the cavalry and established his men on an eminence close to the road opposite King Philip.

Guillaume le Breton's account of the battle is constructed around three major phases: the cavalry duel in the south, the attack by Otto IV on Philip's position, and the savage fighting centred on a strong force of mercenaries under Renaud of Danmartin, supported by the English troops under the Earl of Salisbury. This has been taken to show that Renaud was on the right (northern) wing of the allied army.[54] However, in the *Philippidos* he is said to have been in the centre where the major allied attack was staged.[55] I do not think there was a northern wing. As Philip's forces poured back across the bridge they would have been fed into the struggle, so that around Philip was an expanding bubble of armed men, most of whom were footsoldiers. For their part, the allies had agreed to focus on killing or capturing Philip as the swiftest path to victory.[56] There was nothing especially odd or reprehensible about that: during Bouvines the French made energetic efforts to kill Otto IV as we shall see. So it made sense for the allies to concentrate against Philip at Bouvines. Furthermore, given that at Bouvines and northwards the French were hard against the swampy bank of the Marcq there would have been little point in dispatching troops to outflank them. Rather, Renaud and the English formed part of the great charge – perhaps poorly coordinated – and they were opposed by Robert Count of Dreux, the Bishop of Beauvais and others in the French "bubble". Armies at this time commonly were divided into three major battles, which was useful for command and control but the circumstances on this occasion did not favour such a tidy deployment.[57]

To summarize the disposition of the armies:

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[53]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, pp. 274–5; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 11.15–16, 62–3.

[54]   This is the analysis of Verbruggen, *Art of Warfare*, pp. 239–60 and McGlynn, *Blood Cries Afar*, pp. 107–8.

[55]   Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 11.585–7.

[56]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 286; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 9.1–135.

[57]   An obvious example is Hattin in 1187, on which see R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, 1097–1193*, 2nd edn, (ed.) Christopher Marshall (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 189–97, and another was the Tagliacozzo in 1268, for which see John France, *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades 1000–1300* (London, 1999), pp. 181–4.

a. The French, with their backs the River Marcq, were deployed in an arc, bisected by the Bouvines-Tournai road, extending roughly from the modern village of Louvil in the south towards Gruson in the north. This was a front of about 2 kilometres, though I doubt if it extended to Gruson.
b. The main body of the cavalry on both sides lay to the south of the road on a front of about 1,000 metres. The allies were led by Ferrand and the French by the Duke of Burgundy and Guérin.
c. King Philip and the Emperor Otto faced one another approximately on the line of the Tournai road. Each had a retinue of knights around them and a mass of footsoldiers.

Guillaume le Breton describes the battle in three distinct phases, of which the first two were clearly the most important. There is good geographic reason for this division, but we have little idea of how the two phases related in time. In the first phases he describes how the French cavalry had taken up an essentially defensive stance south of the Bouvines-Tournai road, but they were far from passive. The Anonymous of Béthune says that Philip ordered that a troop of mounted sergeants should attack the enemy. However, Guillaume reports that the count of St Pol suggested to Guérin that he attack Ferrand with 150 mounted sergeants (*servientes*) from Soissons and his testimony is surely preferable because he was with the king and says that fighting began without reference to Philip.[58] The intention clearly was to disrupt the process of organizing the allied cavalry into orderly units. This would, in any case, have been difficult because, although Ferrand's own men formed the core of the cavalry, he had to deal with other unfamiliar contingents. The Flemings, we are told, scorned to charge the sergeants; they killed all their horses, but only two of the men and the rest continued the fight on foot. This requires some explanation.

In the eleventh century the term *milites* essentially meant mounted soldiers. However, in the course of the twelfth century wealthier men arrogated to themselves the title of *miles*, which now became a social distinction rather than a merely military one. At the same time the progress of metallurgical technology enabled the rich to defend themselves ever more effectively. The hauberk, the mail shirt, became thicker and it was often reinforced with iron plates or coverings of boiled leather. Mail leggings and mittens covered the extremities. Most importantly of all, the simple pointed or round-topped iron caps of the eleventh century developed masks to protect the face and were integrated by mail hoods (coifs) into the hauberk. The wealthiest wore pothelms which covered the entire head.[59] In his *Philippidos* Guillaume le Breton explained the low casualties amongst such men:

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[58]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, pp. 276–7.
[59]   For the development of western armour see David Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era 1050–1350* (White Plains, 1988).

Thus, nowadays, modern men take much greater care to protect themselves than did the ancients who would often, as we learn from our reading, fall by the thousands in a single day.[60]

But making knights difficult to kill emphasized the vulnerability of their horses. In the eleventh century horse-armour had been unknown, and when the crusaders encountered it amongst their enemies they were astounded:

The Agulani … fear neither spears nor arrows nor any other weapon, for they and their horses are covered all over with plates of iron.[61]

Subsequently, horse-armour became more common in Europe. However, elaborate equipment such as this was expensive, and the increased weight demanded stronger and costlier warhorses, so that a gap opened up between the noble wealthy on one hand and the less well-equipped sergeants on the other. In 1187 Count Baldwin V of Hainaut assisted Philip of France against Henry II of England with a force of "110 chosen knights and 80 mounted sergeants with chain mail". But he noted as remarkable that:

… all his men, with the exception of the most virtuous knight Baldwin (namely of Strépy), had horses equipped with iron armour. Among the sergeants, many were armed as knights and had horses covered in iron.[62]

The Soissons sergeants were a "forlorn hope", sacrificed for a particular purpose. The Flemings apparently received their charge standing still, but this onslaught must have delayed the ordering of the allied cavalry who were quickly subjected to a sterner test.[63] The Anonymous of Béthune mentions archers defending the Flemish knights who were scattered by the castellan of Rasse.[64] Then Walter of Ghiselle and Baldwin Buridan charged the knights of Champagne, only to be captured. One of their knights, Eustace of Machalen, who had cried out

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[60]   Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 11.129–32.

[61]   Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (ed.) Rosalind Hill (Edinburgh, 1962), p. 49.

[62]   Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, p. 108. The Order of the Temple prescribed full armour for their knight-brothers, each of whom was allocated four horses. By contrast, their sergeants wore only a sleeveless coast of mail and an iron cap and were allocated a single horse (though senior men might have two): Judith Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars. The French Text of the Rule of the Knights Templar* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 53–5.

[63]   What follows on the cavalry contest is drawn from Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, pp. 277–81 and Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 11.321–8.

[64]   Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, p. 769 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 195).

"Death to the French", was killed in the scrimmage when a French knight tore off his helmet from behind, and another cut his throat. Ferrand then committed his men to a charge, but the Count of St Pol tore into his ranks, breaking clear through and returning as another group, that of the Count of Melun, launched itself at the allies. The duke of Burgundy led his men into the fray. His horse was killed and he had to be rescued by his knights – the Béthune author records that a Flemish knight tried to push a knife through the slits of his helmet.[65] The Count of St Pol had withdrawn from the fray with his men to rest – essential on such a hot day. Suddenly he saw that one of his knights was trapped and he rushed again into the mêlée to save him, in the process creating havoc in the enemy ranks to such an extent that Henry of Brabant, always an unwilling participant, fled the field. Such vignettes illustrate the intimacy of knightly warfare – this was truly battle corps-à-corps. And unhorsed knights fought on foot.

There was no general cavalry charge. This would have been very risky because knights normally fought in small assemblages, *conrois*, which were probably based on kin and locality, and on a wider scale in the retinues of their lords.[66] As a result, the accounts of the battle somewhat resemble those of a tournament, and this is most dramatic in that of the Anonymous of Béthune. But tournaments were the form of knightly training and the distinction between them and war was often fine. In August 1170 Baldwin V of Hainaut went to a tourney at Trazegnies, but fearing Godfrey of Lorraine, took 3,000 foot with him. The affair became a battle. In 1175 Baldwin took 200 knights and 1,200 foot to a tourney between Soissons and Braisne. He was ambushed but fought off the enemy, killing many. [67] So, the picture we have of relatively small groups charging into battle and then emerging to rest and return is like a tournament because a tournament was like battle. And it accords well with the best contemporary analysis of the needs of battle which is given in the *Rule of the Temple*.[68] This document suggests that in general knights expected to be in and out of battle in just the way described by the Anonymous of Béthune and Guillaume le Breton. This is not to say that mass charges were impossible, but they would have been very risky.

In the end, Ferrand, unhorsed and badly wounded, was forced to surrender – an event which seemed to signal the dissolution of his section of the army and much more. However, by that time, many other things had happened. In William le Breton's second phase Otto IV launched the troops around him, a mix of some knights and a mass of infantry, at Philip. This apparently happened while the cavalry battle to the south was still raging. By this time the city militias, the last

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[65]   Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France,* p. 770 (Duby, *Bouvines*, pp. 195–6).

[66]   J. F. Verbruggen, "La tactique militaire des armées de chevaliers", *Revue du Nord 29* (1947): pp. 161–80, at pp. 163–8, and France, *Western Warfare*, pp. 53–63.

[67]   Gilbert of Mons, *Chronicle of Hainaut*, pp. 59, 67–8. For Baldwin's presence at other tournaments see pp. 56, 57, 62, 63, 71, 73, 76, 80, 81, 85, and 88.

[68]   Upton-Ward, *Rule of the Templars*, especially pp. 59–60.

of the French forces, had re-crossed the Marcq, and they took station ahead of the knights grouped around the royal standard. The charge of the allied forces, spearheaded by the Germans, brushed the militias aside and crashed into the royal bodyguard. In the scrum of armed men, a group of German foot reached Philip, caught a billhook in the king's mail between his head and chest and dragged him from his horse. In the terrible confusion he was rescued by his knights. But the same intimate killing which we have seen in the cavalry battle continued. A royal knight, Stephen Longchamp, was killed by a thrust of a slim knife, triangular in section and sharp on all edges, which Guillaume regarded as an innovation.[69]

Somewhere about this time the English contingent around the Earl of Salisbury crashed into the men of Dreux doing great harm, but they were checked when the Bishop of Beauvais hit the earl with a mace and captured him. Gradually, this vicious conflict around Philip turned in favour of the French. Their knights then attacked Otto IV and the famous Guillaume des Barres almost captured him. But Otto was saved by the devotion of his bodyguard who held off the enemy while he escaped and Guillaume himself, totally surrounded, had to be saved by a concerted charge of horse and foot. This check in the centre seems to have coincided with the capture of Ferrand and the flight of the allied cavalry, and so the rout became general, but not universal.

The third of Guillaume's phases clearly took place after the others, for he says that by this time most of the enemy had fled. There remained, however, Renaud of Danmartin and his knights, who were arranged within a circle, perhaps a horseshoe, of highly disciplined mercenaries in a double or treble line armed with lances and bills. Despite the flight or the collapse of the rest of the allied army, Renaud and his knights continued to sally out from within this tight and bristling circle to inflict damage upon the French, withdrawing back into it to rest. The mercenaries, like the city levies of Flanders at Courtrai in 1302, used their long weapons to hold off the French, but like the Flemings they were not entirely passive. At Courtrai some of the Flemings went forward and smashed French knights and horses with heavy clubs, *goedandag*, while at Bouvines men with double-headed axes served the same function.[70] These tactics, combining infantry and cavalry, were remarkable for the day and they certainly impressed Guillaume deeply. The power of steady massed foot to resist cavalry was an established fact of contemporary warfare. At Brémule in 1119 the French cavalry had come to grief at the hands of Henry I of England's dismounted knights and foot, and in 1138 a similar combination successfully defied the heavy cavalry of the Scots at Northallerton.[71] But the key word is "steady;" this quality was very difficult to create when armies were

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[69]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, pp. 281–3; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 11.328–33.

[70]   J. F. Verbruggen, *The Battle of the Golden Spurs. Courtrai 11 July 1302*, trans. David R. Ferguson, (ed.) Kelly Devries (Woodbridge, 2002).

[71]   Suger, *The Deeds of Louis the Fat*, p. 117; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* (ed.) Diana Greenway (Oxford, 1996), pp. 718–19.

recruited only for short periods of time. On these two occasions, and on others, common foot were stiffened by dismounted knights.

Mercenaries, both mounted and on foot, were a well-established phenomenon used extensively by both the Capetians and Angevins.[72] They were clearly very effective, and there must have been many on the field of Bouvines who are not mentioned as such by Guillaume; possibly the German troops who almost killed Philip were of this ilk. But the men around Renaud were clearly exceptionally coherent and loyal. During one of his sallies Renaud and his horse were evidently brought to a halt in the press of bodies, and a footsoldier, Pierre de la Tourelle, was able to creep alongside, lift the flap of the horse's armour and stab the poor creature in the belly. Renaud then was captured by Guérin who ended an unseemly quarrel amongst a group of knights over who should receive his surrender, and therefore a rich reward. The mercenaries, perhaps 700 strong, fought on but were massacred by 50 cavalry and 2,000 infantry which Philip had sent against them.[73] They, the Germans and the men around the Earl of Salisbury, seem to have fought well, but we hear little of the rest of the footsoldiers. Since Ferrand was Count of Flanders we can presume the city levies of Ghent and Bruges and the other cities were present, but we hear nothing of them. Perhaps they never properly engaged and fled when Ferrand was captured, and who can blame them, for by then Otto IV had fled the field, along with Hugh of Boves, who Matthew Paris alleges was the first to run.[74] Archery is only mentioned very briefly, perhaps because there was little time to organize archers as both sides tried frantically to get their men onto the field.

The victory was pretty well total, although that was not apparent at the time, so Philip forbade any sustained pursuit. His army had virtually beheaded the opposition, capturing 5 counts including Ferrand, Renaud of Danmartin and King John's brother, the Earl of Salisbury together with 25 other leaders of comparable noble rank.[75] Ferrand was not released until 1226, after Philip's death. Renaud died in prison in 1227. The others, and over 100 knights, were allocated to the king's major leaders and to the cities which had provided so many troops. This was a rich harvest of ransoms with which to reward his followers, and they cost Philip nothing. And on the field itself there was, as Guillaume noted, much looting of horses, armour, weapons and the wealth of the great men who had fallen or been captured.[76] Despite this triumph when Philip led an army to Poitou he gained little

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[72]   John France, (ed.) *Mercenaries and Paid Men. The Mercenary Identity in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008); John D. Hosler, *Henry II, a Medieval Soldier at War 1147–89* (Leiden, 2007).

[73]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, p. 289; Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 11.585–718.

[74]   Matthew Paris, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 152.

[75]   Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, pp. 289–90.

[76]   Guillaume le Breton, *Philippidos*, 12.18–50 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 204).

because its great lords preferred to switch to John.[77] Subsequently when the barons of England exploded in rebellion against John he sent his son, Louis, to claim the throne, but failed to give him real support and the effort failed. The real fruit of Bouvines for Philip was the strength and security of his position in France and in Europe, for as the Anonymous of Béthune commented:

> After this, no one dare wage war against him, and he lived in great peace and the
> whole of the land was in great peace for a long time to come so that his bailiffs
> could exact much and his son's bailiffs even more from all the land he had come
> to hold: it was one of his sergeants called Nevelon, who was bailiff of Arras, who
> put into such servitude the whole of Flanders, inherited by Louis, that all those
> who heard about it marvelled that one could suffer so and endure.[78]

Why did Philip win at Bouvines, that 27 July 2014? On balance, the allies probably made the right decision when they chose to fight immediately. Delay would probably, as Hugh of Boves argued, have led to a wasting of the enormous effort which had created their army. And in taking the *Chaussée Brunehaut* they succeeded in catching Philip in an appallingly difficult situation. The French king probably thought time was on his side, and his knowledge of divisions amongst the allies made him amazingly complacent about his enemy's movements as he retreated to Lille. But he retrieved the situation wonderfully by his rally of the French cavalry towards Cysoing as soon as the enemy's approach became certain. It is not at all clear who amongst the allied leaders could have taken a similarly rapid decision when they saw the plain filled with French knights. Moreover, the 12 miles march from Mortagne on a hot morning would have exhausted them and tired the horses. A general charge from Cysoing toward Bouvines might well have overwhelmed Philip's forces, but given the uncertainty who had the authority to take such a risk? Here is the huge difference between the two armies – leadership. Philip was in charge and his will was imposed on all his men – we do not see anything comparable on the allied side. The long pause as the allies unscrambled their force strung out along the road, perhaps 7 kilometres, gave Philip time to organize and he seems to have got the last of his men into line before Otto IV made his crucial charge. But leadership was not just the king. He had able lieutenants like Guérin and Burgundy whose aggressive defence helped to spoil the assembly of Ferrand's cavalry and he had trusted men about him. The French cavalry was well organized under competent commanders and they gained the initiative. Because the sources focus on the cavalry fight it is easy to miss the simple fact that Otto IV's charge was the real crisis of the battle. If Philip had been killed or driven from the field the efforts of Guérin would have gone for nothing. It almost succeeded and in the light of this and the effectiveness of the English and

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[77]   McGlynn, *Blood Cries Afar*, p. 120.

[78]   Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, p. 770 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 197).

Renaud's mercenaries one wonders why it failed. Perhaps it comes down to the absence of a real commander and the subsequent failure of coordination, made more difficult by the need to unscramble a tired army from a column into a line. In short, it is likely that the real differences between the two sides were command and organization. The Anonymous of Béthune was thinking only of the cavalry battle, but his comment surely sums up the real reasons for Philip's victory:

> Thus the King had his echelons put in formation and they rode forward. You could see among them many noblemen, much rich armour and many noble banners. The same was true for the opposite side, but I must tell you that they did not ride as well and in as orderly a manner as the French, and they became aware of it.[79]

[79] Anonymous of Béthune, *Chronique française des rois de France*, p. 769 (Duby, *Bouvines*, p. 195).

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Chapter 14

King Edward I's Military Bureaucracy: The Case of Peter of Dunwich

David Bachrach

It is common in collections of this type to recall how the honoree helped in shaping one's career or intellectual development, and generally provided some *beneficium* (one of the honoree's favorite words) in the course of academic interchange. But in my case, the situation is rather different and quite rare. My earliest memories of our honoree go back almost forty years to when he held my hand in the station in Angoulême as my family waited for the train to go back to Poitiers. Over the intervening years, the honoree taught me how to skip so that I could pass kindergarten, took me and my younger brother on nature walks, coached my soccer team, drove me to swim meets, and helped me with my Latin homework. Long before I knew anything about Bernie the scholar, I just knew him as my dad. My intellectual debts to him are incalculable, but far more important has been the forty odd years of a father's love. So, this one is for you Dad.

Over the course of his 35-year reign, Edward I of England (1272–1307) enjoyed enormous military success, particularly in Wales and Scotland, and held his own on the continent against King Philip IV of France (1285–1314).[1] However, Edward's military achievements owed relatively little to his personal command of armies in the field. Indeed, his successes in this area were limited to just three encounters. Early in his career, at the battle of Lewes (1264), Edward's contingent defeated the Londoners under Simon de Montfort's command in an otherwise losing effort for the royal army. At Evesham (1265), Prince Edward led the royalist army to a crushing victory over Simon de Montfort's baronial troops. Later in his career, Edward commanded the English forces at the battle of Falkirk (1298), where he defeated the Scots under the command of William Wallace.[2]

Rather than in battlefield command, Edward's genius lay in the mobilization of vast material, financial, and human resources with which English armies ground

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[1]   For a survey of Edward I's reign, which offers considerable attention to military affairs, see Michael Prestwich, *Edward I*, 2nd edn (New Haven and London, 1997); and also idem, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (Totowa, 1972).

[2]   Among the first scholars to take serious note of Edward I's success in mobilizing military resources on a grand scale was A. Z. Freeman, "The King's Penny: The Headquarters Paymasters under Edward I, 1295–1307," *Journal of British Studies* 6 (1966): 1–22.

down and eventually overwhelmed their opponents.[3] Over the course of the 1280s and 1290s,and in the early fourteenth century, the English royal government raised and supplied armies numbering in the tens of thousands of men for sustained military operations lasting many months.[4] The English royal government would not mobilize armies of comparable size again until the early modern era. What makes Edward I's achievement even more remarkable is the very small scale of the military administration that he inherited from his father Henry III (1216–72).[5]

As the great mass of surviving documents from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century make clear, the vast increase in the size of the royal armies, and the concomitant vast increase in the capacity of the institutions that supported them, was the result of Edward I's own policy decisions.[6] However, the implementation of these policies was the work of many dedicated professionals, who remained in the royal service for many years, and even decades. Several of King Edward's chief advisors and ministers have received some attention from scholars. These include Walter Langton, who served as royal treasurer and held office as Bishop of Lichfield, John Droxford, who served as keeper of the Wardrobe, and John Sandale, who held a variety of high level offices, including chamberlain of Scotland.[7] For the most part, however, the mid-level administrators, that is the men who traveled throughout England, Wales, Scotland, and overseas to implement royal policy, have not benefitted from a thorough scholarly investigation of their entire careers. The following study, therefore, is intended to highlight the career of one man, Peter of Dunwich, whose service is illustrative of a large cadre of royal bureaucrats who labored on behalf of the English government and facilitated the military successes of Edward I's reign.[8]

Peter, apparently, came into the royal service during the summer of 1295. There is no surviving reference to his having undertaken any tasks directly on behalf of the king before this date. Rather, two letters sent by Peter in the spring

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[3]   See, for example, Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 114–36.

[4]   Ibid., 92–113.

[5]   Regarding the relatively small inheritance that Edward I received in terms of military administration from his father Henry III, see David S. Bachrach, "Military Logistics in the Reign of Edward I of England, 1272–1307: Land Transport," *War and Society* 13 (2006): 421–38, particularly 421–4.

[6]   Edward I's role as a decisive decision-maker comes through clearly in the biography by Prestwich, *Edward I*. See, for example, ibid., 62, 76, 272, and 350–1.

[7]   See, for example, Freeman, "King's Penny," 1–22; and Prestwich, *Edward I*, 138, 142, 154, 169, 399, 429, 445, 504, 510, 512, 534, 541, 563.

[8]   Peter has received some limited attention from scholars, principally for his role in the coastal defensive program organized in 1295 (more on this below), and for his service as the royal receiver at Berwick in 1297. See A. Z. Freeman, "A Moat Defensive: The Coast Defense Scheme of 1295," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 442–62; Prestwich, *War, Politics*, 122, 139, 146, and 148. Peter also was noted by John Edward Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I: A Contribution to Mediaeval Military History* (Oxford, 1901), 287, to have mobilized levies of foot soldiers in Lancaster and Chester for the Falkirk campaign.

of 1295, both to Hugh de Cressingham, then a leading clerk in the royal financial administration, indicate that Peter was, at this time, in the service of the knight (*miles*) Nicholas de Stuteville, and through him in the entourage of Roger Bigod, the Earl of Norfolk (1270–1306).[9] The first of these letters provided a report on Peter's interaction with a man named Michael Pichard regarding the collection of customs duties at Lincoln.[10] In the second letter, Peter passed on the wishes of Nicholas de Stuteville that Hugh de Cressingham have a speedy recovery from his current illness.[11] In light of this correspondence, it would appear that some arrangement was made between Hugh de Cressingham and Nicholas de Stuteville, or perhaps Roger Bigod, himself, to have Peter enter royal service.

Just a few months later, in August 1295, Peter of Dunwich was appointed by King Edward to oversee the implementation of a coastal defensive system that was intended to protect eastern England from invasion by the French.[12] Among his important duties, Peter was responsible for meeting in person with every major secular and ecclesiastical magnate in the coastal counties of Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk and providing them with detailed instructions for the mobilization of their military households and tenants to provide garrisons at key points along the entire coast. It is noteworthy in this context that Peter's home at Dunwich was a port town in Suffolk. The magnates whom Peter met at this time included the abbots and priors of half a dozen major monasteries, Roger Bigod, noted above, and Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex.[13]

In addition, Peter was given responsibility for coordinating the implementation of the coastal defense plans, devised by the royal court, by all of the royal officials who had responsibilities for local defense in these three counties. These men included the sheriffs of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, the royal constables of all of the towns and castles in these three counties, and the specially appointed "guardians of the sea" (*custodes maris*), who were appointed by the king to organize the defenses in specially designated defensive regions along the coast. Finally, Peter was responsible for coordinating the defensive preparations made by the civic authorities in all of coastal towns in both Norfolk and Suffolk.[14] The successful implementation of this defensive system was seen the very next year, in 1296,

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[9]   Hugh de Cressingham, who was killed at the battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297, is another mid-level administrator whose career would repay detailed investigation. For a brief survey of his career, see Freeman, "The King's Penny," particularly 7–10.

[10]   The National Archives SC 1/48/2.

[11]   The National Archives SC 1/28/1.

[12]   The details of Peter's duties are preserved in *Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, 2 volumes in 4, (ed.) F. Palgrave (London, 1827–34), here I:269/10–11; *Manuscripts of the Corporations of Southampton and King's Lynn* (King's Lynn, 1887), 189; and *Calendar of Close Rolls 1288–1296* (London, 1904), 544–5.

[13]   The coastal defense system as a whole is discussed in considerable detail by Freeman, "A Moat Defensive," 442–62, and for Peter's role, 447 and 450.

[14]   Ibid.

when many hundreds of men organized through Peter's efforts were mobilized to defend the coast again against potential French attack.[15]

In the meantime, however, Peter had formally joined the royal household, and was acting as one of the king's paymasters for the army operating in Wales during the autumn and winter of 1295.[16] The next spring, in March 1296, Peter received a letter of protection, which freed him from being harassed by any lawsuits or other legal matters while in the king's service.[17] Later that same year, Peter followed his new patron in the royal household, Hugh de Cressingham, to Scotland. The latter was established as the royal treasurer in Scotland in September 1296. That same month, Peter received a new letter of protection to last for one year as a consequence of his work in Scotland in the king's service.[18] Peter's main duties from the autumn of 1296 through the summer of 1297 consisted of organizing and administering the royal magazine at Berwick-on-Tweed, which was the main center of supply for all English military operations in Scotland.[19]

The English defeat at the battle of Stirling Bridge at the hands of William Wallace and Andrew Murray on 11 September 1297 led to a substantial reorganization of Edward I's military administration in Scotland. Hugh de Cressingham was killed in the battle, and one of the ramifications of his death was the departure of Peter of Dunwich from his role as receiver at Berwick, to be replaced by Richard de Bremesgrave.[20] But although he no longer served in the English royal administration in Scotland, Peter remained in Edward I's service. A letter patent issued on 23 October 1297, just six weeks after the defeat at Stirling Bridge, shows that Peter, along with another royal clerk named John de Hodelston, was being dispatched to mobilize a force of 11,000 foot soldiers in the counties of Lancashire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland.[21] This mobilization effort, which was intended to raise an army to avenge the loss at Stirling, took some time, and Peter was still in Lancashire in late December 1297.[22]

Peter, along with his staff and armed retainers, subsequently accompanied the royal army north to Scotland, and saw his work contribute to Edward I's victory at Falkirk.[23] While in Scotland, Peter was again given the task of organizing supplies for the royal army at Berwick. While there, Peter and his fellow royal clerk Robert Heron undertook the purchase of food and other supplies from English merchants

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[15]   The National Archives E101/5/29.

[16]   *Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294–1295: Presented to John Goronwy Edwards*, (ed.) E. B. Fryde (Oxford, 1962), 153.

[17]   The National Archives C67/11 m. 5.

[18]   *Calendar of the Patent Rolls: A. D. 1292–1301* (London, 1895), 197.

[19]   For Peter's service during this period, see *Calendar of Close Rolls 1296–1302* (London, 1908), 17; and E101/6/9, which is Peter's account (*compotus*) of his expenses while serving as the receiver at Berwick.

[20]   Richard de Bremesgrave's career is another that would repay detailed investigation.

[21]   See *Calendar of Patent Rolls: 1292–1301*, 313.

[22]   The National Archives E101/6/30 no. 6.

[23]   The National Archives E101/7/2 no. 37.

who had traveled north in the hope of making a profit.[24] There was, however, some disagreement about how much money was paid out, and how much was still owed to the merchants, who brought suit against the two royal clerks. The issue dragged on for several years with the result that Peter and Robert wrote a letter to the king in November 1303, asking him to command the royal chamberlain to examine their records from the 1298 campaign, and pay the merchants so that the lawsuits could be brought to an end.[25]

Political difficulties in England and ongoing negotiations with the French meant that no major military campaign was undertaken in Scotland during the spring and summer campaigning season of 1299.[26] Peter of Dunwich was among the royal officials who were detailed to undertake other, non-military tasks, and he is visible in the surviving records acting as an itinerant royal justice in Suffolk in September 1299.[27] However, King Edward did lead an army into Galloway in the summer of 1300, and Peter of Dunwich was again in the company of his royal master, receiving considerable quantities of wine (three barrels) and half a metric ton of grain for himself, and his staff.[28]

From 1300 onward, the English undertook almost continuous military operations in Scotland, and Peter of Dunwich was to play an important role both in mobilizing supplies, and in naval operations for the next six years. In March of 1301, Peter was busy obtaining almost 1,000 metric tons of grain supplies in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk for shipment to Edward's forces in Scotland.[29] Peter undertook this same task in Essex the following month, where he procured some 300 metric tons of grain.[30] At the same time, Peter was given the task of expediting the mobilization of ships from the coastal towns of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk that were to travel to Berwick on Tweed.[31] Peter had well-established contacts with many of the 11 towns in these three counties that had been tasked by the royal government to provide ships. In particular, Peter had been responsible for organizing the local defense of at least half a dozen of these ports six years earlier, in 1295, including Yarmouth, Ipswich, Orford, Bawdsey, and Lynn, which were to provide 14 of the 19 ships demanded by the crown for service in Scotland.[32]

Peter's purveyance of grain and his mobilization of ships in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk were closely related. The food supplies were intended for the English army in Scotland. The ships were ordered to go to Berwick on Tweed, which was

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24   The National Archives SC 8/43/21 no. 11.

25   Ibid.

26   See the discussion by Prestwich, *Edward I*, 482–3.

27   *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1292–1301*, 475.

28   The National Archives E 101/8/19.

29   *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1292–1301*, 578 and 583; and *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1296–1302*.

30   *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1292–1301*, 589; and C 47/22/4 no. 42.

31   The National Archives E156/28/106.

32   Ibid.

the main royal supply base for the army in Scotland. Consequently, it is almost certainly the case that Peter was given the two-fold task of obtaining food supplies and transportation for these supplies at the same time. Given his considerable familiarity with the counties of Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, the decision to put both of these responsibilities into Peter's hands clearly made considerable sense to the royal government.

In addition to his duties in Essex, Norfolk and Suffolk in the spring of 1301, Peter also was assigned the task of mobilizing and dispatching a further 13 ships from Lincolnshire, Northumberland, and Yorkshire, located along England's northeast coast, to Berwick.[33] Peter's fellow commissioner in carrying out this duty was a man named John Thorpe. John also was a royal clerk, who ultimately was raised to the office of royal chamberlain during the final six weeks of Edward I's reign in 1307.[34]

In 1302, Peter was again deeply involved in the mobilization of fleets for Edward's current campaign in Scotland. A large number of seaports in the southwest and south of England in the counties of Cornwall, Devonshire, Somerset, Dorset, Hampshire, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight, had reneged on their promises to provide ships for the spring campaign.[35] Chief among these culprits was the city of Bristol. In August 1302, Peter was given broad authority by the king to ensure that these towns either fulfilled their obligations to provide ships and well-armed crews, or paid fines to the crown commensurate with the damage that their failures had done to the royal campaign effort.[36] By September, Peter had completed his task to the satisfaction of Edward I, who instructed the royal clerk to attend him at the royal court in Westminster.[37]

Several months later, in November 1302, Peter was back in the southwest where he visited, in person, a total of 33 seaports, and made arrangements for the towns to provide ships and crews for the 1303 campaign season.[38] In an effort to avoid the difficulties that had taken place in the spring of 1302, King Edward dispatched Peter back to the southwest in March 1303 to ensure that the towns fulfilled the promises for ships and men that they had made the previous autumn.[39] In order to facilitate Peter's work in this regard, the king issued orders to the

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[33]   Ibid.

[34]   Prestwich, *Edward I*, 146. John Thorpe's career also would repay careful examination.

[35]   *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: 1301–1307* (London, 1898), 52–3, 89.

[36]   The National Archives E101/10/21 no. 2 and no. 7. Also see *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1301–1307*, 54 and 61.

[37]   *Calendar of Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1908), 27.

[38]   The National Archives E101/10/21 no. 11; and also see *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1301–1307*, 75.

[39]   The National Archives E101/10/21 no. 10; and also see *Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: 1302–1307* (London, 1906), 76, 78–9.

sheriffs, who held office in the southwest, to provide the royal clerk with all of the assistance that he required.[40] Evidently, Peter was successful in obtaining the promised ships and crews as King Edward did not dispatch commissioners to punish the general run of southwestern seaports in 1303 as he had done in 1302. Nevertheless, there was still one group of holdouts, and in May 1303 Peter of Dunwich sent a letter to William Greenfield, the royal chancellor, asking him to compel the bailiffs of a number of towns in Cornwall to force them to contribute ships for the king's service.[41]

In February 1304, Peter was again sent to Scotland, on this occasion to purvey grain in the county of Fife, located between the Firth of Forth to the south and the Firth of Tay to the north.[42] By early April 1304, however, Peter was back in southern England, where he was given the task of helping to mobilize a fleet of 20 large ships, each with a very strong crew, from the Cinque Ports as well as the south coast of England.[43] These ships were to participate in an attack on Flanders pursuant to the recently concluded treaty between Edward and King Philip IV of France.[44] Peter, himself, initially was designated to serve in the English embassy to King Philip's court, but ultimately did not participate.[45]

It would appear that Peter received a leave from royal service in 1305, while he was engaged in several legal actions (more on this below). In late spring 1306, however, Peter was once again in Scotland. One of his main responsibilities was to supervise the organization of ships and crews in the regions between the Firth of Tay and Berwick in conjunction with a man named Edward Charles, whom King Edward had appointed as captain and admiral of the northern fleet.[46] I have not been able to identify Peter in the royal service after the spring of 1306, although it is clear that he certainly was still alive in the autumn of this year, and retained the affection of the king, who wrote on Peter's behalf to the cathedral chapter in Glasgow.[47]

As this brief survey of Peter of Dunwich's career illustrates, he successfully undertook a wide range of crucial military administrative tasks in the king's service. But the question remains: who was this man? It would appear that Peter came from a land-owning family in Suffolk, and had at least one brother whose name was John, and whose family were Peter's heirs.[48] The Dunwich family's

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[40]   *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1301–1307*, 128.

[41]   The National Archives SC1/28/59.

[42]   The National Archives E101/10/21 no. 9.

[43]   The National Archives E101/10/21 no. 8. Also see *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1302–1307*, 205; and *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1301–1307*, 219.

[44]   *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1301–1307*, 237.

[45]   Ibid.

[46]   The National Archives E101/10/21 no. 4.

[47]   The National Archives SC 1/12/132.

[48]   For the possession by Peter of property in Suffolk, see W. A. Copinger, *The Manors of Suffolk: Notes on their History and Devolution* 6 vols. (London, 1905), II:195, where Peter of Dunwich is noted as possessing the manor of Westleton in the hundred of Blything.

possession of a manor in Suffolk likely explains the connection between Peter and the entourage of Roger Bigod, whose earldom included both Suffolk and Norfolk.[49] Similarly, the decision by senior royal officials to utilize Peter to organize coastal defenses in Suffolk, as well as neighboring counties of Norfolk and Essex, in 1295 likely also resulted from the clerk's personal knowledge of the region, connections with the local gentry, and also, perhaps most importantly, his connection with Earl Roger Bigod. Peter's redeployment in this same region in 1301 to mobilize both supplies and ships for the war in Scotland can be understood in the same manner.

Other surviving records indicate that Peter was a cleric as well as a clerk. In January 1304, the king issued a letter to Archbishop Robert Winchelsey of Canterbury (1294–1313), instructing him not to harass Peter of Dunwich in any way because the latter was away in royal service. The crux of the matter was that Peter held a benefice in the archbishopric, and the archbishop wished to contest his possession of it.[50] Just two months later, in March 1304, King Edward sent another letter to Archbishop Robert instructing him to offer all possible assistance to Peter of Dunwich as the latter sought to secure a separate benefice in the diocese of Norwich.[51] In April 1304, King Edward sent another letter on behalf of Peter, this time to Bishop Robert Wishart of Glasgow (1271–1316) ordering the latter to provide a benefice in the church of Old Roxburgh to the royal clerk.[52] The king followed with a letter in September 1306 in which he ordered William Comyn, one of the chief officials in the Glasgow bishopric, to see to it that Peter de Dunwich continued to enjoy the prebend at Old Roxburg without any interference.[53]

Royal patronage certainly provided Peter of Dunwich with opportunities to gain wealth through the collecting of multiple prebends in both England and Scotland. However, King Edward's aggressive efforts to reward his faithful clerk with sinecures in Scotland did face considerable opposition. In particular, Baldred Bisset (c. 1260–1311), a Scottish ecclesiastic and lawyer who played a leading role presenting the case for Scottish independence to Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303), sought to deprive Peter of his prebend at the church of Kinghorn in Fife, in the

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In 1316, the manor had passed into the hands of Alexander of Dunwich, the son of John of Dunwich, who likely was Peter's brother (195). See, in this context, *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London: C. 1291–1309*, (ed.) Reginald R. Sharpe (London, 1901), folio 86 b, which includes a letter sent on 22 July 1305 by the executors of Richard, son of John of Dunwich, to Sir Peter of Dunwich. Also see *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1302–1307*, 351, where Peter admits to owing 40 marks to a man named Henry Tuke, and accepts that the sum will be levied against Peter's property in Suffolk, unless he repays the debt in full.

[49]   The fact that Peter was in the entourage of Nicholas de Stuteville, and that the latter was in the entourage of Roger Bigod, also suggests that Nicholas' estates were concentrated in Suffolk.

[50]   *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1302–1307*, 193.

[51]   The National Archives SC 1/14/95.

[52]   The National Archives C47/22/3/39.

[53]   The National Archives SC 1/12/132. William Comyn had the title of keeper of the spiritualities in the period 1296–1306.

diocese of St Andrews.[54] To this end, Baldred sent a letter to Pope Clement V (1305–14) claiming that Peter held the prebend unjustly, and should be ejected.[55]

Conclusion

In considering Peter of Dunwich's career, several points should be highlighted. First, it is clear that he was a talented administrator, who had the ability to transfer managerial skills from one set of tasks to another over a period of more than a decade. In addition to establishing a coherent coastal defensive system from disparate sources of military manpower, including local magnates, towns, and royal officials operating at the county level, Peter oversaw the administration of a major supply base, recruited very large military forces, oversaw the purchasing of thousands of tons of grain, and arranged for the mobilization of scores of ships both to carry supplies, and to conduct military operations. In return for this good and faithful service, Peter was rewarded with a string of church benefices, and royal support in maintaining them.

The career of each royal official was necessarily unique. Nevertheless, the career path of Peter of Dunwich does suggest a number of questions that can be asked about the cadre of men like Peter, who made Edward I's military administration work. Did other royal clerks begin their careers in the households of secular magnates, or was lifelong service in the royal household more usual? Were royal clerks generally recruited from the ranks of the gentry, or were they entirely new men, who owed all of their wealth and property to the king? Was it royal policy to deploy royal clerks to operate in the regions from which they hailed, or was this simply a happy accident of Peter of Dunwich's career? These questions, and likely many more, need to be asked about the scores, and perhaps hundreds of royal officials who played important roles in the conduct of war by Edward I, his predecessors, and his successors. The careers of many of these men can be traced, often in as much detail as set out here for Peter, and in some cases, in even greater detail. It is the task of current and future scholars to make full use of the rich veins of thirteenth and fourteenth century source materials in order to give Peter of Dunwich and his colleagues their due.

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[54] The National Archives C 47/22/8 no. 1.
[55] Ibid.

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Chapter 15
The Trebuchets of the Tower

Michael Prestwich

In a typically ingenious and innovative manner, Bernard Bachrach demonstrated the importance of quantitative data in the study of medieval castles with an analysis of Fulk Nerra's castle at Langeais. He was able to do this, in the absence of any building records, by using the surviving remains as the basis of his calculations and arguments.[1] The problems presented by the three great trebuchets built by Edward I at the Tower of London in 1278 are very different, for there are no remains, but there are detailed financial accounts for their construction, and for that of the springalds that replaced them early in Edward II's reign. The trebuchet accounts in particular give a remarkable insight into the capabilities of medieval engineers, for these engines were probably among the largest of the sort ever built. Their construction was a major and very costly project, an important element in the refortification of the Tower, which took place in the early part of Edward I's reign, but one which has been strangely neglected.

The engineer in charge of the work at the Tower was Master Bertram. His career was carefully traced by Arnold Taylor. Bertram was first recorded serving Henry III in Gascony in 1248, when he was described as Master Bertram of Sault, engineer. When the king left Gascony in 1254, Bertram received a lavish gift of £50. There is then a complete lack of references to him from 1254 until 1276, when there is a reference to Master Bertram, king's engineer. Taylor assumed that this must be the same man as the Bertram who served in Gascony; he was surely right in this, for it is unlikely that there would have been two engineers with the same name.

In the spring of 1276 Master Bertram was constructing "engines" in the Tower, with wood brought from Odiham in Hampshire. Taylor suggested that they were intended for use in military operations in Wales; he noted that the order to ship the timber down the Thames was issued on 27 April, the day after Llywelyn ab Gruffudd, the Welsh prince, had failed to respond to a summons from Edward I.[2] The accounts for expenditure at the Tower of London for 1276 submitted by the

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[1] Bernard Bachrach, "The Cost of Castle Building: The Case of the Tower at Langeais, 992–4", in *The Medieval Castle. Romance and Reality*, (eds) Kathryn Reyerson and Faye Power (Minneapolis, 1991), pp. 47–62.

[2] Arnold J. Taylor, "Master Bertram, *Ingeniator Regis*", in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, (eds) Christopher Harper-Bill, Christopher Holdsworth, Janet L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 289–304.

clerk of works, Giles of Oudenarde, include an entry for the purchase of iron for the engines, and for its transport, amounting to £36. 4*s*. 8*d*. It cost £14. 10*s*. 6*d*. to employ smiths from Michaelmas 1276 until Christmas.[3] The following account, which runs to Easter 1278, records that eight carpenters were employed for eight weeks on the construction of engines, while smiths also were at work. Lodges for both sets of workmen were built.[4] This level of manning, and of expenditure, suggests that the engines were of no great size. Taylor assumed that they were mobile, and that they were taken to Wales where they may have been effective in reducing the castle of Dolforwyn in early April 1277. There is, however, no clear evidence that siege engines were in fact used on the campaign, nor are there costs recorded for their transport.

After the Welsh campaign, during which he lost a horse, Master Bertram was back at the Tower from Easter 1278, in his role as head of engine manufacture and maintenance, paid his normal wage of a shilling a day. He then began the construction of new engines, on a massive scale. There are three sets of accounts for these. One is the final audited version on the Pipe Roll; another appears to be that from which the information on the Pipe Roll was abstracted, and a third, while it gives the same totals, differs in the details provided of the materials bought for the project.[5] The Pipe Roll account refers to three engines, and it is not entirely clear whether it was three full-size ones that were built, or just two, with the third being a small version constructed for the king's eldest son, Alphonso, who had only been born in 1273. The two detailed accounts both refer to an engine for the prince, whereas the Pipe Roll account puzzlingly refers instead to a *castellettum* made for him. The construction of Alphonso's engine required a large number of wooden planks, and this was perhaps why there was some confusion as to whether it was indeed a siege engine, or a miniature castle. It was brightly coloured with paint, which no doubt delighted its small owner. It seems most likely that there were three full-sized engines built in the Tower, for an account of the dismantling of one of the great engines refers to it as the third.[6] The small one for Alphonso, which was sent to Windsor, would have been in addition to these three.

The manufacture of the new engines was a major undertaking. Materials were needed on a massive scale. Ten oaks were cut down in the prior of Merton's wood

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3   The National Archives (henceforth TNA), E 372/120, *residuum* of Oudenarde's account. In using this account, and the others in The National Archives cited in this article, I have made use of the invaluable digital archive assembled by Robert C. Palmer, Elspeth K. Palmer, and Suzanne Jenks, *The Anglo-American Legal Tradition*, which is available at aalt.law.uh.edu/aalt.html.

4   TNA, E 372/121, Oudenarde's account.

5   TNA, E 372/123, m. 21 (Oudenarde's account); E 101/467/7(7); E 101/467/7(3). The Pipe Roll account is discussed briefly by David S. Bachrach, "English Artillery 1189–1307: The Implications of Terminology", *English Historical Review* 121 (2006): pp. 1408–30, at pp. 1428–9.

6   TNA, E 101/368/20, f. 5.

near Odiham, and the timber was taken some 24 miles to Bray, near Maidenhead. From there it was shipped in fifteen boats hired for the purpose, down the Thames to the Tower. Twenty-eight beech trees and five oak saplings were also taken, and much further timber bought, including elm and alder. Iron, some of it bought in the Weald, but much of it from Spain, was required in quantity. 4,500 lbs. of copper and 1,676 lbs. of tin were needed to make bronze, used for the axles and other parts of the engines. Lead was bought at a cost of £169. 5*s*.[7] Charcoal and sea coal were needed for the smithies. Cables and ropes were bought at Sandwich and brought to the Tower, and eight hides were also needed. The costs of materials bought came to £576. 9*s*. 7½*d*.

Wages of the workmen employed amounted to £425. 12*s*. 1*d*. The accounts do not make it possible to calculate the number of workmen employed on Master Bertram's engines with complete accuracy, for they give the costs, but not the numbers. Wage rates varied: in Edward I's early years carpenters usually received either 5*d*. or 4½ *d*. a day, with assistants at lower rates. There was also a reduction over the winter months.[8] Assuming an average wage of 4½ *d*., at one time there would have been over 100 carpenters at work on the engines, though 60 or 70 was more normal. On the same basis of calculation, up to 15 smiths were employed. Overall, the total cost of construction, on materials and wages, came to an impressive £1,021. 5*s*. 8½*d*. By way of comparison, the great Warwolf constructed on Edward I's orders at the siege of Stirling in 1304 was the work of up to 60 carpenters, over a couple of months.[9] When William de Molecastre, sheriff of Carlisle, had three machines, two of which were probably trebuchets, constructed by one Robert the Engineer in 1306, the cost came to £84. 9*s*. 5*d*.[10] Master Bertram's engines in the Tower must have been of a quite different order of magnitude. The only engineering projects that compared in terms of costs, and numbers of workmen, were the temporary bridges built for campaigns in Wales and Scotland. For the project to build a bridge of boats from Anglesey to the Welsh mainland in 1282, which involved Master Bertram, 360 carpenters were employed. This, however, took less than two months.[11] In 1303 Edward I had similar bridges, large, medium and small, built to cross the Firth of Forth. This cost £937. 9*s*. 6*d*.,

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[7] Ian Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 1406, shows that the *carretta* equalled 2,100 lbs.

[8] See for example TNA, E 101/467/6 (4), which gives wages of workmen in London in 1273. For a discussion of wages, see Louis F. Salzman, *Building in England* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 69–71. The reduction in winter is explained in TNA, E 101/467/6(1).

[9] TNA, E 101/11/15. There is no good indication of what sort of engine the *Warwolf* was, though it is generally assumed to have been a large trebuchet. Unfortunately, the account does not make it possible to calculate the overall cost of the *Warwolf*.

[10] TNA, E 101/369/11, f. 46.

[11] R. Allen Brown, Howard M. Colvin and Arnold J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, vol. 1 (London, 1963), p. 356.

but of this, £435. 15*s*. 4*d*. was spent on shipping, for the bulk of the materials had to be taken all the way from King's Lynn in Norfolk to Scotland.[12]

The machines that Master Bertram and his men built at the Tower clearly were of the type now generally known as trebuchets, although that actual term was not used. The records simply refer to them as engines (*ingenia*). Had a more technical term been needed, there were various possibilities. Trebuchet is one; a survey of Beaumaris castle made in 1306 referred to an engine "quod vocatur trebuchet".[13] Another word that could well have been used is *blida*, while *biffa* was another possible term.[14] Whether there were substantial differences between these machines is not clear. They all appear to have operated by means of a long throwing beam, which swivelled on an axle mounted on a substantial frame. This would have had a counterweight at one end, and a sling at the other. The stones used for ammunition would have had a high trajectory, as the beam and sling were released.

There were different types of counterweight, as was explained in a treatise by Giles of Rome, who died in 1316. The weight might be firmly fixed to one end of the throwing beam, and Giles explained that in this case the way to alter the range of the engine was simply to move it closer to, or further away from, the target. A second method was for the counterweight to swivel or swing from the end of the throwing beam. This, according to Giles, meant that the engine could throw further, but with less accuracy. The third option was to have both a fixed and a swinging counterweight, a compromise which he claimed offered both range and accuracy.[15] There is only one surviving plan of a trebuchet from the thirteenth century. This was drawn by Villard de Honnecourt, and does not show the counterweight, but his written description provides the measurements of what was clearly a swinging box of impressive size, over 12 feet long, nine feet wide, and 12 feet deep, filled with earth.[16] The range of the machine could then be altered by changing the weight of material in the counterweight box. The accounts for the

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[12]   *History of the King's Works*, p. I:416; A. Z. Freeman, "Wall-Breakers and River-Bridgers: Military Engineers in the Scottish Wars of Edward I", *Journal of British History* 10 (1972): pp. 1–16, at pp. 9–12.

[13]   TNA, E 101/468/20.

[14]   Bachrach, "English Artillery", pp. 1421–7.

[15]   Aegidius Romani, *Libellus de Re Militari,* in *Collectio Munimentorum*, (ed.) F. Hahn (Brunswick, 1724), pp. 49–51.

[16]   William Sayers, "The Name of the Siege Engine *trebuchet*: Etymology and History in Medieval France and England", *Journal of Medieval Military History* 8 (2010): pp. 189–96, at pp. 193–4. There has been much argument over the proper translation of the term *fleke* or *fleche* in Villard's account, with some scholars, such as Philippe Contamine, considering that it refers to an arrow. Sayers is surely correct in assuming that it means the tip of the throwing beam, which Villard says should be avoided. The word is also used in nautical parlance for the top pole of a mast: see N. Salmon, *Dictionnaire Français-Anglais et Anglais-Français, abrégé de Boyer* (Paris, 1816), p. 252.

Tower trebuchets do not, unfortunately, provide any indication as to whether the counterweights were fixed or swinging, but they do make it clear that they used lead, not earth. Just over 61 *carrettae* were used, each *carretta* being about a ton in weight. It took 20 days for Henry Plumber to smelt just over 18 *carrettae*, or almost 38,000 lbs; this presumably made up one counterweight.

A comparison with the use of lead for counterweights later in Edward's reign shows that those used in the Tower trebuchets were exceptionally heavy. In 1304 Reginald the Engineer received 784 stones (about 11,000 lbs.) of lead from the receiver of victuals at Berwick, to serve as the counterweights for six engines. During the siege of Stirling, it proved necessary to strip church roofs of lead. Thirty nine *carrettae* of lead was bought from three religious institutions.[17] This was a substantial quantity, but was for a dozen or more engines, in contrast to the three that Master Bertram constructed at the Tower.

One factor limiting the potential weight of the counterweights was the strength of the throwing beam; those for Master Bertram's engines would have had to be massive not to break under the strain of supporting a weight of some 20 tons. The expenditure of £7. 7*s.* 8*d.* on rope to bind one of the beams, as well as the purchase of nails, shows that a composite construction was used. The combined weight of a massive beam and a huge counterweight would have placed considerable strain on the axle, and the accounts show that for one of the engines, this was made of bronze, weighing a massive 1,100 lbs. This was surely huge in comparison to the "great nail through the throwing arm" (*magna clavis per mediam virgam eiusdem*) used on the engine called Forester, at Berwick in 1298.[18] Levers, "butours", scaffolds and ladders were needed for the construction of the engines at the Tower, again indicating that they were huge. *Kevilari*, also of bronze, were probably heavy hammers used in construction. Ropes and pulleys were needed to haul the great throwing beams down into position ready to loose their ammunition. One single *pulmarius* (probably a pulley), cast from bronze, weighed 133 lbs.[19] Eight hides were bought, six of them from Flanders, to make the slings used to cast the projectiles.

The evidence for the materials used in construction of the trebuchets at the Tower, together with the level of expenditure, demonstrates the extraordinary scale of the project. These were massive machines, very probably among the largest of the trebuchet type ever constructed. It may be that the king's enthusiasm explains this; he liked things to be on a large scale. The abbey he founded at Vale Royal had the largest church of any Cistercian house in England; he was even keen to buy

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[17]   *Calendar of Documents Pertaining to Scotland Preserved in H. M. Royal Record Office, Vol. 2, 1272–1307*, (ed.) Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1884), nos. 1500, 1504, 1539; Bachrach, "English Artillery", p. 1429.

[18]   *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, (ed.) Joseph Stephenson (Edinburgh, 1870), p. II.320.

[19]   The reading *pulmar* is quite clear in E 101/367/7 (7). *Pulvinar* may be intended: see R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (London, 1965), p. 382.

the largest available goshawk.[20] His castle-building programme in Wales suggests that he was ready to finance enterprises on a far greater scale than what was conceivably needed. One piece of evidence, however, points to Master Bertram as being responsible. A letter written to the king in 1277 shows that Bertram had a reputation for undertaking extravagant and unnecessary projects. The issue was the need to repair Dolforwyn castle, and the writer warned Edward that if Master Bertram was put in charge: "I think he will devise too many things, and your money will not be as well employed as it should be".[21]

The construction accounts do not reveal the purpose of the engines Master Bertram built in 1278. One possibility is that they were intended for use in some future campaign. It was certainly possible to transport trebuchets a long way. For the campaign of 1303–04 in Scotland, one was taken from Bridgwater in Somerset to Scotland, by sea, at a cost of £17. 7*s.* 9½ *d.* [22] Transport by land was less easy. It took a week to take an engine from Lochmaben to Caerlaverock, for the siege there in 1300.[23] In 1304 Robert Bruce claimed that he could not find an adequate cart to take the great throwing arm of his machine, due to be taken to the siege of Stirling.[24] It is, however, unlikely that there was any plan to move the new engines from the Tower, given their size. Nor was there any campaign in prospect at the time they were built that might have required their use. It is far more probable that they were never intended to be moved, but that they were built to enhance the defensive capabilities of the Tower. It is clear that at least one was sited close to the new water-gate built by Edward I, so providing some protection for a splendid building.

Edward I's relationship with London was uneasy at best. In 1263 he had infuriated the Londoners by raiding the New Temple, carrying off cash and treasure. In the same year an attempt by his mother, Eleanor of Provence, to join him at Windsor was thwarted by the citizens, who pelted her boat at London Bridge. The Londoners supported Simon de Montfort and the cause of reform, and in 1264 at the battle of Lewes Edward found himself facing their levies, which he duly routed. The problems presented by London did not end with the conclusion of the civil war in 1265, for in 1267 the city rose in support of the Earl of Gloucester when he marched on the city.[25] Problems were not as acute in the 1270s. In 1275 a wealthy merchant and oligarch, Gregory Rokesle, became mayor. Under his

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[20]   Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), pp. 113 and 116.

[21]   Taylor, "Master Bertram", p. 309.

[22]   TNA, E 101/364/13, f. 53v.

[23]   *Liber quotidianus contrarotulatoris garderobae*, (ed.) John Topham (London, 1787), p. 267.

[24]   *Documents*, (ed) Stephenson, p. II:482.

[25]   Prestwich, *Edward I*, pp. 39–40, 45, 58.

guidance former rebel leaders were rehabilitated, and the city was governed along traditional lines.[26]

Edward needed, however, to ensure that London remained quiet. Part of Edward's policy was to overawe the city by adding extensive new fortifications to the Tower, so demonstrating his power. Between 1275 and 1285 the fortress was transformed, in an evident show of royal strength and extravagance. A great new moat was dug, substantially increasing the castle's size. A new barbican, with new gate towers, provided a most impressive access from the City. Alongside military strength went display: a lavish water-gate, St Thomas's Tower, embellished with stained glass windows and carved statues, was the most splendid element in the new building program. Altogether, the cost of remodelling the Tower came to about £21,000. This was over twice the cost that would be incurred in building the great castle at Harlech, and more than the king would spend at Caernarfon.[27]

The construction of the new trebuchets in 1278 surely was part of the program to update and enhance the defences of the Tower. It was normal to use trebuchets for defensive, as well as offensive, purposes. A Durham monk, Thomas of Bamburgh, was employed at the end of the thirteenth century to make two large machines for the defence of the town of Berwick. The purchase of six hides for slings for engines at Stirling shows that trebuchets were used there for defence.[28] There were trebuchets at Beaumaris to aid in defence, and in 1307 180 round stones were prepared as ammunition for them.[29] In the mid-fourteenth century the town of Southampton had two large and several small stone-throwing engines for defence.[30]

The huge trebuchets at the Tower would have given a garrison an impressive capability, although there were some obvious difficulties in their use. In particular, while the range could be adjusted by using heavier or lighter ammunition, and by altering the weight of the counterweight, it was extremely difficult to traverse a trebuchet. Small adjustments could be made by shifting the channel in which the sling with its ammunition lay, but any major shift would have involved moving the entire engine. A further problem was that operation of a counterweight trebuchet was slow and laborious; hauling down the great throwing beam was inevitably a lengthy operation. Yet the prospect of great stones crashing through the roofs of houses close to the Tower must have been frightening. Awareness of what the trebuchets were capable of doing would surely have been a considerable deterrent, and must have been a significant card in the king's hands.

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[26] Gwynn A. Williams, *Medieval London. From Commune to Capital* (London, 1963), pp. 247–8.

[27] Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *The History of the King's Works*, pp. I:359; II:715–22.

[28] *Liber quotidianus*, pp. 73, 143.

[29] TNA, E 101/486/2 (4), (8).

[30] Randall Moffett, "Military Equipment in the Town of Southampton during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *Journal of Medieval Military History* 9 (2011): pp. 167–99, at p. 171. The large engines were described as mangonels, the smaller as tripogets.

In the event, the trebuchets were never used. Edward's dissatisfaction with the civic government led him to take the city into his hands in 1285, and in 1297 the Londoners gave their backing to the king's political opponents, led by the earls of Norfolk and Hereford. The citizens did not, however, resort to violence, and in 1298 the mayoralty was restored. It is likely that the trebuchets decayed within relatively few years, as the ropes perished and the great timbers began to rot. By the time that Edward II came to the throne in 1307, it is unlikely that they were any use. An alternative was needed.

The Londoners were increasingly involved in the difficult political situation of the new reign. In 1311 the Ordainers had their support in opposing to the king. A major reform program was put into effect in the city itself in November of that year, with all offices made elective. Following the slaying of the king's favourite Piers Gaveston in June 1312 there was a real threat of civil war. The king was so concerned over the possible role that the Londoners might play, fearing that they would support his main rival, the Earl of Lancaster, that in July he made a speech in person to the mayor and citizens and obtained their assurances of loyalty. However, this was not enough. On September 20th the Earl of Pembroke and other powerful figures went to the London Guildhall to demand new securities from the city, to ensure that it would not be handed over to the king's opponents. The citizens presented a list of complaints, and were promised an answer on the following day. Pembroke and the other royal emissaries escaped with some difficulty when it was rumoured that they intended to arrest the citizens in the Guildhall, and take them to the Tower. That night some of the Tower's garrison attacked the Tower ward, and closed its gate to prevent help reaching its residents. Church bells were rung to raise the alarm. The citizens destroyed the gate and the nearby wall. They arrested the men from the garrison, and took them to Newgate prison. The mayor and aldermen were summoned before the king's council the next day; matters were cooled down with an agreement that an investigation would be held into what had taken place. However, difficulties continued. In a meeting at the end of September the exchequer officials refused to accept the citizens' nominations to the sheriffdom of the city, on the grounds that one of the candidates was not present. In October, John de Gisors, the popular mayor, was re-elected in a provocative move.[31]

On 12 November 1312 Edward II sent a writ under the privy seal to the clerk of works at the Tower, ordering him to "dismantle the old engines that are in the Tower", and to recycle the timber, iron and other materials profitably. Almost 50 men were employed to bring down "the great engines". The work was not easy; a smith, James of Lewisham, had to be hired for 17 days to make crowbars, levers and other tools needed for the dismantling. It took 11 men four days to carry the re-usable timber to a place where it could be safely stored. The dismantling was

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[31]   *Annales Londonienses*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward* II, (ed.) W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 1882), pp. I:215–17; Williams, *Medieval London*, pp. 268–74. See also J. R. Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (London, 2010), pp. 195–201.

not undertaken in any spirit of reconciliation with the city, for Edward ordered Walter of Norwich, who was acting as deputy for the constable of the Tower, John Cromwell, to have five springalds constructed with all possible speed. The clerk noted that as a result, there was despair that peace could be reached between the king and the city. It is extraordinary to find such a political comment in the dry pages of an account book. An engineer, Thomas of Hertyngge, was in charge of making the springalds, at a wage of 6*d*. a day, half the rate that Master Bertram had received for building the trebuchets. The task took 12 weeks. In all, about a dozen carpenters also worked on the project; some of the timber of Master Bertram's engines was sawn up and re-used. Clamps, braces, and other metal apparatus were made by a smith, James of Lewisham. The new weapons were substantial enough for it to be necessary to remodel and enlarge the battlements on a turret above the water-gate so as to fit the springalds placed there. There is no record of similar work being done elsewhere, but presumably other sites were found for the new engines that did not require adjustment. This was not a program on anything like the scale of that of Master Bertram's in 1278. The overall cost of work on dismantling the trebuchets, constructing the springalds and other items, notably a large chest in which to keep records, came to a mere £46. 6*s*. 8*d*.[32] The work was not completed; one trebuchet still stood, near the water-gate. It collapsed on 15 December 1313, and carpenters then took a week to take it all apart.[33]

Springalds were a relatively new weapon. The force in a springald was provided by torsion; the energy held by twisted ropes was used to power a bow. It had a low trajectory, quite different from that of the trebuchet, and shot quarrels similar to those used by crossbows. It seems likely that the springald was introduced in the mid-thirteenth century; there is a reference to St Louis having some for his crusade in 1249, and their use at Rheims in 1258 is recorded.[34] By the late thirteenth century their use was widespread in France; an inventory of Carcassonne in 1298 includes a large number.[35] It has been suggested that in England, they may have been in use at the siege of Kenilworth in 1266, for four shillings worth of horsehair was bought for the king's engines there, suggesting the use of a torsion weapon. However, the term "springald" was not used in the record, and there could well have been other uses for the horsehair.[36] By the end of the century,

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[32]   TNA, E 101/468/20, ff. 1–3. The clerk's alarm is noted, though not specifically linked to the order to construct the springalds, in *The White Tower*, (ed.) Edward Impey (London, 2008), p. 148.

[33]   TNA, E 101/468/20, f. 5.

[34]   Jean Liebel, *Springalds and Great Crossbows* (Leeds, 1998), pp. 4–5. There is a modern reproduction of a springald at the Tower: see http://www.hrp.org.uk/TowerOfLondon/stories/palacehighlights/Fortressnewevent/Fortresssssiegeengines (viewed 16 May 2012).

[35]   Peter Purton, *A History of the Late Medieval Siege 1200–1500* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 110.

[36]   *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1260–1267* (London, 1960), p. 230.

however, springalds were in extensive use.[37] An inventory of Berwick castle made in 1298 mentions three mounted on the walls, all said to be in good condition save that they lacked bowstrings. Other engines, presumably trebuchets, were in "the body" of the castle, presumably the courtyard. There were two springalds at Dumfries.[38] In 1300 the sheriff of Newcastle repaired two springalds, and sent them by sea to Berwick, and in the same year the Scottish garrison at Caerlaverock used springalds to good effect against the English besieging force.[39] In 1310 there was one at Chepstow castle in working order, and two others lacking ropes and the necessary equipment.[40]

The account for the works at the Tower is disappointingly unspecific about the details of the springalds. Where there are details, they are obscure: the ironwork, for example, included *vertivellae*, but it is not clear what these were. *Virollae* were probably wheel bosses of some kind. The clerk writing the account took refuge from the technicalities, referring simply to "divers other apparatus".[41] Other accounts of this period provide a little more detail. A springald was constructed at Newcastle in 1297 for the defence of the castle, using wood, iron, tin, brass, thread, canvas and tallow. The machine shot quarrels, and stood on a planked base, referred to as a *planchure*.[42] An account for the construction of further springalds at Newcastle in 1302 shows that in addition to timber, 12 stones of canvas and 16 stones of horsehair were required, along with brass for *poleyns*, which were probably pulleys. Bows are also referred to, these presumably being the arms that were fixed into the torsion ropes, which were pulled back ready to shoot.[43] A survey of Beaumaris castle in 1306 contains some intriguing details. As well as the small trebuchet on the walls there were four springalds, all old and useless with rusty ironwork. The document refers to seven *nuces eneas*, brass nuts, for them. These were a vital part of the springald's mechanism; as the nut turned, it released the bowstring and the bolt. There were 128 lbs. of horsehair, and 87 lbs. of canvas thread. The ammunition was similar to that used in crossbows, though larger; orders for the manufacture of some 60 springalds in 1324 asked in addition for quarrels, some three-quarters of a yard in length, and others five eighths.[44]

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[37]   David Bachrach, "English Artillery", p. 1413, suggests that there were springalds at Stirling in 1278. The document he cites, however, refers not to Stirling but to Chepstow (Strugoil), and is dated 1312–13.

[38]   *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland*, p. II:324.

[39]   *Liber quotidianus*, p. 51; *The Roll of Arms of the Princes, Barons and Knights who attended King Edward I to the Siege of Caerlaverock*, (ed.) Thomas Wright (London, 1864), p. 32.

[40]   TNA, E 101/14/20.

[41]   TNA, E 101/468/20, f. 3.

[42]   TNA, E 372/143, rot. 23.

[43]   TNA, E 101/579/6. I am very grateful to David Bachrach for sending me a copy of his transcript of this document.

[44]   *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1323–27* (London, 1898), pp. 246–8.

There is, however, a remarkable entry in the Beaumaris survey, which suggests a supplementary type of ammunition. There were two moulds to make lead balls, with four more moulds for finishing them off.[45] It is hard to see what these balls can have been used for, save to be shot from springalds or crossbows.[46]

These accounts make it clear that the horsehair was combined in some way with canvas thread to make the thick twisted ropes that powered the springalds. A good deal of iron was used in construction, presumably because the frame had to be very strong to withstand the pull of the torsion ropes as they were twisted. Turning nuts, made of brass and lubricated with tallow were used to release the bowstring. One important point is not clear from the accounts. It required a very considerable effort to haul back the bowstring, and there is nothing that specifies how this was done, although pulleys appear to have been involved. The Newcastle account for 1297 refers to engines made to draw crossbows, but there is no mention of anything similar for the springald.[47] There is one illustration of a springald, dating from about 1340, which shows a rectangular frame, somewhat resembling a bedstead, with two arms that would have been held by the twisted rope. The machine was armed by means of a screw to pull back the bowstring, turned like a vertical windlass. It is not an accurate drawing, but such a mechanism is entirely plausible.[48]

There is little evidence to show how effective springalds were. A rare example is the account by his son of how Thomas Gray was hit in the head by a bolt from one during the siege of Stirling in 1304, and rendered unconscious.[49] Whether the installation of the springalds at the Tower had the desired political effect of frightening the Londoners is impossible to tell. Their construction in 1312 was evidently seen as an aggressive move clearly intended to prevent any further outbreaks similar to the riot on the night of September 20th. The springalds, set high on the water-gate and probably on other towers, would have been very visible to the citizens. The political situation, however, did not continue to deteriorate. Negotiations between the king and his opponents, notably the Earl of Lancaster, were concluded, at least for the time being, with a treaty on 20 December.[50] The fear expressed by the clerk writing his accounts, that as result of the construction of the springalds, he despaired of peace between the king and his opponents, in the event proved unwarranted. The springalds lay unused, just as the great trebuchets

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[45]   TNA, E 101/486/20. For the way the nuts operated, see Liebel, *Springalds and Great Crossbows*, p. 14.

[46]   To shoot bullets, all that would have been required was an alteration to the bowstring of the weapon, by the addition of a pocket or cradle. For an explanation of this, complete with detailed instructions on how to make such a pocket (which I trust no reader will be tempted to follow), see Ralph Payne-Galway, *The Crossbow* (London, 1903), pp. 157, 193.

[47]   TNA, E 372/143, rot. 23.

[48]   Liebel, *Springalds and Great Crossbows*, p. 5.

[49]   Sir Thomas Gray, *Scalacronica*, (ed.) Andy King (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 46.

[50]   Phillips, *Edward* II, p. 200.

had done earlier. At the end of the reign, a royal carpenter was sent to check that the engines and springalds in the Tower were ready and in good condition, but with the rapid collapse of Edward II's regime, they were not brought into action.[51]

Neither the trebuchets of 1278, nor the springalds of 1312, were ever used in anger. This does not mean that they were ineffective; they were intended as deterrents, and as such may well have helped to control the citizens of London. The most remarkable part of the story is the engineering feat of constructing the great trebuchets, with their great twenty-ton counterweights. Master Bertram and his fellows deserve great admiration, as well as the gratitude which it is hoped Edward I displayed towards them.

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[51]   Society of Antiquaries of London MSS 122 (Chamber Account 18–20 Edward II), p. 80.

Chapter 16

The Military Obligations of the Danish Church in the High Middle Ages

Niels Lund

Evidence for the study of Danish military organization in the High Middle Ages comes in different forms. There is narrative evidence, like Saxo Grammaticus and Sven Aggesøn, the Norse sagas, items like the chronicle of the Cistercian monastery at *Cara Insula*, even saints' lives, such as those of both saints Cnut, and of course annals of various sorts. There are charters, most of them exempting bishoprics or monasteries from military obligations. There are the provincial laws, describing how military service should be rendered and how the financial burdens involved should be shared. And finally there is the litigation between the Danish kings and the archbishops of Lund that occupied much of their time in the second half of the thirteenth century.[1] Much of this litigation is about military service. What started me off working on these problems was the discovery of an apparently unbridgeable discrepancy between the *leidang*,[2] Nordic for *expeditio*, as it appeared in the laws, and the *leidang* as it appeared in the narrative sources. They seemed to belong in different worlds. This went unnoticed by a generation of historians whose attitude was that legal documents always overrule narrative evidence.

Normally, the thirteenth century provincial laws serve as the point of departure for any work on the subject. They therefore have acquired a defining role in relation to *expeditio* in Denmark. When other sources refer to *expeditio*, they are believed to do so in terms of the *expeditio* described, or prescribed, in the provincial laws. Aksel E. Christensen described the clause about *expeditio* in St Cnut's charter for St Lawrence in Lund as our oldest piece of solid evidence of the central military organization of the country and regarded its rule that "if they neglected *expeditio* they were to make amends to the king" as evidence that at this time *leding*/ *expeditio* existed as a general civic duty and that the king was responsible for its function.[3] The mere word thus bridged a century and a half. Translators turned any

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[1]   See Niels Skyum-Nielsen, *Kirkekampen i Danmark 1241–1290: Jacob Erlandsen, samtid og eftertid* (Copenhagen, 1963).

[2]   Norw. leiðangr, Swed. ledung, Dan. lethang or leyding.

[3]   Aksel E. Christensen, "Tiden 1042–1241," in *Danmarks historie 1: Tiden indtil 1340,* (ed.) Aksel E. Christensen et al. (Copenhagen, 1977), p. 251.

fleet into a *leding* fleet, thus tacitly applying the code of Jutland from 1241 to the preparations of St Cnut to invade England in 1085.[4]

The provincial laws were first committed to writing in the thirteenth century but were thought to describe a system that was already centuries old. Professor Erik Arup published a paper a century ago that long persuaded students of the subject that, in fact, the laws were antiquarian, because the whole system had, by the time they were written down, lost all practical military functions and was only a matter of levying taxes based on ancient military obligations.[5] He seriously believed that the levying of *udgærdsleding* in kind every four years was a kind of show in which the taxpayers of Scania acted as extras to keep up an appearance of the reality of war, so that the taxpayers might be reminded of the origin of the tax.[6] The *udgærdsleding* certainly might be commuted, the king taking the provisions and sending the crews home but this was hardly the rule, as Arup believed.[7]

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[4]   Aelnoth, *Gesta Swenomagni Regis et Filiorum Eius et Psssio Gloriosissimi Canuti Regis et Martyris*, in *Vitae Sanctorum Danorum*, (ed.) M. Cl. Gertz (Copenhagen, 1908–12), p. 99, relates in ch. 13: "Classe igitur parata Danorum exercitus Occidentalis portus litoribus uelis sinuatim distensis aduehitur ibique regie classis aduentum in dies prestolabatur." *Danske Helgeners Levned*, trans. Hans Olrik (Copenhagen, 1968), pp. I:56–7, translates this into Danish: "Da nu skibene var udrustede, stævnede de danskes ledingsflåde for bugnende sejl til kysterne af Vestervigen, og der ventede man med hver dag den kongelige flådes opsejling." In English: "The ships having been equipped the Danish *leding* fleet headed with bellying sails for the shores at Vestervig and there awaited the arrival of the royal fleet in days." The king, of course, never turned up and the fleet dispersed. Still, later sources like Saxo and Sven Aggesøn have it that the king demanded a fine from the men for neglect. This suggests that the crew of the fleet were the men of bishops and secular lords, not the ordinary peasants of the *skipæn* organization described in the provincial laws.

[5]   Erik Arup, "Leding og ledingsskat i det 13. aarhundrede," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 8.5 (1914): pp. 141–237. In his contribution, "Leding og landeværn," to *Middelalderstudier tilegnede Aksel E. Christensen på tresårsdagen 11. september 1966*, (ed.) Tage E. Christiansen et al. (Copenhagen, 1966), Erik Kjersgaard described Arup's "discovery" that commutation was dealt with in the code of Jutland as "one of those unshakable cornerstones on which everybody build" (p. 115).

[6]   Arup, "Leding og ledingsskat," p. 233; cf. Adolf Schück, "Kring et dunkelt stadgande i skånska ledungsrätten," in Afhandlinger tilegnede arkivmanden og historikeren, rigsarkivar, dr. phil. Axel Linvald af nordiske fagfæller på halvfjerdsårsdagen 28. januar 1956 (København, 1956), pp. 309–17, at p. 311.

[7]   In 1271 Duke Erik 1. Abelsøn of Jutland formed an agreement with Bishop Bonde of Slesvig about four skipæn in his duchy. *Diplomatarium Danicum* II:2, (eds) Franz Blatt and Gustav Hermansen (Copenhagen, 1941), no. 160: "Every time and each year, when *leding* is summoned and goes out, the bishop shall from one *skipæn*, that in Kær Herred, receive victuals and other rights alone. Of the three other *skipæn* the duke receives half the victuals and the bishop the other half. Furthermore, of the three said *skipæn* the bishop shall receive all the dues that other *gubernatores* are known to receive in their *skipæn*. If *leding* is summoned and redeemed the duke receives half of the redemption in the said three *skipæn*;

In fact, the laws describe a system by which landowners and lease-holders were grouped into units called *skipæn* that were responsible for providing a ship and lesser units, called *hafnæ* [harbor], responsible for finding, arming and provisioning one member of crew. Each unit could be called upon to serve only once every four years, unless the country was invaded by foreign enemies. In other years they were in *quersæt*, i.e. they sat behind, and would deliver provisions for 16 weeks of service to the king, who would use the foodstuffs to provide for his men, his knights and squires. If someone neglected his duties, for example did not bring the food he was obliged to deliver, or did not help launch or beach the ship, the *skipæn* formed its own jurisdiction; the king was not involved. The first seven paragraphs of 20 in the third book of the code of Jutland relating to the *leding* describe the obligations relating to actual warfare, the rest deal with the sharing of the economic burdens involved.[8]

The king's men and those of princes, bishops and abbots, were exempt from the service of the ordinary landowners and could be called upon to serve every year. If they failed to serve without license they would pay compensation to the king, the king's men directly, the others probably through their lords who, because of their men's default, had not furnished the forces they were obliged to. The compensation corresponds to the Carolingian *hereban* and the Anglo-Saxon *fyrdwite*; it matched the cost of one third of a *hafnæ* among the ordinary landowners, from each manor owned by the defaulter. The rate of a full *hafnæ* was one mark silver; one third of a *hafnæ* will then have been one mark coinage. This sort of service is the Danish equivalent of the feudal host known in Western Europe. The code of Jutland limits the category of people who could legitimately take on men, i.e. accept homage from others and keep an army of their own: the king may contract men all over his kingdom, in whatever *skipæn* he wants, and the duke may in his duchy. Other children of the king, or relatives, or counts, may not contract men outside of their own jurisdiction or outside of their fief. And bishops should not take men outside of their diocese.[9]

Since the "good old days" of Germanic freedom, untainted by anything Roman or anything feudal, when every free man was immediate to the king, it has been taken for granted that the Germanic *skipæn* and *hafnæ* were the original Danish *expeditio*, while the service of the knights and squires, the *herræmæn*, had developed from that. At some stage the ordinary freemen, like good social liberals

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the bishop receives the other half and the full redemption of his *skipæn* in Kær Herred" (author's translation). Here is clearly a redemption of the peasant *leding*, and, as Carl Göran Andræ, *Kyrka och frälse i Sverige under* äldre *medeltid* (Stockholm, 1960), p. 43, has remarked, there is no reason why the duke and the bishop should not feed their horsemen and seamen on the victuals of the peasants when sending them to the wars.

[8]   Hans Chr. Bjerg, "Ledingsbestemmelserne i Jydske Lov," in *Jydske Lov 750* år, (ed.) Ole Fenger and Chr. R. Jansen (Viborg, 1991), pp. 183–95.

[9]   *JL* 3.8; Erik Ulsig, "Valdemar Sejrs kongemagt," in *Jydske Lov 750* år, (eds) Ole Fenger and Chr. R. Jansen (Viborg, 1991), pp. 65–78, at pp. 73–5.

in later times, got fed up with incessant warfare, and accepted to pay taxes in commutation; only the really "trigger-happy," or those for whom it made economic sense, chose to continue personal service and became *herræmæn*, etymologically "men of a herra." In fact, it must be the other way round. Originally the public forces available to Danish kings consisted of his own men and those of other lords who would follow the king. In northern France, as Jacques Boussard has shown,[10] such forces were not regulated until the eleventh century. A vassal of the French king served with the forces he had, not with a certain number of knights and sergeants calculated on the basis of his landed possessions or the size of his fief. When regulated, quotas were often surprisingly modest. William, Duke of Normandy, owed his lord the King of France no more than ten knights for host service, and he supported the king with no more than that in the battle of Cassel in 1071, although he would certainly have been able to. It must have been much the same in Denmark. We probably have to wait till the thirteenth century before quotas were imposed. After the Gregorian reforms of the eleventh and twelfth centuries bishops were no longer necessarily appointed by the king or with his consent and were not necessarily his friends or supporters of his politics.

Since the *skipæn* and *hafnæ* organization was thought to be the original Danish *expeditio*, references to *expeditio* in older sources, like charters and annals, were interpreted in terms of this. Bishops could own or control *skipæn*, and when royal charters either exempted ecclesiastical institutions from military duties, or specified that these were not included in the privileges granted to a church or monastery, this, obviously, must have relation to the *skipæn* owned or controlled by bishops or abbots.

The first reference to the military obligations of a Danish church is found in a diploma of 1085 by which St Cnut granted to St Lawrence in Lund land amounting to some 50 manses (*mansi*). The occupants of this land thereby became tenants of the church. Their leases were transferred from the king to the provost of St Lawrence. The king also granted the provost and his brethren exemption from all royal dues on the land, except three: if anybody (i.e. any of the new *coloni* of the church) forfeits his peace he is to redeem it from the king while his land reverts to the provost and the brethren; if somebody neglects military service he is to make amends for it to the king; they shall not provide horses to perform *averagium* for the royal baggage, except when the king himself visits.[11]

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10   Jacques Boussard, "Services féodaux, milices et mercenaires dans les armées, en France, aux xᵉ et xiᵉ siécles," in *Ordinamenti militari in occidente nell'alto medioevo*, Settimane di studio del centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 15 (Spoleto, 1968), pp. 131–68.

11   *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:2, (eds) L. Weibull and N. Skyum-Nielsen (Copenhagen, 1963), no. 21: "Tribus culpis exceptis. Si extra pacem positus fuerit. emat pacem a rege. substanciam illius tollat prepositus et fratres. Si expedicionem neglexerit. erga regem emendet. Reddarios equos non dent. nisi cum rex ipse uenerit." *Reddarios equos* is derived

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The best starting point for a study of the military service of the church is the dispute between the king and the archbishop of Lund in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The king had numerous complaints against the archbishop, several of them relating to military service:

1. By summoning them on behalf of the pope, the archbishop prevents his suffragans from going to war with the king.
2. The archbishop takes into his service persons who are obliged to *skipæn* of other lords.
3. The archbishop exempts men of the church from *expeditio* and does not permit them to make amends to the king for neglect.
4. The archbishop has accused the king before the pope and pleaded with the pope that the bishops should not go in *expeditionem* more than six weeks, after the Italian usage, and that every bishop should have the right to excommunicate the king if he tried to exact more service.
5. The archbishop renders the king less *expeditio* than his predecessors rendered former kings.
6. The archbishop does not permit his men to reside in royal castles during wartime.

The most important of these complaints were that the archbishop exempted men of the church from military service and refused to let them make amends to the king for not serving, and that the archbishop refused to let his men stand guard in royal castles during wartime. Another complaint was that the archbishop prevented his suffragans from joining the host by summoning them on behalf of the pope. In general, the king complained that the archbishop rendered him less military service than his predecessors had rendered previous kings. The king listed some demands that must be met before harmony and cooperation between king and archbishop could be restored: the archbishop must refrain from taking men from the *skipæn* of others, he must stop demanding the right to permit his men to neglect the royal summons for *expeditio*, and he must accept that the fines normally paid by his men for such neglect shall accrue to the king, *fisco applicetur*.[12] It is essentially about the commended men of the archbishop, and the king is claiming precisely what St Cnut claimed in his privilege: if anybody neglects the *expeditio* he must make amends to the king. As the king saw it, the freedom from taxes enjoyed by the men of the church presupposed that they were available to the king when he summoned the church to the host.

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from the latin *raeda, reda, rheda,* a travelling-carriage and denotes horses supplied to pull the royal carriages.

[12]   *Acta processus litium inter regem danorum et archiepiscopum lundensem* [hereafter *Acta*], (eds) Alfred Krarup et William Norvin (Copenhagen 1932), p. 17.

The archbishop's reply to the accusation that he prevented his suffragans from serving the king was a counterattack. He reproaches the king for hindering the work of the church through desultory and wanton summons preventing the bishops from attending to their office. On one occasion, the king had even summoned the *expeditio* for Whitsun, thus preventing the archbishop from celebrating Whitsun mass in his church, and then himself neglected it and spent the religious festival in Lund.[13] He does, however, also say: "We have never obstructed your *expeditio* but much rather promoted it. Your wisdom should also pay attention to the fact that the church serves of and for all its possessions at the king's command."[14] The estates of the church were a fief of the king. The bishop was the king's vassal, therefore the church serves at the king's command.

The archbishop does not come up with any answer to the royal insistence that he must not take men into his service who were obliged towards *skipæn* of other lords. If he could not plead not guilty, he had no defense. It was a violation of general rules and agreements. Erik Plovpenning was in no doubt about this. When he was his father's co-regent (1232–41) he assured the inhabitants of Vardesyssel that he had absolutely no intention of diminishing the *skipæn* of the bishop of Ribe. If, inadvertently, he had taken men in any of them, their homage to the king should be quashed.[15] Slightly later, the code of Jutland ruled that the king could take on men from all over his kingdom, in whichever *skipæn* he wanted, while the bishops could not take on men outside their own dioceses. Apparently, this permitted a bishop to take on men in the *skipæn* of other lords as long as these *skipæn* belonged to his diocese.

Regarding the most important royal complaint, that the archbishop exempted his men from *expeditio* and would not let them make amends to the king for neglecting service, the archbishop claimed that he had a time-honored right to do so, and he maintained that if he could not exempt his men from service if he so wanted, and if he could not use them in his own service at his own discretion, they could hardly be regarded as his men.[16]

However sensible these arguments may appear, the archbishop's insistence that he had an ancient and recognized right to exempt his men from royal service was disingenuous. Privileges were generally renewed at successions, and in 1186 Cnut VI, in renewing the privileges of Lund, stuck to the exceptions made by St

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[13]   *Acta*, p. 21.

[14]   *Acta*, p. 42: "Attendere etiam debet vestra prudencia, quod de omnibus et pro omnibus possessionibus suis regie jussioni servit ecclesia."

[15]   *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:6, (ed.) N. Skyum-Nielsen (Copenhagen, 1979), no. 147.

[16]   *Acta*, p. 39: "Responsio: Quod hoc jus obtinuerat ecclesia eciam ab antiquo ex causa racionabili et prescripta; aliter enim non possent dici homines ecclesie, nisi ecclesia liberam potestatem haberet ordinandi ad sua servicia, prout vellet."

Cnut a century before, and so did Valdemar II after his accession in 1202.[17] There was no change until 1252 when King Christoffer I liberated the church from all burdens relating to *expeditio*, from imposts and all royal rights.[18] It seems a bit frank to present this as a time-honored privilege, and only five years later, in 1257, Christoffer had quashed all privileges and liberties extended to the church in Lund by the kings of Denmark. On the same occasion he had ordered all the vassals of the archbishop to pay homage to the king.[19] The rule in force at the time of the dispute therefore was chapter 7 of the third book of the code of Jutland: "Wherever the king's men and the bishop's men are, they must—whether they have one or more residences—always have full arms and go to war at their own cost [and take their pay]. But if they stay at home without due cause or leave, they shall pay the king one third of a *hafnæ* for each residence, or pay taxes like ordinary peasants if they refuse to pay."[20]

One may imagine that problems with the participation of the archbishop and his men in royal warfare were smaller, or more easily solved amicably, when Absalon was archbishop during the reigns of Valdemar I and his son Knud VI.[21] Absalon was so much a part and parcel of Danish foreign politics that royal warfare was his warfare. He will have mustered with his forces to a man when the *expeditio* was summoned. Absalon had been appointed by the king, in spite of Saxo's attempts to fabricate the procedure. They were hand in glove. Jacob Erlandsen became Bishop of Roskilde in 1249 by papal provision and was elected Archbishop of Lund 1254 against the wishes of King Christoffer. His family seems to have supported the heirs of Christoffer's elder brother Abel, ca. 1250–52, under whose very nose Christoffer had snatched the throne. They had a cat-and-dog relationship.

The archbishop had good reasons to put up a stiff fight for the disposal of his men. In a different context he explains that even if it was for the king, with the consent of the magnates, to call up the *expeditio*, it was the prerogative of the church to consider which of its men were suitable to go to war and sustain the toil involved, and which were not, so that the effectives might be selected and the others be permitted to stay at home. According to ancient custom, he claimed, it stood fast that their immediate lord could, considering the circumstances, excuse the men from this burden. Therefore, the church used to man the episcopal ships with its men, and they are used to shouldering this burden at their own expense.

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[17]   *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:3, (eds) C. A. Christensen, H. Nielsen, L. Weibull (Copenhagne, 1976–77), no. 134; and *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:4, (ed.) N. Skyum-Nielsen (Copenhagen 1957), no. 45.

[18]   *Diplomatarium Danicum* II:1, (eds) F. Blatt, G. Hermansen, and C. A. Christensen (Copenhagen, 1938), no. 87: "Dimittentes eis omnes uillicos eorum et colonos. ceteramque eorum familiam. ab omni expedicionis grauamine. uectigalibus. ceterisque omnibus iuri regio attinentibus. liberos et exemptos."

[19]   *Diplomatarium Danicum* II:1, no. 220.

[20]   *JL* 3.7.

[21]   Absalon was Bishop of Roskilde 1158–91 and Archbishop of Lund 1178–1202.

They would not do that if it were for others, not for the church, to excuse them from service with good reasons. In addition, the church of Lund had secular jurisdiction in several places; in these places there must always be men who can sit in judgment. The church also had castles that, in a time of endemic warfare, had to be defended and manned.[22]

The problems recited by the archbishop very much resemble those faced by the Carolingians four and half centuries before. In 808 Charlemagne legislated about the number of men a secular magnate could allow to stay home from an *expeditio* to protect his wife, to defend his castle, and to look after the enforcement of law and the administration of his lands.[23] The archbishop needed his men to guard his own castles. A castle like Hammershus certainly must have required a number of men, and the archbishop had several other castles. Small wonder then that he did not want to spare men to guard the royal castles. Neither did he appreciate at all that the king tried to tempt his men by ruling that if they did not have chargers with which they could serve the church, they could do their military service by residing in royal castles in wartime.[24] The bishop did not deny, however, that he was a vassal of the king and therefore owed the king military service for the lands of the church, which he duly rendered with his ships crewed by his men at their own expense.

The king complained that the archbishop rendered him less service than his predecessors had rendered the king's predecessors. It is remarkable, however, that, even after the middle of the thirteenth century, neither of them ever refers to any quotas. The archbishop apparently tried to secure a papal decree that bishops must not be asked to send their men to war for any more than six weeks, while the king probably expected 16 weeks. How many men was the archbishop expected to field for an *expeditio*? Should the bishop's vassals turn out to a man, or was there a rule governing how many should be sent and how many could stay at home to look after the church's business? How many men could the king expect from the church to guard his castles in wartime or in peacetime?

Such questions could be answered in Anglo-Norman England[25] but not in Denmark. English barons and other vassals knew how many men to provide for the host and for castle guard in peace as well as in war, and for how long, and they knew what to pay if they did not. Not so in Denmark. We have no idea what the king might expect from his vassals and we do not know what these could expect from their sub-vassals. Many paid homage to ecclesiastical and secular lords but the contracts were probably made orally in public assemblies and not recorded in writing.

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[22]   *Acta*, pp. 40–41.

[23]   *Capitulare missorum de exercitu promovendo* ch. 4, in *Capitularia regum Francorum* 1, MGH Leges Capit. 1, (ed.) Alfredus Boretius, (Hannover, 1887), no. 50.

[24]   *Acta*, p. 26.

[25]   See C. Warren Hollister, *The Military Organization of Norman England* (Oxford, 1965), esp. chs. 4 and 5.

In a study of what he termed the crisis of the lesser nobility in the late Middle Ages[26] Troels Dahlerup found a class of society surviving as servants of the church, tenants of greater or lesser fiefs from churches and monasteries. Their dues were often surprisingly modest but very often it is specified that they had to serve the church. Dahlerup quotes several examples from Skovkloster at Næstved. On the lands of the Bishop of Roskilde the minor fiefs were often subordinated to the nearest main fief. In the vicinity of Dragsholm, a major castle of the bishop in Northwest Sjælland, several tenants were under an obligation to furnish a man or to serve personally as castle guards.[27]

We have one rare example of this kind of commendation. In 1334 Duke Valdemar of Jutland accepted the homage of one Frelle Haagensen of Sønderborg. He took on Frelle as his *famulus* and extended his special protection to him and to all his possessions in the town as well as in the countryside, and to his subordinates. Frelle's possessions were exempted from all ducal rights.[28] The duke, of course, had all royal rights in his duchy. Frelle Haagensen was signed on as the duke's *famulus*, servant; he was not noble but neither was he someone serving for board and lodgings in a ducal castle. He was a man of some substance, owning urban as well as rural possessions and having subordinates. He and his like came to form a lower gentry, and, as Erik Ulsig has shown, it did not necessarily require great landed resources to be taken on as a lord's man, a *herræman*.[29] Some of them, as we have seen, did not have chargers and were therefore best suited for guard service.

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[26] Troels Dahlerup, "Lavadelens krise i senmiddelalderen," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 12.4 (1969): pp. 1–43.

[27] In his study of *coloni* in Scandinavia, *Landborna i Norden under* äldre *medeltid* (Uppsala 1979), pp. 46–63, Thomas Lindkvist produced a number of Swedish examples, and Andræ, *Kyrka och frälse*, pp. 155–61, describes conditions in Sweden more thoroughly than possible for Denmark.

[28] *Diplomatarium Danicum* II:11, (ed.) C. A. *Christensen* (Copenhagen, 1950), no. 172: "Omnibus presens scriptum cernentibus. Waldemarus dei gracia dux Iucie in domino salutem sempiternam + Notum facimus uniuersis presentibus et futuris. quod nos latorem presencium Frellauum Hakensun in Synderborgh. quem in famulum nostrum recipimus. una cum omnibus bonis suis et familia sibi attinente tam in uillis forensibus quam in rure sitis. sub nostra pace et protectione suscipimus specialiter defendendum. dimittentes sibi omnia bona sua ubicumque locorum sita. ab omni impeticione exactoria. innæ. stwth. qwerset. retskyyt. ceterisque solucionibus. oneribus et seruiciis omnibus ad ius nostrum spectantibus libera pariter et exempta. + Unde districtius inhibemus sub optentu gracie nostre ne quis aduocatorum nostrorum. eorundem officialium. seu quisquam alius. cuiuscumque condicionis aut status existat ipsum Frellauum uel aliquem de ipsius familia. super huiusmodi libertatis gracia sibi a nobis indulta. quoquo modo perturbare audeat uel presumat. prout iram et ulcionem nostram uoluerit euitare. + In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus est appensum. Datum anno domini mo. ccco. xxxo. quarto. crastino beati Nicholai episcopi Synderborgh in presencia nostra."

[29] Erik Ulsig, "Herremændene i Jyske Lov," *Historisk Tidsskrift* 106 (2006): pp. 1–9.

The archbishop explained that, when summoned to the wars, he manned his ships with his men. He did not serve with his *skipæn* crewed with *hafnæbondir* but with his commended men in *naves episcopales*. So too did the Bishop of Ribe. In 1233 Bishop Gunner instructed the parishioners of Tønder and Vester Anflod how to share transportation to the seashore of foods "required for *leding* purposes as often as we are summoned, or know for certain that we are going to be summoned, with our ships and our seamen (cum navibus nostris et nautis nostris) or with our horses (cum equis nostris) outside Jutland."[30] We are not told if there was any specialization among the men of the Bishop of Ribe, if some of them were seamen and others horsemen, but that is, of course, imaginable. St Paul's in London had selected certain of its estates to build and man the archiepiscopal ships.[31]

The servants of the bishops and abbots, in fact, are encountered in many contexts. In his life, written at *Cara Insula* where he was abbot before becoming bishop, Gunner, Bishop of Viborg, is praised for the care he took for his *pueri* when sending them to the host. He provided them with full armors and chargers and covered all their expenses and requirements. The bishop, of course, could not participate in warfare himself.[32]

One of the classic affairs in Danish medieval history was the dispute between the Cistercians of *Cara Insula*, or Øm kloster, and the Bishop of Aarhus. The bishop had various ways of harassing the monks. Once he summoned the abbott Bo to Dover church to document his privileges. The atmosphere was ominous and the monks were afraid of what the bishop might be up to. The abbott, therefore, asked those *villici* and *coloni* of the monastery living in the parish of Dover to come to the church in arms, ready to resist if the bishop resorted to force. Here, then, we find *coloni* bearing arms in the service of the monastery. Ordinary peasants did not have arms. They only had their clubs and maybe pitchforks when rising against their superiors.[33]

Another problem between the monks and the bishop concerned episcopal visitations. The Cistercians were exempt from episcopal authority, but the Bishop

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[30] *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:6, (ed.) Niels Skyum-Nielsen (Copenhagen, 1979), no. 168.

[31] *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, (ed.) A.J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1939), no. 72, mapped in David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Toronto, 1981), pp. 92–3; Richard Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 158–9.

[32] In panel 158 of the Bayeux Tapestry (digital edition by Martin K. Foys, 2003), Odo of Bayeux is seen encouraging his *pueri*. He is holding a *baculus* in his hand. It looks like a club but it is a staff of honor. *Baculus*, in classical Latin most often *baculum*, via Old Irish *bachall* became Old Norse *bagall*, a crozier. In panel 134 William is seen holding a similar accessory while encouraging his *milites*.

[33] Under 1256, the annals of the monastery of Ryd, normally written in Latin, resort to the vernacular when reporting that "kothkarlæ waræ allæ gallnæ meth kyluær," i.e. "the cottagers went mad with their clubs." See *Annales Danici Medii Ævi*, (ed.) Ellen Jørgensen (Copenhagen 1920), p. 115.

of Aarhus insisted that because the monks in *Cara Insula* served a number of parish churches in his diocese, he had a right to visit them. There were appeals and complaints to the pope and Bishop Thyge did absolutely nothing to reach a compromise. He visited the monastery for two or three weeks with a following of a 100 mounted men and more *cursors* (footmen); in addition to them there would have been a number of dogs. This involved a very serious depletion of monastic stocks. It was also a flagrant violation of Canon Law. The third Lateran Council had ruled that bishops must not visit with a greater entourage than 20 or 30 horses,[34] and there were rules limiting the length of visitations to a few days.

Bishops did travel with that sort of entourage—and it did not even put them on top of the league. The constable once visited the monastery with 300 mounted men, looking for Bishop Arnfast,[35] and when the queen visited she was followed by 1,600 mounted men and "cursores eorum et pedites."[36] In 1270 the Norwegian bishops, who were less affluent than their Danish colleagues, were granted exemption from *expeditio* for 40 men, the archbishop for a 100. According to their

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[34]   Lateran III (1179), c. 4: "Since the apostle decided that he ought to support himself and those accompanying him by his own hands, so that he might remove the opportunity of preaching from false apostles and might not be burdensome to those to whom he was preaching, it is recognized that it is a very serious matter and calls for correction that some of our brethren and fellow bishops are so burdensome to their subjects in the procurations demanded that sometimes, for this reason, subjects are forced to sell church ornaments and a short hour consumes the food of many days. Therefore we decree that archbishops on their visitations of their dioceses are not to bring with them more than 40 or 50 horses or other mounts, according to the differences of dioceses and ecclesiastical resources; cardinals should not exceed 20 or 25, bishops are never to exceed 20 or 30, archdeacons five or seven, and deans, as their delegates, should be satisfied with two horses. Nor should they set out with hunting dogs and birds, but they should proceed in such a way that they are seen to be seeking not their own but the things of Jesus Christ. Let them not seek rich banquets but let them receive with thanksgiving what is duly and suitably provided. We also forbid bishops to burden their subjects with taxes and impositions. But we allow them, for the many needs which sometimes come upon them, if the cause be clear and reasonable, to ask for assistance moderated by charity. For since the apostle says children ought not to lay up for their parents, but parents for their children, it seems to be far removed from paternal affection if superiors are burdensome to their subjects, when like a shepherd they ought to cherish them in all their needs. Archdeacons or deans should not presume to impose charges or taxes on priests or clerics. Indeed, what has been said above by way of permission about the number of horses may be observed in those places where there are greater resources or revenues, but in poorer places we wish measure so to be observed that the visit of greater personages should not be a burden to the humbler, lest by such a grant those who were accustomed to use fewer horses should think that the widest powers have been granted to them" (http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Councils/ecum11.htm, accessed 26 June 2013).

[35]   *Scriptores minores historiæ Danicæ medii* ævi, (ed.) M. C. Gertz, 2. vols. (Copenhagen 1917–22), p. II:218.

[36]   *Scriptores minores*, p. II:208.

rank these men even got exemptions for one or two sub-vassals.[37] By implication, the bishops must have had some men with whom they still had to serve the king. If it is not simply a matter of taxation it is tempting to speculate if this might be the number of men that the bishops could use for their own purposes, i.e. could leave at home when the *leding* was summoned, while the king claimed the service of men exceeding these numbers. Towards the end of the twelfth century, the Archbishop of Nidaros had at least 90 armed men in his service, and when he got on such bad terms with King Sverre that he had to take refuge with his colleague in Lund, he took lodgings there with his entire entourage.

In 1177 Archbishop Eskil of Lund wanted to retire to Clairvaux. His designated successor Absalon was already Bishop of Roskilde and did not want to give up that see, so there was considerable mockery about the election, with Absalon refusing to accept the election on all sorts of pretenses. One way, according to Saxo, that they tried to lure him into it was that Eskil released all his men from their oath of fidelity and sent them to Absalon to swear a new oath to him, an oath of *militiae fides*. According to Saxo this force was remarkable both for its numbers and for its distinction.[38]

In this context the *leding* privileges of Odense, St Peter in Næstved, of Veng and even of Lund may be easier to understand. When, in 1140, King Erik Lam (the Meek) made a grant to St Peter's monastery in Næstved he struck a deal with them over their *expeditio*. Instead of the *expeditio* owed by the men of Næstved and the other tenants of St Peter they would serve one day a year ferrying the king or his men to Lolland or Falster or other islands in the vicinity, if necessary.[39] At its foundation five years earlier St Peter had been endowed with lands far away but adjacent to the sea, 5½ manses in Keldby on the island of Møn and one manse in Gedesby on the island of Falster, so they were bound to have cargo-boats to collect their crops, not war ships.

Later, between 1157 and 1164, King Valdemar the Great waived the *expeditio* of the men of the monastery of *Cara Insula*, or Øm, explaining that he conferred their *coloni* on the monastery with all the *ius regale* that they used to pay to his reeves because of *expeditio*. This income, clearly the fines for neglect familiar

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[37] Andræ, *Kyrka och frälse,* pp. 27–8.

[38] *Saxo Grammaticus, Gesta Danorum*: *Danmarkshistorien*, 2 vols, (ed.) Karsten Friis-Jensen, trans. Peter Zeeberg (Copenhagen 2005), 14.55, 3 and 14 (p. II:458 and p. II: 464): "Siquidem equites suos numero et amplitudine insignes ad eum direxit, militari fide se eius partibus obligaturos."

[39] *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:2, no. 78: "Pro expeditione. que ad homines eiusdem uille et ceteros colonos monachorum pertinet. statuo. ut me uel meos ad Falstriam uel Lalandiam. uel ad alias insulas circumiacentes deducendo. semel in anno si necesse fuerit. per unum diem deseruiant."

from the Lund privilege, not the income from any *skipæn*, would now accrue to the monastery and the brethren.[40]

In 1180 Valdemar struck a deal with the monks serving as cathedral chapter at Odense. He exempted their men from *expeditio* but made it a condition that they would keep 10 mounted knights at his disposal when he resided in his manor in Odense. They had so much land that this was surely a sizeable reduction of their military burdens. It looks like a substitution of occasional castle guard service for going to the host, and it is the first time we encounter a quota.

Such forces as were available to the bishops must have loomed large in the armies Danish kings were able to call up. The bishops were not necessarily expected to personally lead their troops in battle. They were forbidden to shed blood and would have had to restrict their efforts, if they did participate in battles, to waving a crozier and providing encouragement as Odo of Bayeux did in the battle of Hastings. Nevertheless, in the battle of Fodevig in 1134 five or six bishops lost their lives. Before this battle the king had called up the *expeditio* from all the lands recognizing his authority, probably expecting to have a final showdown with Erik Emune, the leader of the war of revenge staged by the family of Cnut Lavard after his murder by his cousin Magnus, the king's son. Things had been going so thoroughly awry for Erik lately that the king probably expected to be able to deal with him quite easily and then hold a meeting with the magnates and sort out the problems of the kingdom. The *expeditio* had been called for Whitsun, a traditional time for parlements. However, the royal forces were in for a grim surprise. Erik had hired a troop of German mercenaries, 300 mounted knights, and they fell on the royal forces and routed them completely before they could organize for battle.

Danish bishops had considerable military followings and served with their men, their lease-holders and vassals, just as bishops in the rest of Europe, not as lords of *skipæn*. The original endowment of St Lawrence in Lund was ca. 50 manses. This would have sustained not only a number of canons at the church but also a large number of *coloni* obliged to serve the church and the king in arms. The diocese of Roskilde was also very well endowed; there are reasons to believe that Roskilde was first designated for a Danish archsee and that this is reflected in lavish endowments of the see as well as the bishop from the time of Cnut the Great.[41] There are good reasons why the kings were more reluctant to exempt bishoprics from military service than monasteries.

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[40]   *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:2, no. 123: "Notificamus. nos monasterio apud Weng. fratribusque eiusdem cenobii. ibidem sub regula beati Benedicti famulantibus. colonos suos cum omni iure nostro regali. quod soluere prius consueuerant exactoribus nostris propter expeditionem. que Danice leyding nuncupatur. contulisse. et hoc pro remissione omnium peccatorum nostrorum. parentum. antecessorum. et omnium fidelium defunctorum."

[41]   Niels Lund, "Ville Knud den Store gøre Roskilde til ærkesæde?" in *Historisk* årbog *for Roskilde amt* (1994), pp. 3–12.

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Chapter 17

The Implications of the *Anonimo Romano* Account of the Battle of Crécy[1]

Kelly DeVries

Although medieval battles were neither frequent nor decisive, they remain of great interest to military historians. And why shouldn't they? Thousands of men fighting, willing to die for their crown, land, natural resources, power, families or livelihoods: advancing, retreating, attacking, striking, fleeing, pursuing, fearing, exalting, rejoicing, mourning. These were soldiers of all ranks and classes slashing and stabbing with swords, daggers, staff weapons, maces, axes, hammers, spears, lances or any number of other weapons. Some were trying to kill, others trying only to knock their enemy senseless, especially if he was worth something in ransom; others just fought to stay alive one more day. Most would live, some by skill and some by luck. Archers, crossbowmen, longbowmen and later handgunners filled the air with projectiles, a few finding elusive gaps in their opponents' armor, some killing horses, but most ricocheting off armor or falling harmlessly onto the ground. Feet and hooves churned up agricultural lands; some were recently plowed, dense and rich earth, while others were dry and sandy; all would soon become wet and muddy, blood mixing with sweat and sometimes rain, leading to far too many chroniclers' descriptions not to be taken seriously: the *topos* "blood ran to their ankles."

The dedicatee of this festschrift, Bernard S. Bachrach, has rightly pointed out that sieges in the Middle Ages were far more numerous than battles, but are far less discussed by military historians.[2] Campaigns and skirmishes are also more numerous and far less often studied. Recognition of that, however, does not diminish the fact that for medieval military historians, describing, interpreting, and determining the action of a battle allows them to fight by proxy in it, to stand next to Aetius on the Catalaunian Plains, William the Conqueror at Hastings, Saladin

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[1] Parts of this article were presented at The Fourth International Fields of Conflict Conference, held at the Royal Armouries in Leeds, England, on October 1, 2006. My thanks to Michael Livingston, who looked over this article, and with whom I am co-writing the forthcoming *The Battle of Crécy: A Casebook* (Liverpool, Forthcoming), in which we will further explore the Anonimo Romano's account of the battle.

[2] Bernard S. Bachrach, "Medieval Siege Warfare: A Reconnaissance," *Journal of Military History* 58 (1994): pp. 119–33.

at Hattin, Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, Edward III at Crécy, the Black Prince at Poitiers, Henry V at Agincourt, or any number of other victorious leaders.[3]

The battle of Crécy, fought on 26 August 1346 between the French, led by their king, Philip VI, and the English, led by their king, Edward III, is certainly one of the most famous battles fought in the Middle Ages—possibly ranking only with Hastings and Agincourt—and doubtless there is no historian of any genre, chronology or geography who does not know the outcome: that the English easily and relatively quickly defeated the French. But how they defeated the French, what actually happened in the battle, is less well known and often in dispute.

Modern historical interpretations, derived from narrative sources, some contemporary—although these are mostly by French and Low Countries writers—some written many years later—mostly English or pro-English writers, i.e. Jean Froissart—frequently disagree. Adding one more source, the "lost" account appearing in the *Cronica anonimo romano*, may make no difference. But it should, especially when it is written within a decade of the battle and recounts the experiences of an eyewitness, either an Italian man-at-arms fighting in the retinue of Johann, the king of Bohemia, or a Genoese crossbowman.[4]

The latest book to reinvestigate the battle of Crécy is Richard Barber's *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter*, published in August 2013. It will be interesting to see if this book, written by a noted and prolific medieval historian, becomes the "the story" of Crécy. For now "the story" of Crécy is that of Professor Andrew Ayton of the University of Hull in a book, *The Battle of Crécy, 1346*, published by Boydell and Brewer in 2005.[5] Not only is Ayton's story interpreted from original written sources, but, with the aid of Crécy battlefield expert, Sir Philip Preston, also from the battlefield itself. Ayton locates the battlefield at the traditional site, outside the town of Crécy. However, he is convinced (and convincing) that a steep bank runs across the entire traditional battlefield in a line roughly 750 to 1000 meters from where he places the English troops ready to meet the French charge. Preston, who has lived near and studied the battlefield for many years, convinced Ayton that the bank was

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[3]   The evidence for this is massive, with references to every general medieval military history, as well as specific studies too numerous to list here. For these I would suggest my *A Cumulative Bibliography of Medieval Military History and Technology* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and updates (2005, 2008 and forthcoming). That I am as much at fault as any medieval military historian can be seen, in addition to this article, in the number of my publications which are about battles.

[4]   On this I differ with Richard Barber (whose recent book is discussed below). I believe that he is an Italian with the king of Bohemia's force—because of his detailed account of that king's actions—while Richard leans towards the Genoese crossbowman.

[5]   Andrew Ayton and Philip Preston, (eds.) *The Battle of Crécy, 1346* (Woodbridge, 2005).

too steep for horses.[6] Thus, Ayton has concluded that after a futile attempt by mercenary Genoese crossbowmen to weaken the English resolve—crossbowmen who were then ridden down by their employers' cavalry—the French horsemen came onto the battlefield parallel to the right flank of the English lines. In a serpentine maneuver, the French cavalry then turned almost 90 degrees to face the English men-at-arms. Finally, riding through a hail of arrows delivered from English longbowmen who were set up both on the flanks and in front of the men-at-arms—although those in front retreated to behind the front lines as the French cavalry neared contact—they charged into the center of their opponents' lines. The English stood solidly, however, and charge after charge of French horses were stopped in their attempts to rout either the men-at-arms or their archers. As dusk fell, these charges declined in number and intensity. Eventually, in almost complete darkness, the remnants of French army that had not already fled left the battlefield.

Despite the publication of several books on Crécy since Ayton's book appeared, and many more with Crécy as a case study,[7] his interpretation has held its own. Yet, Ayton's "story" is not without difficulties.[8] He may be the first to take the battlefield site and its geographical impediments into consideration, working them into the battle narrative provided by chroniclers. But, in so doing, by sticking with the traditional site as that of the battle, he has presented new problems.

These can be easily seen by looking at the three events that all contemporary and near contemporary sources agree happened in the battle:

1. That longbow archers were placed on the wings of the English men-at-arms formation. This is reported, for example, in one of the most contemporary chronicles of the battle, that of Geoffrey le Baker (1356):

> The archers were placed in their order so that they stood not in front of their men-at-arms but on the sides of the king's army like wings. Thus they would not get in the way of their men-at-arms nor be attacked head-on by the enemy, but they would shoot their arrows from the flanks.[9]

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[6] Having walked the battlefield several times since the publication of this book, I agree fully with Preston.

[7] These include: Marilyn Livingstone and Morgen Witzel, *The Road to Crécy: The English Invasion of France, 1346* (Harlow, 2005); Rupert Matthews, *The Battle of Crecy: A Campaign in Context* (Stroud, 2007); David Green, *Edward the Black Prince: Power in Medieval Europe* (Harlow, 2007); and Richard Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England: The Battle of Crécy and the Company of the Garter* (London, 2013).

[8] Kelly DeVries, "The Battlefield of Crécy: Chroniclers, Archaeologists, and Historians," at The Fourth International Fields of Conflict Conference, Royal Armouries, Leeds, United Kingdom, October 1, 2006.

[9] Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*, (ed.) E.M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889), pp. 83–4. See also *Récits d'un bourgeois de Valenciennes*, (ed.) Baron de Kervyn de Lettenhove (Leuven, 1877), pp. 231–2.

2. That Genoese crossbowmen failed to reach the English lines with their crossbows—they likely did not get off a shot—while getting riddled with arrows from longbowmen. Part of this was no doubt that their large shields meant to protect them, pavises, were still with the baggage train, as commented on by the Tournaisien abbot, Gilles li Muisit (pre-1349),[10] forcing their retreat, only to be ridden over by the French cavalry, who both judged their lack of success as treason and were anxious to get into the battle themselves.[11]

3. That French cavalry charged onto English lines. These charges failed, time and time again, to break the English forces. Geoffrey le Baker and the *Grandes chroniques* (pre-1350) use the wounding and slaying of many horses during this part of the attack as examples of how badly the French fared in these engagements. So many horses were wounded by arrows, asserts the author of the *Grandes chroniques*, that "it is pitiful and sad to record it."[12] The effect on the charges was the same: increased disruption and confusion, for the French not the English. As Jean le Bel (pre-1361) puts it: "On their side the archers fired so skillfully that some of those on horses, feeling the barbed arrows, did not wish to advance, while others charged forward as planned; some resisted them tirelessly, while others turned their backs on the enemy."[13] By the time that the French cavalry actually encountered the English line they were in complete disorder and their impetus had been lost. They simply had "no assembly," reports the *Chronique Normande* (pre-1372).[14] The opposite was true on the English side. Jean le Bel writes that the English soldiers held their infantry line with strength and solidarity, and that this

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[10]   Gilles li Muisit, *Chronicon*, in *Corpus chronicorum Flandriae* 2, (ed.) J.-J. de Smet, Commission royale d'histoire (Brussels, 1841), p. 244. Muisit visited the battlefield of Crécy with corpses still littering it and interviewed participants. He is quite insistent on the accuracy of his narrative in his Latin *Chronicon*, written sometime before his death in 1352. For a discussion on the pavises at Crécy see my "The Introduction and Use of the Pavise in the Hundred Years War," *Arms and Armour* 4 (2007): pp. 93–100.

[11]   Gilles li Muisit, *Chronicon*, pp. 244–5; Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*, p. 83; Jean le Bel, *Chroniques de Jean le Bel*, (eds) J. Viard and E. Duprez, 2 vols. (Paris, 1904–1905), p. II:102; Jean de Venette, *Chronique*, in Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronicon et continuationes*, (ed.) H. Geraud, 2 vols. (Paris, 1843), pp. II:202–3; *Grandes chroniques de France*, (ed.) J. Viard, 10 vols. (Paris, 1920–53), p. IX:282; *Chronique Normande de xiv siècle*, (ed.) A. and E. Molinier (Paris, 1882), pp. 80–81; and Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, (ed.) M.L. Ridotta, 7 vols. (Florence, 1823), pp. VII:165–6. Later accounts of the Genoese at Crécy include: *Chronographia regum Francorum*, (ed.) H. Moranville, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891–1897), p. II:231 and Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, in *Oeuvres de Froissart*, (ed.) Baron de Kervyn de Lettenhove, 29 vols. (Brussels, 1867–77), pp. V:46–9, 51–3.

[12]   Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*, p. 84, and *Grandes chroniques*, p. IX:283

[13]   Jean le Bel, *Chroniques de Jean le Bel*, p. II:103.

[14]   *Chronique Normande*, p. 81. See also *Grandes chroniques*, p. IX:283 and Adam Murimuth, *Continuatio chronicorum*, (ed.) E.M. Thompson, Rolls Series (London, 1889), p. 246.

was "so wise and so intelligent that fortune turned to them."[15] Geoffrey le Baker describes the action: "When fighting with the English men-at-arms, the French were beaten down by axes, lances, and swords. And in the middle of the army, many French soldiers were crushed to death by the weight of numbers without being wounded."[16]

The first two of these points create problems for Ayton's interpretation, especially if one is forced to reconcile the obvious bank across the battlefield with the original sources and still keep the battlefield where it is. This bank certainly would have created the problems which Ayton and Preston identify. The French could not have ridden down the bank, necessitating the serpentine movement Ayton describes. The French would have been forced to charge in front of the bank, sideways onto battlefield, parallel to the right wing of English archers (and able to be reached by their shots), and then into the center of English lines (unable to outflank or hit the English troops in the rear due to the presence of the longbowmen). But if they did so, then why would Edward III, who certainly knew of the bank's presence as he had chosen the battlefield knowing the geography, have lined up his archers along both flanks? The archers on the left flank would have had little purpose, as they could not have hit the charging French cavalry with their arrows until just before they fell onto the English men-at-arms. Even though it may have been a common tactic for the English to position archers on the flanks of the men-at-arms, at Crécy it would have made no sense.

Nor would the Genoese crossbowmen have had to be ridden down by the charging French cavalry. Even if they had entered the battlefield from the side, as the cavalry supposedly did, they would not have had to retreat along the same route. The bank, which the French horses could not descend, would have provided no impediment to the Genoese who, even if they could not have climbed the steep bank—although today it is certainly possible—would have been out of range of the English archers at that point and would also have been out of the way of the charging French cavalry. Had the French purposely sought out a vengeance against the Geneose, their charges against the English would have been so disrupted that they risked not having the time, as nightfall was upon them, let alone the unity, to win the battle. So, by Ayton's interpretation, either the Genoese or the French cavalry were some of the stupidest warriors to fight during the Middle Ages.

Finally, not only do the written sources fly in the face of Ayton's interpretation—he must deny the validity of many contemporary accounts in order to make his interpretation agree—but the preliminary archaeological excavations done by the University of Hull on where the battle traditionally took place have turned up nothing.[17] Additionally, the few artefacts that do exist, as reported by Alfred Burne and others, have no strong provenance, which leaves only one

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[15]   Jean le Bel, *Chroniques de Jean le Bel*, p. II:106.

[16]   Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*, p. 84.

[17]   As reported at the Fourth International Fields of Conflict Conference, Royal Armouries, Leeds, September 30-October 1, 2006 and the Rye Mediaeval Conference,

conclusion: that the battlefield is not on the traditional site.[18] (Interestingly, Ayton and the Hull archaeologists explain this lack of artefacts by suggesting that all fallen soldiers on the battlefield were stripped in the aftermath of the fighting. But, as digs as varied as those at Towton and Little Bighorn have shown, it is precisely in the stripping of fallen soldiers' arms, armor and possessions that much detritus is left behind.[19])

Into this controversy comes the account purportedly given by an eyewitness recently "rediscovered" in the mid-fourteenth century *Cronica anonimo romano*. Now, technically, this account was never "lost." It is in a single manuscript and also in the initial edition, by Ludovico Muratori in the eighteenth century,[20] but subsequent editors were interested only in the information recorded about Cola di Rienzo's Roman rebellion (for which it is the most detailed contemporary source) and thus abridged the account of Crécy from their editions.[21] Only in the Middle Italian edition published in 1991 has the account been restored.[22]

The account of the *Cronica anonimo romano* begins with a description of the French forces; as usual, the numbers are exaggerated—the author claims that there were 100,000 knights and 12,000 infantry, plus 5,000 Genoese crossbowmen. Among these numbers were the kings of Bohemia and Majorca. Both are named *Ianni* according to the anonymous chronicler/eyewitness, although their own languages would have had them as Johann and Jaime. The king of Bohemia was there "as he liked to fight" (*delettava de ire a suollo)* and the king of Majorca "as he had been cast out of his kingdom" (*quale era cacciato de sio contado*). A thousand Germans accompanied the king of Bohemia.[23]

Rye, United Kingdom, October 29–30, 2006. So far no report on the excavations has been published.

[18]		*Alfred* H. *Burne*, *The Crécy War: A Military History of the Hundred Years War to the Peace of Brétigny* (London, 1955), pp. 197–8.

[19]		Veronica Fiorato, Anthea Boylston, and Christopher Knüsel, *Blood Red Roses: The Archaeology of a Mass Grave from the Battle of Towton, AD 1461* (Oxford, 2000), and Douglas D. Scott and Richard A. Fox, Jr., *Archaeological Insights into the Custer Battle: An Assessment of the 1984 Field Season* (Norman, 1987).

[20]		*Chronica anonimo romano*, in *Angituitates Italicaea medii aevi*, 6 vols., (ed.) Ludovico Antonio Muratori (Milan, 1738–42), pp. III:249–548.

[21]		For example, those edited by Alberto Maria Ghusalberti (Rome, 1928); F. Cusin (Florence, 1943); A. Frugoni (Florence, 1957); Ettone Mazzali (Milan, 1991); and translated by John Wright (Toronto, 1975).

[22]		*Cronica anonimo romano*, 2nd edn, (ed.) Giuseppe Porta (Rome, 1991). The account of Crécy is on pp. 86–98. Credit for calling attention to the restored Crécy section of this *Cronica* must go to Maurizio Campanelli, who presented it at The Sixteenth International Medieval Congress (July 14, 2009). An article based on his conference paper, "The Anonimo Romano's *Cronica*: A Little-Known Account of the Battle of Crécy," is forthcoming.

[23]		*Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 88. Barber translates *se delettava de ire a suollo* as "liked to fight as a mercenary." This may be the case, although as mercenaries

The eyewitness then talks about the battlefield, which the English had chosen. It was a very broad valley below "a castle which was called Mount Crécy" (*fra uno castiello lo quale se dice Monte de Carsia*), and between there and Abbeville. Edward III had camped with his soldiers "in the open fields, at the foot of the slope of Crécy" (*nelli campi piani, a pede alla costa de Carsia*). It was a position from which they could see the road from Paris and the approaching French army: "they could see where they were by the glistening of their polished helmets and crests, and also by their banners in the rays of the rising sun" (*Questo conubbero allo scianniare delli elmi lucienti e delli cimieri, anche delle banniere le quale facevano alli ragi dello sole che nasceva*).[24]

There is a problem with this description of the battlefield. It does not fit the location where the traditional battlefield is sited, where generations of historians have interpreted the battle taking place, including Ayton and Preston. No one has placed it anywhere but this site since at least the early nineteenth century.[25] Yet, clearly the Italian eyewitness places the battle between the town and Abbeville, to the southwest of the town of Crécy. Of course, he does suggest that there was a castle of Crécy, where there is none. But it seems easier to rationalize his seeing the town with its church spires from a distance and mistaking it for a castle than that he would do so after he passed through Crécy to get to the traditional battlefield. That his placing the battlefield below the town and not above it confirms similar descriptions given by another contemporary Italian chronicler, Giovanni Villani (pre-1348), and, later in the fourteenth century, by Jean Froissart (1380s-1400).[26] It also obviates any problems with the bank that makes the traditional battlefield so difficult to reconcile with the sources.

The eyewitness' account continues by reporting that Edward was "a little afraid" because of the large numbers of French, exclaiming "God help me!" (*e considerata la moititudine de Franceschi, non* è *maraviglia che attrissese un poco. Dubitao e ruppe voce e disse: "Ahi Dio, aiutame"*), knowing that he had to face them in battle.[27] In response, he withdrew the wagons carrying his baggage behind his lines, forming them in a horseshoe shape, with the opening towards

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had a very distinct title in Italian at this time, *condottiori*, and there is no known financial arrangement between him and the king of France—not to mention his blindness—I would doubt that Johann was there as a mercenary; although, undoubtedly, his men, like the Genoese crossbowmen, had hired out their services to the French, which might have made him a mercenary captain.

[24]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, pp. 88–9.

[25]   See Philip Preston, "The Traditional Battlefield of Crécy," in Ayton and Preston, pp. 109–37.

[26]   Villani, *Cronica*, p. VII:263, and Jean Froissart, *Chroniques. Livre I: Le manuscrit d'Amiens*, (ed.) George T. Diller, 3 vols. (Geneva, S.A.), pp. III:14–15. See Michael Livingston, "Locating the Battle," in *The Battle of Crécy: A Casebook* (Liverpool, Forthcoming).

[27]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 89.

the battlefield, and tying them together with chains, shafts towards the center and raised into the air—so that it looked like "a good walled city" (*una bona citate murata*), writes the anonymous Roman, what historians influenced by the later Hussite Wars would call a *wagenburg*.[28] The English surrounded this with ditches and iron stakes.[29]

This description of the English camp is far richer in detail than other contemporary sources and, interestingly, clarifies what is written about the wagons by Giovanni Villani. It also may restore Villani's account to favor, something which would be welcome as it is one of the earliest sources on the battle and by a very trustworthy writer, but has been disregarded by most historians of the battle largely because of his equally detailed account of the English camp.[30] It should be noted, however, that this field fortification becomes central to Barber's recent interpretation of the battle. He shows that it was a prevalent feature not just in the two early Italian accounts, but in other contemporary and later narrative records as well. Rather than simply serving as a *wagenburg* to prevent French attacks from the rear, however, he has the entire English army arrayed inside it.[31] The lines of men-at-arms only left this fortification during the battle to meet the charging French cavalry. Yet, this makes little sense. Not only would such a formation have no precedent, while the use of a *wagenburg* to protect one's rear in battle did—the example of the battle of Mons-en-Pévèle in 1304 being the most recent—but it would also provide no precedent for later battles until the Hussite wars nearly a century later.[32] (Such a great and well known victory would surely have prompted imitators.) It also suggests that Edward's wagons would have numbered in the tens of thousands to enclose his infantry as well as cavalry, plus the latter's horses, as they had dismounted, and the horses that were needed to pull all these wagons. His archers also would have had little purpose and hardly any protection from the attacking French, who certainly would have targeted them rather than the *wagenburg*.

Following the construction of this field fortification, the Italian eyewitness reports, Edward III arrayed his forces. He placed his archers not only on the flanks of the men-at-arms, but hidden in a wheatfield on the left flank, "on the side towards Crécy" (*dallo lato sinistro, nella costa de Carsi*), the wheat standing high, not having been harvested, "because it had been very cold in that region the grain ripened only in September" (*per le granne freddure in quello paiese lo*

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[28] See Żygulski, Zdzisław, Jr., "The Wagon Laager," *Fasciculi archaeologiae historicae* 7 (1994): pp. 15–20.

[29] *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, pp. 89–90.

[30] Villani, Cronica, p. 163. It has done just that in Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, pp. 218–21, who leads his discussion of the battle of Crécy with a translation of Villani's account.

[31] Barber, *Edward III and the Triumph of England*, pp. 217–45.

[32] See my account of the battle of Mons-en-Pévèle in *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 32–48.

settiembro lo grano se matura), and in the woods on his right flanks.[33] There were 10,000 archers, according to the account. Edward also had barrels of extra arrows placed among the wagons, each oddly guarded by two crossbowmen (*valestrieri*).[34] Then he positioned three lines of men-at-arms, dismounted cavalry (including the knights), in the middle of each line. The sixteen-year-old Edward, the Black Prince, commanded these from the first line.[35]

This placement of English troops effectively matches what is found in other contemporary chronicles, with the added details of the hiding of the archers and the placement of the dismounted cavalry. Both of these additions make sense, however, with the latter emphasizing that it was Edward III's tactical goal to have the French cavalry funneled by the archers and infantry along the flanks onto his strongest, most experienced warriors.[36] The hiding of the archers in particular makes sense, although it is reported only by this eyewitness. The French had never faced longbowmen in battle before, so they would not expect where they might be placed—in later battles, Agincourt for example, there was no need to hide the archers as the French would anticipate their presence along the flanks.[37] By hiding them in wheat and woods Edward intensified the surprise.

This formation mattered little to the French leadership. Their tactical plan would go forward without change. Only the King of Bohemia, once he had the English formation described to him by companions, as he obviously could not see it, was reluctant to attack it. He sent a messenger to Philip, warning him, "We are defeated. We cannot defeat the English without doing us great harm" (*noi simo perdienti. Engelsi perdire non puoco senza nuostro granne danno*). He became even more concerned when told that the weather over the English lines was "fresh air" (*l'airo pulito*), but that it was raining on the French army: "This battle will not be ours; it will be theirs" (*La vattaglia non fao per noi, fao per essi*). The French king ignored his caution. Other chroniclers suggest that the French nobles insisted on fighting the English that day and convinced Philip to do battle despite the late

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[33]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 90. The chronicler is using the Julian calendar; as such, the battle is fought on September 3.

[34]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 90.

[35]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 90.

[36]   This is one of the principle arguments of my book, *Infantry Warfare in the Early Fourteenth Century: Discipline, Tactics, and Technology* (Woodbridge, 1996), and not just at Crécy but in other Edwardian battles as well. Clifford Rogers, who argues for a far more potent longbow, does not entirely agree with this thesis in his *War Cruel and Sharp* (Woodbridge, 2000).

[37]   A bibliography on the battle of Agincourt is too long to include here. My preferences are the books by Anne Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud, 2005) and Michael K. Jones, *Agincourt 1415: Battlefield Guide* (Barnsley, 2005).

day and bad weather.[38] If these sources are to be believed, perhaps it was against the protests of the King of Bohemia.

The eyewitness then has the Genoese crossbowmen ordered to advance up the slope of the hill and shoot their bolts into the English lines. But they were unable to do this, as confirmed in the other sources for the battle.[39] Why this occurred, however, is not conclusively explained, leaving modern historians to speculate. The most common reason given is that while the longbowmen protected their bowstrings from the rain by removing them from their bows and placing them under their caps, the Genoese crossbowmen could not do this. Therefore, their strings became wet and lost their tautness.[40] This is based on the account of Jean de Venette, which quite clearly refers to the rain shrinking the bowstrings of the crossbowmen.[41] While Jean de Venette's account is early (although unlikely before 1368, when his *Chronique* ends), he was not at the battle, nor is it known from where he acquired his information. He is also alone in asserting it.

Unfortunately, such an explanation shows an ignorance of the fourteenth-century crossbow. Crossbows by the beginning of the Hundred Years War had become so powerful (well above 200 lb pull) that normal flax and hemp, the traditional materials of bowstrings, would break while being spanned. Stronger "rope" was needed, and this was covered by leather; the bowstrings were therefore protected against all adverse weather. They were also always strung. Unlike longbows, a crossbow's string does not affect the bow until drawn. A more logical answer is found in the *Cronica anonimo romano*:

> They could not shoot their crossbows, because they were unable to load their crossbows. There had been a little rain. The ground was waterlogged, soft. When they wanted to load their crossbows, they were not able to step onto the stirrup. Their foot slipped. They were unable to put their foot onto the ground. *(chè non valestravano, ca non potevano caricare le valestra. Era stata una poca de pioverella. La terra era infusa, molle. Quanno volevano caricare le valestra, mettevano un pede nella staffa. Lo pede sfuiva. Non potevano ficcare lo pede in terra.)*[42]

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[38]   For example, Gilles li Muisit, *Chronicon*, p. 245, and Jean Froissart (ed.) Kervyn de Lettenhove, p. V:49.

[39]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, pp. 91–2; Giovanni Villani (ed.) Ridotta, pp. VII:165–6; Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*, p. 83; *Grandes chroniques*, p. IX:282; Jean de Venette, *Chronique*, pp. II:202–3; *Chronique Normande*, pp. 80–81; Jean le Bel, *Chroniques de Jean le Bel*, p. II:102; Gilles li Muisit, *Chronicon*, pp. 244–5; Jean Froissart, pp. V:46–9, 51–3; and *Chronographia regum Francorum*, pp. II:231–2.

[40]   See, for example, Michael Prestwich, "The Battle of Crécy," in Ayton and Preston, p. 148; Matthews, *The Battle of Crecy*, pp. 178–9; and David Nicolle, *Crécy, 1346: Triumph of the Longbow* (London, 2001), p. 63.

[41]   Jean de Venette, *Chronique*, pp. II:201–2.

[42]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 91.

The strings of the Genoese crossbows could not be spanned by pulling on them alone. Each of the crossbowmen had a hook attached to their belts. To draw their bows they would hook the strings onto the hook on their belts and then step into stirrups attached to the front of the bows, pulling the strings into place by stretching their legs, before locking them with nut and trigger mechanisms attached to the stocks. This loading procedure can be seen in a number of contemporary art works: for example, in an illumination from the Bodleian Library's *Romance of Alexander* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bod 264), a fresco on the wall of the Castle of Sabbionara, Avio, Italy, and a carving on the wall of the Church of St. Nicholas in Hagenau, France. But, as seen in these art works, to do this the crossbowmen had to be able to balance on one leg while stretching the crossbows to the ground with their feet in the stirrups. Muddy, wet ground would impede this, as, according to the Italian eyewitness, happened at Crécy. The Genoese could not shoot their crossbows simply because they could not load them. In frustration they withdrew from the field.

This retreat, however, was regarded by the French nobles as betrayal, a strike of sorts, as the Genoese had not been paid before the engagement. The nobles reacted by drawing their lances and swords and charging into the crossbowmen. "Let the Genoese die," was their call, "we have no need for footsoldiers. We have enough men-at-arms" (*dunqua morano Genovesi . . . non avemo bisuogno de pedoni. Iente avemo assai*). Thus, the initial blows made by the French were against their allies and not their enemies: "five thousand Genoese were killed in an hour" (*cinque milia Genovesi fuoro occisi ad una hora*).[43] Only then did they charge into the English lines.

It was at this time, during this charge, that the English archers came out from their hiding places and loosed their own bows—not at the crossbowmen, as most modern historians have interpreted, but at charging French cavalry:

> The bows and arrows shot—da, da, da [the anonymous author actually writes, 'da, da, da']. All the men-at-arms were in danger. On the left side the horses fell, so that half the army was destroyed. The wounded men-at-arms began to flee. The horses fell dead. (*Stienno l'arcora e saiettano: ' Da, da, da.' Onne iente pericolavano. Nello lato manco sfonnavano li cavalli, donne l'oste fu moito mancata. La iente feruta dao allo tornare. Li cavalli cado muorti*).[44]

Again, this makes sense. If the Genoese crossbowmen could not shoot their weapons and were retreating from the field, with their own side killing them, why would the longbowmen have shot at them, revealing their hidden positions at the same time? The English archers were much more effective if, after coming out of their places of hiding, they shot only at the French cavalry and their horses to disrupt their charges and funnel them onto the strongest and most armored

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[43]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, pp. 91–2.
[44]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, pp. 93–4.

English soldiers. Clearly, if this eyewitness account is accurate, that was precisely what happened.

At this point the chronicler writes: "this battle was lost" (*quella vattaglia fu perduta*).[45] But before concluding his account, he describes several encounters between English and French.[46] Chief among these is his story of the death of Johann of Bohemia. Late in the conflict, after most of the French were in flight, the King of Bohemia asked how the battle was going and was told the obviously disappointing news, although he had prophesied it happening. It was reported that only he and his men were left, "all the French were killed" (*tutti Franceschi erano attriti*). Despite being told that "the English are strong. We are not foolish. To go against so many men-at-arms would be madness" (*li Englesi staco fuorti. Noi non simo saiza. A tanta iente è pazzia lo ire*), he decided to enter the fray: "I wish us to advance, advance to die with honor" (*io voglio che ne iamo. Iamo a morire ad onore*). Then he affixed chains from his armor to two of his barons, so that they might have "one death, one honor" (*una morte, uno onore*). One of these, Sir Hano dello Tornello, carried his banner; he would be the first to die. The Germans positioned themselves across from the English center. Trumpets and bagpipes sounded. They charged. But their attacks were in vain. Despite "putting up a good fight … in the end the array of the King of Bohemia was destroyed, finely ground like salt with a pestle" (*anche fecero bona resistenzia … alla fine la schiera dello re de Bohemia fu attriti, como se trita poca saiza de granne pistello*). The king was killed, still chained to his barons, they having also been slain. The king's son only escaped the fate of his father by being led off the field to Paris by some of his companions.[47]

The eyewitness concludes his account of the battle of Crécy: "There was no-one to hold the field for the King of France; the field was left to the English" (*ora non è chi tenga campo per lo re de Francia. Lo campo remase alli Engelsi*).[48] Anticipating French reinforcements to avenge their loss, the English stayed in their armor for three days following the battle; but no reinforcements arrived. Finally, the eyewitness recounts the numbers lost: 60,000 men on both sides killed; many prisoners taken; 1,500 golden spurs, won by French nobles for valiant deeds and tournament victories, and 1,300 banners taken by the English; and naked French corpses, or what was left of them, taken to Paris for burial.[49] Only then, four days after their victory, did the English march to Calais: "they did not stay longer" (*non demoraro più*).

The account of the battle of Crécy given from an Italian eyewitness to the anonymous Roman chronicler alters modern interpretations of what occurred on the battlefield that twenty-sixth day of August 1346. Admittedly, there are some

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[45]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 94.

[46]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, pp. 94–6.

[47]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, pp. 95–6.

[48]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 96.

[49]   *Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, p. 96.

problems with the text, some of which may cast doubt on the source's veracity for some historians: after reporting the problems of the Genoese crossbowmen, the anonymous Roman writer includes a very long and odd story of the capture of the Black Prince by a "Count Valentine" who mistreats him. Chastened for this by Charles, the count of Alençon (a cousin of the English Prince), Valentine kills him, only then to be killed himself by the Flemish count, Louis de Nevers, who observed what had occurred.[50] As there is no other record of the Black Prince's capture on the battlefield of Crécy, or of a Count Valentine, although the count of Alençon was slain in the battle, this probably did not happen; on the other hand, as we have no evidence of how Alençon died, and other contemporary accounts claim that at one point the Black Prince was "compelled to fight on his knees," perhaps this story should not be so quickly dismissed.[51] It certainly should not mean that the entire account be discredited. More importantly, what the *Cronica anonimo Romano* adds to the location and array of the English lines, the hiding of the English archers among the wheat and trees before answering the French cavalry charges with their arrows, the death of the blind King of Bohemia and, especially, the problems faced by the Genoese crossbowmen, should, and undoubtedly will, transform all future accounts of the very important battle of Crécy.

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[50]　*Cronica anonimo romano* (ed.) Porta, pp. 92–3.

[51]　Geoffrey le Baker, *Chronicon*, p. 84. See also the *Récits d'un bourgeois de Valenciennes*, p. 233.

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