

## **MODULE HI1200**

### **EUROPE, 1000-1250: WAR, GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY IN THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES**

**Professor Robinson**

Single Honors History, Two-Subject Moderatorship, History and Political Science,  
Ancient and Medieval History and Culture Module

**ECTS Value: 10**

Broad Curriculum Module

**ECTS Value: 5**

### **HI1200 - Learning Outcomes**

On successful completion of this module, students should be able to:

- Outline chronologically key events and developments in the history of western Europe and the Near East during the high middle ages
- Assess the causes and immediate consequences of the crusades
- Discuss the core features of European society during the high middle ages
- Analyse the impact of different aspects of political, social and military development on Europe during the high middle ages
- Undertake a basic analysis and evaluation of selected primary sources in translation relating to European and crusading history in

the high middle ages Present and discuss in written and oral format analysis of key questions relating to the history of Europe and the Near East during the high Middle Ages.

## 1. INTRODUCTION TO MODULE HI1200

This module deals with social and political change in Europe during the two-and-a-half centuries of the development of the crusading movement. It focuses in particular on the internal development of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Byzantium (the Eastern Christian empire based on Constantinople) and the crusading colonies in the Near East. The most important themes are the development of royal and imperial authority, the structure of aristocratic society, rebellion and the threat of political disintegration, warfare as a primary function of the secular ruling class and the impact of war on the development of European institutions.

Module **HI1200** is taken by Single Honors History, Two-Subject Moderatorship and History and Political Science, Ancient and Medieval History and Culture Junior Freshman students as a **10 ECTS** module.

It may be taken as a **10 ECTS** module by Socrates students and Visiting students with the permission of the Department of History.

**HI1200** is also taken as a Broad Curriculum module of **5 ECTS**.

For all undergraduates Module HI1200 consists of **two lectures** each week throughout Michaelmas Term, together with a series of **six tutorials**, for which written assignments are required.

For all **10 ECTS** students the **examination** of this module will take the form of:

(1) an **essay** (chosen from Section 4 below), which accounts for **20%** of the over-all assessment of this module

*and*

(2) a three-hour **examination** in Trinity Term, which accounts for **80%** of the over-all assessment. Candidates are required to answer **three** questions from a choice of **twelve** questions.

For **5 ECTS** students the **examination** of this module will take the form of an **essay**, chosen from Section 4 below.

## 2. A Guide to Module HI1200

### Europe, 1000-1250: War, Government and Society in the Age of the Crusades

#### 'Feudalism': Aristocratic Society and Feudal Government in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

The kingdoms of the central Middle Ages were composed of 'territorial principalities', which in turn were composed of 'lordships' (*seigneuries*), each ruled by a lord who 'owned what he ruled and ruled what he owned'. This situation came about through a 'disintegration of political authority' before 1000. Examples: the duchy of Aquitaine in the French kingdom; the county of Macon in the French duchy of Burgundy. Two variations on the theme of 'disintegration': the duchy of Normandy (French kingdom); the 'kingdom of the Germans'.

See **R.W. Southern**, *The making of the Middle Ages* chapter 2, section 1.

Fundamental to political society was the relationship of lords and vassals. The vassal's service could be rewarded by the grant of a fief (benefice).

The consequences of the fealty (fidelity) sworn by the vassal to the lord. Fealty was both a negative and a positive concept: a promise not to do harm and also a promise of service, the two most important elements being 'aid' (*auxilium*) and 'advice' (*consilium*). The financial obligations of feudalism included especially the 'relief and the aid'. There is widespread evidence of vassals with more than one lord, a phenomenon known as the 'plurality of homage'.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition, pp. 95-105, 129-33, second edition pp. 101-13, 178-85.

#### Monarchy in the Eleventh Century

##### (a) The Capetian monarchy of the kingdom of France

The limitations of the authority of the crown in the 'mosaic state' of eleventh-century France. Contemporaries distinguished between *Francia generalis* (the total land mass of France) and *Francia particularis* (the lands ruled directly by the Capetian king).

The assets of an impoverished monarchy were the French tradition of kingship, feudal theory and the judicial authority of the French crown. The income of the crown derived from the royal demesne.

The eleventh-century monarchy depended heavily on the support of the Church. The Church's contribution to monarchy consisted of the rite of consecration and coronation and the resultant cult of kingship.

Succession to the crown became in practice (but not in theory) hereditary.

The king also had recourse to an 'ecclesiastical demesne'. Certain bishops swore an oath of fealty as vassals of the crown. Within their dioceses the king controlled ecclesiastical appointments.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition pp. 194-203; second edition pp. 251-61.

##### (b) The kingdom of the Germans and the western empire

The western empire (the 'Roman empire') was created by the Ottonians and developed by the eleventh-century Salian kings and emperors, Conrad II, Henry III and Henry IV. The 'imperial triad' ruled by the Salian emperors consisted of the kingdoms of Germany, Italy and Burgundy.

The secular conception of emperorship was that of hegemony, an authority exercised over the neighbouring eastern and northern territories. The politics of the eleventh-century German kingdom focused on the relations of the monarch with the princes (dukes, margraves, counts). Dukes were invested with their office by the king and they could in certain circumstances be deposed by the king. Were dukes primarily royal agents in the duchies or the leaders of the local aristocracy?

Central to the effectiveness of the monarchy was the alliance of the monarch and the Church, symbolised by the king's appointment of bishops using the feudal ceremony of investiture.

The term 'imperial Church system' was coined by historians to describe this relationship, which is often seen as involving royal control of the Church.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition chapter 7, second edition chapter 9 and pp. 235-44.

#### **(c) The Normans in southern Italy in the eleventh century**

The Normans appeared in southern Italy at the beginning of the eleventh century, perhaps first as pilgrims, perhaps as brigands, perhaps as mercenaries. By mid-century they had profited from the political instability of the south, where the Byzantine military commander in Bari, the native Lombard princes and the Moslem power of Sicily were rivals for dominance. The Norman conquests of southern Italy and Sicily in the eleventh century created the three independent Norman principalities of Apulia-Calabria (Duke Robert Guiscard), Capua (Prince Richard of Capua) and Sicily (Count Roger I). Central to the history of the Normans in the south in the period 1059-1100 was the relationship of the Norman duke of Apulia-Calabria and the Norman prince of Capua with the pope, their neighbour and, from 1059 onwards, their feudal overlord.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition pp. 218-24, second edition pp. 292-7.

### **Government in the Twelfth Century**

The twelfth century witnessed changes in secular government, as rulers with increased revenues and more professional servants were able to wield authority over more extensive territories.

#### **(a) The making of the Norman kingdom of Sicily**

The kingdom created by Roger II of Sicily in 1130 seems superficially to have been innovatory in its institutions. In fact it drew on indigenous traditions of government and political thought, Byzantine and Moslem, which had been an important influence since the Norman conquests of southern Italy and Sicily and which made the kingdom of Sicily quite distinct from the other kingdoms of the west. Roger II overcame the opposition of the papacy and its allies and by 1139 he had constructed a monarchy of prodigious wealth and power.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition pp. 218-24, second edition pp. 292-7.

#### **(b) The Capetian kingdom of France**

The key to the success of the regime of Louis VI and Louis VII was that the twelfth century was a period of growing prosperity for the French monarchy and a harmonious relationship between churchmen and royal government. This enabled Louis VII to survive the dangerous competition with the 'Angevin empire', the territories controlled by King Henry II of England, who, as count of Anjou and duke of Normandy, was his vassal.

Philip II Augustus used his inherited financial and political advantages, together with his feudal authority, to inflict defeat on his rival-neighbour-vassal, the Plantagenet king of England, duke of Normandy and count of Anjou.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition pp. 204-8, second edition pp. 261-6; **R.H.C. Davis**, *History of Medieval Europe* pp. 297-313.

#### **(c) The Western Empire**

The principal political developments in the German kingdom in the early twelfth century were: (i) the consolidation of the power of the princes, especially the most powerful dynasty, the Welf, whose power culminated in the career of Henry 'the Lion', duke of Saxony and Bavaria; (ii) the territorial impoverishment of the monarchy in the reigns of Henry V, Lothar III and Conrad III; (iii) the assertion by the secular princes and prince-bishops of the elective principle in king-making.

Frederick I of Staufen, king and emperor (1152-90) sought to restore the authority of the monarchy with the consent of the princes by recognising their enhanced status in a series of royal privileges, which legalised their territorial and government gains.

The political situation in the Italian kingdom in the twelfth century was that royal authority was undermined by the development of the city-republics (communes) and republican institutions. Frederick I's policy in Italy was to restore imperial authority at the expense of the communes. He was defeated (after six expeditions) by the military might of the cities (who formed 'the Lombard League') and the diplomacy of Pope Alexander III.

Frederick I lost the war but won the peace: imperial authority was consolidated by a treaty with the Italian cities and a marriage alliance with the Hauteville dynasty of Sicily, which eventually produced 'the union of the Kingdom [of Sicily] and the Empire'.

See **R.H.C. Davis**, *History of Medieval Europe* pp. 315-40

### **The Crusades**

The crusading movement originated in the pontificate of Urban II as 'the foreign policy of the reform papacy'. The core of crusading ideology and the basis of recruitment to crusading armies was the promise of remission of sins for the secular aristocracy in return for their military service.

There is evidence that, in the view of the papacy and of some of the princely leaders of the First Crusade, the expedition was intended to be a western-Byzantine alliance against the Seljuk Turks who threatened the security of the Byzantine empire. On the eve of the First Crusade Emperor Alexius I Comnenus had established a regime intended to counter the political and military weaknesses threatening the empire during the eleventh century.

The Crusades was experienced by the Islamic world as an unwelcome western intrusion in the power struggles of Islam that was formidable only at times of Islamic disunity. The First Crusade was successful because of the Islamic divisions of the later eleventh century. The subsequent reunification of the Islamic world in the twelfth century by the Zengid dynasty and above all by Saladin inevitably weakened the crusader colonies.

The First Crusade created the crusader principalities of Jerusalem, Antioch, Edessa and Tripoli. The Second Crusade, however, failed in its attempt to recover the principality of Edessa, lost to the Zengids. The twelfth-century kingdom of Jerusalem and the crusader principalities experienced military limitations (inadequate numbers of troops and dependence on a defensive strategy) and political problems (a feudal constitution weighted in favour of the magnates and aristocratic faction-fighting, 'natives' versus 'newcomers') that eventually provoked the crisis of 1187, the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin.

The Crusades were seen by the Byzantine Empire as an alien influence which perilously disturbed the balance of Byzantine politics and diplomacy. Involvement with the west (and notably with the city republic of Venice) finally brought about the disaster of 1204, the Fourth Crusade, which culminated in the capture of Constantinople.

See **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* first edition chapter 7, second edition pp. 298-314; **R.H.C. Davis**, *History of Medieval Europe* pp. 278-94, 348-9.

### **Government in the early thirteenth century**

(a) Frederick II of Staufen inherited from Henry VI 'the Union of the Kingdom [of Sicily] and the Empire' and created on this basis a Mediterranean empire with crusading ambitions. He developed an autocratic government in Sicily, while making concessions to the princes in Germany.

In the kingdom of Germany Frederick, 'a Sicilian on the German throne', through his concessions to the German princes, abandoned much of the direct power of the German monarch. Opposed by his son, the German king Henry, Frederick defeated his son's rebellion with the support of the princes.

Frederick II's determination to bring the kingdom of Italy 'into the unity of the empire' revived the Lombard League of Italian city-republics. The intermittent war of 1237-50 was one of alliance and counter-alliance among the Italian cities, in which the League was ultimately able to frustrate the ambitions of the emperor.

See **R.H.C. Davis**, *History of Medieval Europe* pp. 368-82.

(b) The early thirteenth century witnessed a rapid expansion in the territory and political influence of the Capetian kingdom of France during the reigns of Philip II, Louis VIII and Louis IX (St Louis). Military success was followed by political centralisation and more effective royal authority, which was not ultimately impeded by the aristocratic reaction of 1226-34.

### 3. Lecture Topics (September-December)

- 1 Western Europe, Byzantium, Islam in 1000
- 2 Feudal society in 'the second age of feudalism', 1000-1250
- 3 'Political disintegration' in 'the second age of feudalism'
- 4 Feudal institutions and aristocratic government in western Europe
- 5 The French monarchy in the eleventh century
- 6 The monarchy and the princes in Germany in the eleventh century
- 7 The Normans in southern Italy in the eleventh century
- 8 Roger II and the kingdom of Sicily
- 9 The development of royal authority in France in the twelfth century
- 10 The Capetians, Normandy and the kingdom of England
- 11 The monarchy and the princes in Germany in the twelfth century
- 12 Emperor Frederick I and the kingdom of Italy

*Study Week: No Lectures*

- 13 The beginnings of the crusading movement
- 14 Islam and the crusades
- 15 Byzantium in the eleventh century
- 16 The First Crusade: the crusade of the princes, 1096-1099
- 17 The Second Crusade
- 18 The kingdom of Jerusalem, 1099-1187
- 19 Byzantium and the west in the twelfth century
- 20 The Fourth Crusade and the fall of Constantinople
- 21 The empire of Frederick II
- 22 France in the early thirteenth century

### 4. Essay Titles

Students are required to write an essay on **one** of the following topics **at** the time prescribed by the Junior Freshman Course Handbook.

Essays should not exceed **2,000 words**.

On the presentation of the essay please consult the Junior Freshman Course handbook, section entitled *Guidelines for Writing Essays*. The footnotes and bibliography of your essay must conform to these *Guidelines*.

Please complete the essay cover-sheet provided by the Department and attach to the essay before handing it into the Departmental Office (Room 3143) on the date given in the Junior Freshman Course Handbook. Students must sign the essay register when submitting an essay.

Please note below the **recommended reading** for each essay, which is indicated in abbreviated form beneath each essay title. The numbers refer to the **Reading List** for this module (see below, section 5)..

1. *Comment on the effectiveness of feudal authority in any one or two French principalities in the eleventh century.*

**Reading:** : 1 (Brooke), 3 (Southern), 4 (Brooke), 8 (Bouchard), 16 (Fourquin), 17 (Bloch, volume 1), 18 (Ganshof), 19 (Reynolds), 21 (Painter), 22 (Cheyette), 23 (Green), 32 (Dunbabin)

2. *Comment on theories of royal authority and the practical realities of royal power in the eleventh century, with particular reference to one European monarchy.*

**Reading** (if the example of France is chosen): 1 (Brooke), 4 (Brooke), 8 (Bouchard), 22 (Cheyette), 32 (Dunbabin), 33 (Hallam), 34 (Fawtier), 35 (Smalley), 36 (Bloch)

**Reading** (if the example of Germany is chosen): 1 (Brooke), 4 (Brooke), 8 (Vollrath), 46 (Fleckenstein), 47 (Reuter), 48 (Fuhrmann), 49 (Haverkamp), 50 (Barraclough), 51 (Gillingham), 54 (Robinson)

3. *What factors determined the successes of the First Crusade ?*

**Reading:** 1 (Brooke), 2 (Davis), 4 (Brooke), 7 (Riley-Smith), 74 (Mayer), 75 (Setton, vol. 1), 76 (Runciman, vol. 1), 77 (Prawer), 79 (Holt), 80 (France), 82 (Phillips), 83 (Riley-Smith), 84 (Riley-Smith), 85 (France), 87 (Kostick)

4. *What was at issue in the conflict between Roger II of Sicily and his enemies ?*

**Reading:** 1 (Brooke), 4 (Brooke), 8 (Loud, Robinson), 66 (Douglas), 67 (Davis), 68 (Matthew), 69 (Abulafia), 71 (Norwich), 72 (Wieruszowski). See also I.S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073-1198* (1990) pp. 367-97

5. *What factors promoted the authority of the Capetian kings of France in the twelfth century?*

**Reading:** 1 (Brooke), 2 (Davis), 4 (Brooke), 8 (Baldwin and Bur), 32 (Dunbabin), 33 (Hallam), 34 (Fawtier), 35 (Smalley), 37 (Werner), 38 (Lewis), 39 (Baldwin), 41 (Gillingham)

6. *Comment on the political and military problems experienced by the kingdom of Jerusalem in the period 1100 - 1187.*

**Reading:** 74 (Mayer), 75 (Setton, chapters in volumes 1 and 2), 76 (Runciman, chapters in volumes 2 and 3), 77 (Prawer), 79 (Holt), 80 (France), 82 (Phillips), 83 (Riley-Smith), 92 (Smail), 93 (Prawer), 94 (Richard), 95 (Murray), 97 (Hamilton)

7. *How did the approach of Emperor Frederick I to the problems of government in Germany differ from his measures in Italy ?*

**Reading: 2** (Davis), **4** (Brooke), **8** (Arnold, Tabacco), **48** (Fuhrmann), **49** (Haverkamp), **50** (Barraclough), **55** (Munz), **56** (Pacaut), **57** (Barraclough), **60** (Tabacco), **62** (Hyde), **63** (Waley), **64** (Jones)

8. *Discuss the factors that brought about the fall of Constantinople in 1204.*

**Reading: 74** (Mayer), **75** (Setton, chapters in volume 2), **76** (Runciman, chapters in volume 3), **101** (M. Angold), **103** (R.-J. Lilie), **105** (C.M. Brand), **106** (P. Magdalino), **107** (M. Angold), **108** (D.E. Queller), **109** (Angold), **110** (Phillips)

9. *Discuss the attitude of Emperor Frederick II to the various territories under his jurisdiction.*

**Reading: 2** (Davis), **48** (Fuhrmann), **49** (Haverkamp), **50** (Barraclough), **58** (van Cleve), **59** (Abulafia), **62** (Hyde), **63** (Waley), **64** (Jones)

## 5. Reading List

Additional reading may be found in the individual bibliographies of  
*The New Cambridge Medieval History c.1024-c.1198* volume 4, parts I and II (2004)

### General Works

The most valuable guides to European history in the period 1000-1250 were written in the mid-twentieth century and have never been surpassed:

:

1. **C.N.L. Brooke**, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages, 962-1154* (second edition, 1987, or subsequent editions)
2. **R.H.C. Davis**, *A History of Medieval Europe* (revised edition, 2006), part II
3. **R. W. Southern**, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (1953)

See also the following general works:

4. **Z.N. Brooke**, *A History of Europe, 911-1198* (1956) (a narrative account).
5. **Maurice Keen**, *The Pelican History of Medieval Europe* (1970)
6. **R. Bartlett**, *The making of Europe* (1993)
7. *The New Cambridge Medieval History c.1024-c.1198* volume 4, part I (2004)  
especially chapters by **J. Flori** (Knightly society); **J. Riley-Smith** (The crusades, 1095-1198)
8. *The New Cambridge Medieval History c.1024-c.1198* volume 4, part II (2004)  
especially chapters by **H. Vollrath** (The western empire under the Salians), **G. Tabacco** (Northern and central Italy in the eleventh century), **G.A. Loud** (Southern Italy in the eleventh century), **C.B. Bouchard** (The kingdom of the Franks to 1108), **S. Barton** (Spain in the eleventh century), **M. Chibnall** (England and Normandy, 1042-1137), **M. Angold** (The Byzantine empire, 1025-1118), **B. Arnold** (The western empire, 1125-1197), **G. Tabacco** (Northern and central Italy in the twelfth century), **G.A. Loud** (Norman Sicily in the twelfth century), **P. Linehan** (Spain in the twelfth century), **J.W. Baldwin**, **M. Bur** (The kingdom of the Franks from Louis VI to Philip II), **T.M. Keefe** (England and the Angevin dominions, 1137-1204), **P. Magdalino** (The Byzantine empire, 1118-1204), **H.E. Mayer** (The Latin east, 1098-1205)
9. **S. Reynolds**, *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (1997)
10. **J. Gillingham** and **J.C. Holt** (ed.), *War and government in the Middle Ages* (1984)
11. **A. Harding**, *Medieval Law and the foundation of the State* (2002)
12. **W.C. Brown**, *Violence in Medieval Europe* (2011)
13. **R.I. Moore**, *The first European revolution, c. 970-1215* (2000)
14. **R.I. Moore**, *The formation of a persecuting society* (2007)
15. **T.N. Bisson**, *The crisis of the twelfth century* (2009)

### Western European Feudal Society

*A useful introduction to feudalism is:*

16. **Guy Fourquin**, *Lordship and Feudalism in the Middle Ages* (1976), especially pp. 45-61 (on vassalage and nobility), pp. 65-111 (on variations in European feudalism) and pp. 115-162 (on homage, fealty and the fief).

*Two fundamental studies of feudalism:*

17. **Marc Bloch**, *Feudal Society* (English translation, 1962), especially volume 1, pp. 145-62 (vassalage); pp. 163-75 (the fief); pp. 176-89 (variations in European feudalism); pp. 190-210 (inheritance of fiefs); pp. 211-18 (plurality of homage); 219-30 (duties of vassalage and lordship).
- 18 **F.L. Ganshof**, *Feudalism* (English translation, new edition, 1964) pp. 65-8 ('classical feudalism'); pp. 69-105 (vassalage); 106-49 (the fief); pp. 150-5 (duties of vassal and lord); pp. 156-67 (political functions of feudalism).  
*A critical analysis of the previous historical literature on European feudalism:*
19. **Susan Reynolds**, *Fiefs and vassals* (1994)

*On the relations of lords and peasants:*

20. **Robert Fossier**, *Peasant life in the medieval West* (1988) especially pp. 126-59.

*The following are regional studies:*

21. **Sidney Painter**, 'The lords of Lusignan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Speculum* 32 (1957).
22. **F.L. Cheyette** (editor), *Lordship and community in medieval Europe* (1968), especially the essay by **Georges Duby** on the region of the Mâconnais
23. **J.A. Green**, 'Lords of the Norman Vexin' in: *War and government in the Middle Ages. Essays in honour of J.O. Prestwich* ed. J. Gillingham and J.C. Holt (1984) pp. 47-61.

*On the concepts of knighthood and nobility see:*

24. **Maurice Keen**, *Chivalry* (1984), especially pp. 23-43 (origins of knighthood); pp. 45-63 (Church and knighthood); pp. 64-77 (dubbing to knighthood).
25. **Frances Gies**, *The Knight in history* (1986) especially pp. 17-35 (origins and development of knighthood).
26. **Georges Duby**, *The chivalrous society* (English translation, 1977), especially pp. 59-80 (the term *nobilis* in the Mâconnais), 94-111 (nobility in medieval France), 134-48 (structure of kinship and nobility)
27. **Tony Hurst**, 'The emergence of the knight in France and England, 1000-1200' in: *Knighthood in medieval literature* edited W.H. Jackson (1981)
28. **R. Allen Brown**, 'The status of the Norman knight' in: *War and 'government in the Middle Ages* (as no. 14).

*On the military history of the feudal period:*

29. **Philippe Contamine**, *War in the Middle Ages* (English translation, 1984), especially pp. 30-64.
30. **J.F. Verbruggen**, *The art of warfare in Western Europe during the Middle Ages* (English translation, 1977), especially pp. 23-97.
31. **M. Keen** (ed.), *Medieval warfare. A history* (1999)

## **The Kingdom of France**

32. **Jean Dunbabin**, *France in the Making, 843-1180* (1983), especially pp. 133-245 (eleventh-century France); pp. 256-373 (twelfth-century France).
33. **E.M. Hallam** and **J. Everard**, *Capetian France 987-1328* (second edition, 2001)
- On the Capetian monarchy see:*
34. **Robert Fawtier**, *The Capetian Kings of France* (English translation, 1960).
35. **Beryl Smalley**, 'Capetian France' in: *France: Government and Society* edited J.M. Wallace-Hadrill and J. McManners (1957)
36. **Marc Bloch**, *The sacred touch* (English translation, 1924) (a study of 'sacral kingship', concerned with the alleged healing powers of the Capetian kings).
37. **K.F. Werner**, 'Kingdom and principality in twelfth-century France' in: *The medieval nobility* edited T. Reuter (1978) pp. 243-90
38. **A.W. Lewis**, *Royal succession in Capetian France. Studies on familial order and the state* (1981), especially pp. 16-77
39. **J.W. Baldwin**, *The government of Philip Augustus: foundations of French royal power in the Middle Ages* (1986)

40. **J. Bradbury**, *Philip Augustus, king of France, 1180-1223* (1998)
41. **John Gillingham**, *The Angevin empire* (second edition, 2001)
42. **J.R. Strayer**, *Medieval statecraft and the perspectives of history* (1971)
43. **W.C. Jordan**, *Louis IX and the challenge of the crusade* (1979)
44. **M.C. Gaposchkin**, *The making of St Louis* (2008)
45. **J. Le Goff**, *Saint Louis* (English translation, 2009)

### **The Kingdom of Germany and the Western Empire**

46. **Josef Fleckenstein**, *Early medieval Germany*, (1978) pp. 117-51 (Ottonian background); pp. 177-96 (early Salians).
  47. **Timothy Reuter**, *Germany in the early Middle Ages* (1991)
  48. **Horst Fuhrmann**, *Germany in the High Middle Ages, c. 1050-1250* (English translation, 1986), especially pp. 31-81 (Emperor Henry IV); pp. 81-134 (the early twelfth century); pp. 135-80 (Frederick I); pp. 180-6 (Henry VI; Frederick II).
  49. **Alfred Haverkamp**, *Medieval Germany, 1056-1273* (English translation, 1988), pp. 101-24 (Emperor Henry IV), pp. 124-47 (early twelfth century), pp. 221-35 (Frederick I), pp. 235-44 (Henry VI), pp. 244-59 (Frederick II).
  50. **Geoffrey Barraclough**, *The origins of modern Germany* (second edition, 1947)
  51. **J.B. Gillingham**, *The Kingdom of Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Historical Association pamphlet, 1971)
- On the meaning of the title 'emperor', held by the German king, see:
52. **Geoffrey Barraclough**, 'The medieval empire: idea and reality' in: Geoffrey Barraclough, *History in a changing world* (1955)
  53. **Robert Folz**, *The concept of empire in Western Europe from the fifth to the fourteenth century* (English translation, 1969)
- Studies of particular emperors:*
54. **I.S. Robinson**, *Henry IV of Germany, 1056-1106* (1999)
  55. **Peter Munz**, *Frederick Barbarossa* (1969).
  56. **Marcel Pacaut**, *Frederick Barbarossa* (English translation, 1970)
  57. **Geoffrey Barraclough**, 'Frederick Barbarossa and the twelfth century' in: *History in a changing world* (as no. 39)
  58. **T.C van Cleve**, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (1970).
  59. **David Abulafia**, *Frederick II* (1988).

*On the imperial kingdom of Italy see:*

60. **Giovanni Tabacco**, *The struggle for power in medieval Italy* (1989) pp. 151-76 (on the tenth and eleventh centuries); 182-236 (on the eleventh and twelfth centuries).
61. **D. Abulafia** (ed.), *Italy in the central Middle Ages, 1000-1300* (2004)
62. **J.K. Hyde**, *Society and Politics in medieval Italy* (1973)
63. **D.P. Waley**, *The Italian city-republics* (1969)
64. **P. Jones**, *The Italian city-state* (1997)

### **Southern Italy: the Kingdom of Sicily**

65. **D.C. Douglas**, *The Norman achievement, 1050-1100* (1969)
66. **D.C. Douglas**, *The Norman fate, 1100-1154* (1976) .
67. **R.H.C. Davis**, *The Normans and their myth* (1976)
68. **D.J.A. Matthew**, *The Norman kingdom of Sicily* (1992)
69. **D.S.H. Abulafia**, *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean* (1987)
70. **J.J. Norwich**, *The Normans in the south* (two volumes, 1966)
71. **J.J. Norwich**, *The kingdom in the sun* (1970)
72. **G.A. Loud**, *The age of Robert Guiscard* (2000)
73. **Helen Wieruszowski**, 'Roger II of Sicily, *rex-tyrannus* in twelfth-century political thought', *Speculum* 38 (1963)

## The Crusades

74. **H.-E. Mayer**, *The Crusades* (second edition, 1988).
  - 75.. **K.M. Setton** (editor), *A history of the crusades*, volumes 1 and 2 (1955, 1962)
  76. **S. Runciman**, *A history of the crusades* (3 volumes, 1951-4).
  77. **J. Prawer**, *The world of the crusades* (1972)
  78. **J. Riley-Smith**, *What were the crusades?* (1977)
  79. **P.M. Holt**, *The age of the crusades: the Near East from the eleventh century to 1517* (1986)
  80. **J. France**, *Western warfare in the age of the Crusades* (1999)
  81. **J. Richard**, *The Crusades* (English translation, 1999)
  82. **J. Phillips**, *The Crusades, 1095-1197* (2002)
  83. **J. Riley-Smith**, *The crusades: a history* (2005)
- Special topics:*
84. **J. Riley-Smith**, *The First Crusade and the idea of crusading* (1986)
  85. **J. France**, *Victory in the east. A military history of the First Crusade* (1996)
  86. **C. Kostick**, *The social structure of the First Crusade* (2008)
  87. **C. Kostick**, *The siege of Jerusalem. Crusade and conquest in 1099* (2009)
  88. **S. Kangas**, *Deus vult: images of crusader violence c.1095-1100* (2010)
  89. **J. Phillips**, *The Second Crusade* (2007)
  90. **G. Constable**, 'The Second Crusade as seen by contemporaries', *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213-79
  - 91.. **R.C. Small**, *Crusading Warfare* (1956)
  - 92.. **R.C. Smail**, *The crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land* (1973)
  - 93.. **J. Prawer**, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, European colonialism in the Middle Ages* (1972).
  - 94.. **J. Richard**, *The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem* (1979)
  - 95.. **A.V. Murray**, *The crusader kingdom of Jerusalem: a dynastic history, 1099-1125* (2000)
  - 96.. **M.C. Lyons** and **D.E.P. Jackson**, *Saladin: the politics of the holy war* (1982)
  97. **B. Hamilton**, *The leper king and his heirs: Baldwin IV and the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem* (2000)
  98. **P.W. Edbury** (ed.), *Crusade and settlement* (1985)
  99. **A.J. Forey**, *The military orders* (1992)
  100. **M. Barber**, *The new knighthood: a history of the order of the Temple* (1994)
- On Byzantium and the crusaders:*
101. **M. Angold**, *The Byzantine empire, 1025-1204: a political history* (1997)
  102. *Cambridge Medieval History* volume 4 part 1 (1966)
  - 103.. **R.-J. Lilie**, *Byzantium and the crusader states, 1096-1204* (1993)
  104. **T. Gouma-Peterson**, *Anna Comnena and her times* (2000)
  105. **C.M. Brand**, *Byzantium confronts the West, 1180-1204* (1968)
  106. **P. Magdalino**, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (1993)
  107. **M. Angold**, 'The state of research: the road to 1204: the Byzantine background to the Fourth Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), 257-78
  108. **D.E. Queller**, *The Fourth Crusade: the conquest of Constantinople* (1978)
  109. **M. Angold**, *The Fourth Crusade* (2003)
  110. **J. Phillips**, *The Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople* (2004)

## 6. Tutorial Assignments

In addition to lectures, you are required to attend a series of one-hour tutorials in this module. The times and places of the meetings of these tutorial groups will be posted on the Departmental noticeboard at the beginning of Michaelmas Term.

The required written work must be presented punctually as directed by the tutorial teacher. The following pages contain the series of topics for discussion and the documentary evidence (in English translation) that will be used in the tutorials.

The themes of the tutorials will be as follows:

*Tutorial 1* Feudal institutions

*Tutorial 2* The kingdom of France in the eleventh century

*Tutorial 3* The German monarchy in the eleventh century

*Tutorial 4* The Capetian kingdom in the twelfth century

*Reading Week* No Tutorial

*Tutorial 5* Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa

*Tutorial 6* The idea of crusade

### TUTORIAL ONE: FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS

Please read the accompanying selection of short extracts from the primary sources (both administrative and narrative sources) illustrating the feudal institutions of Western Europe from *circa* 1000 to the twelfth century and then write *a commentary* on these documents of *about 500 words*, including discussion of some or all of the following topics.

*Topics for Discussion*

(1) Define the meaning of the terms *vassalage*, *fealty*, *homage*, *fief*, *liege homage*, illustrating your definition with material from the following documents.

(2) Compare the *oaths of fealty* presented in the texts 1(d), 2(a), 2(b), 3(b) and comment on the character of the last of these oaths. How did Bishop Fulbert of Chartres define fealty in text 3(a)? How did Fulbert's concepts of fealty differ from that of text 3(b)?

(3) Reconstruct the history of the relations of Countess Richilda of Hainault and her son, Count Baldwin of Hainault and Flanders, with Bishop Theoduin of Liège, as recorded in the two texts 6(c) and 4(a).

(4) Explain the term 'plurality of homage' and compare the attitude towards it in texts 5(a) and 5(c).

**Reading**

All these texts are discussed by **F.L. Ganshof** (Reading List no. 18) pp. 69-149. See also **C.N.L. Brooke** (Reading List no. 1) first edition pp. 95-105, 129-33; second edition pp. 101-13, 178-85; **R.W. Southern** (Reading List no. 3) chapter 2, section 1; **G. Fourquin** (Reading List no. 16) pp. 115-62.

### TUTORIAL I: FEUDAL INSTITUTIONS: DOCUMENTS

#### (1) The performance of homage by vassals

(a) *The tenth-century northern French chronicler Richer described how in 927 William Longsword, duke of Normandy became the vassal of Charles 'the Simple', king of France* He committed himself into the king's hands in order to serve him and promised him fealty and confirmed it with an oath.

(b) *The early eleventh-century German chronicler Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg recorded the first visit of King Henry II of Germany to the eastern territories of his kingdom after becoming king (1002) and his first encounter with the nobility of this region.*

All those who had served the previous emperor placed their hands in those of the king and promised him on oath their faithful aid.

(c) *The twelfth-century biographer of Bishop Galcher of Cambrai described the reconciliation of Count Robert II of Flanders with Emperor Henry IV in 1103 after many years of rebellion against the emperor, during which Robert had proved a bitter enemy to his neighbour, Bishop Galcher, a supporter of the emperor.*

After having done homage publicly, Robert took an oath to Henry and promised, as a vassal to his lord, that he would show himself henceforward loyal to his kingdom and that he would honour Galcher and that he would further support him against all men.

(d) *The chronicler Galbert of Bruges described how in 1127 the new count of Flanders, William Clito ('the young prince') of Normandy, received the vassals of his predecessor, the murdered Count Charles 'the Good' of Flanders.*

Firstly, they did homage in the following manner. The count demanded of the future vassal if he wished unreservedly to become his 'man' [i.e. vassal] and he replied, 'I wish it.' Then, with his hands clasped and enclosed between those of the count, their alliance was sealed by a kiss. Secondly, he who had done homage engaged his faith to the interpreter\* of the count in the following words: 'I promise by my faith that from this time forward I will be faithful to Count William and will maintain towards him my homage entirely against every man in good faith and without any deception.' Thirdly, all this was sworn on the relics of saints.

\* Count William, as a Norman, did not speak the vernacular language of the Flemish vassals of the count of Flanders and consequently needed an interpreter.

## **(2) The form of words of the oath of fealty**

(a) *An oath taken by Count Roger of Foix to Bishop Peter of Gerona, circa 1034*

From this hour henceforward I, Roger, son of Gersinda, will be faithful to you, Bishop Peter, son of Alix, by true faith, without mischievous intent, as a man should be to his lord and without any will to deceive.

(b) *An oath taken by Duke Bretislav I of Bohemia promising service to his neighbour, King Henry III of Germany in 1041 (recorded in a south German chronicle)*

He took an oath to the king that he would be as faithful to him as a vassal should be to his lord and that he would be a friend to his friends and a foe to his foes.

## **(3) The meaning of the term 'fealty'**

(a) *A definition of fealty as understood in northern France. Bishop Fulbert of Chartres (the foremost intellectual and teacher of early eleventh-century France) replied in this letter of 1020 to a request of Duke William V of Aquitaine for a definition of the duties of vassals.*

He who swears fealty to his lord should always have these six words present to his memory: 'safe', 'reliable', 'honest', 'useful', 'easy', 'possible'. 'Safe', because he must cause no injury to the body of his lord. 'Reliable', because he must not injure his lord by giving up his secrets or his castles, which are the guarantees of his security. 'Honest', because he must do nothing to injure the rights of justice of his lord or such other prerogatives as belong to his well-being. 'Useful', because he must do no wrong to the possessions of his lord. 'Easy' and 'possible', because he must not make difficult for his lord anything that the latter may wish to do and because he must not make impossible for his lord anything that he might otherwise accomplish. It is just that the faithful man [*fidelis* = vassal] should abstain from injuring his lord in any of these ways. But it is not because of such abstention that he deserves to hold his fief. It is not enough to abstain from doing wrong: it is necessary to do right. It is therefore necessary that in the six matters aforesaid the vassal shall faithfully give to his lord his counsel and his help, if he wishes to appear worthy of his fief and carry out faithfully the fealty that he has sworn. The lord must also in all things do as the vassal who has sworn fealty to him. If he fails to do this, he will rightly be accused of bad faith, just as a vassal who is found to have been negligent in his duties, whether deliberately or tacitly, is guilty of treachery and perjury.

(b) *An 'oath of security'*

*The oath sworn by Count William of Besalu to Archbishop Wifred of Narbonne, circa 1053*

From this hour henceforward I, Count William, son of Alix, will neither deceive Archbishop Wifred, son of the Countess Gisela, nor injure him in his life nor in the limbs that are attached to his body nor in the cathedral of Saint-Juste that is situated within the walls of Narbonne nor in the fortress that is built up against the said cathedral nor in the other things that are in the said city and ought to belong to the said cathedral.

#### **(4) The services of the vassal and the duties of the lord**

(a) *A charter stating the conditions on which Bishop Theoduin of Liège, on behalf of his church, enfeoffed the county of Hainault to Countess Richilda and her son, Count Baldwin II in 1076*

The count of Hainault owes to his lord, the bishop of Liège, his service and aid (*servitium et auxilium*) in all matters and against all men.... If the lord emperor of the Romans\* summons the count of Hainault to his court for any matter, the bishop of Liège is bound to make himself the defendant and answer instead of the count. Moreover if any person attacks the land of Hainault with the purpose of inflicting an injury, the bishop of Liège shall bring his army to assist the count of Hainault at his own expense.

\* I.e. the king of Germany, who also bore the title of emperor and who was the overlord of the count of Hainault.

(b) *An example of the vassal's duty of giving 'counsel' (consilium)*

*Count Charles the Good of Flanders, presiding over his court of law, addresses his vassals in the case of the dispute between the abbot of St Vaast of Arras and the knight Engelbert in 1122.*

My lords, I adjure you by the faith that you owe me, that you should go aside and decide in unimpeachable fashion what it is necessary to reply to Engelbert and what to the monks.

#### **(5) 'Plurality of homage' and liege homage**

(a) *Bishop Ivo of Chartres (a distinguished French canon lawyer of the late eleventh century) was asked to pronounce on the case of a knight who, having already sworn an oath of fealty to the lords whom his father formerly served, swore a second oath of fealty to Duke William II ('the Conqueror') of Normandy. Bishop Ivo ruled that the knight must be released from the second oath.*

Such engagements [of vassalage to Duke William II] are contrary to those that this man has previously contracted towards his lawful lords by right of birth, from whom he has already received his hereditary fiefs.

(b) *Definition of the term 'liegeman' in the Customs of Barcelona (end of the eleventh century)*

The lord of a liegeman is entitled to his aid against all and sundry: no man may use it against him. No man may become the liegeman of more than one lord, except with the consent of him to whom he first did liege homage.

(c) *Definition of 'liegeman' in an Anglo-Norman handbook of feudal customs ca. 1115*

However many lords a man may acknowledge, it is to the one whose liegeman he is that his chief duty lies.... A man must observe fealty to all his lords, excepting always his fealty to the earlier lord. But his strongest fealty is owed to that lord whose liegeman he is.... No redemption can be permitted for the man who has killed his lord: let him perish by the most atrocious tortures.

#### **(6) The fief**

(a) *The rewards granted by a lord to a young vassal*

*The early eleventh-century Norman historian Dudo of Saint-Quentin described how the tenth-century Duke William Longsword of Normandy used to respond to young vassals' requests for fiefs.*

The land that you ask of me I cannot give you, though all that I possess in moveable property I shall grant you willingly: bracelets and baldricks, breastplates and helms and greaves,

horses, axes and wonderful swords marvellously adorned with gold. If you show yourselves willingly devoted to my service, you will enjoy my benevolence and rejoice in the military distinction of my household.

(b) *The right of the lord to dispose of fiefs before 1000*

*The will of Countess Garsinda of Toulouse, circa 972*

I grant that fief that Rostagnus de Veharea held, with its meadows, woods and appurtenances ... to Aynardus and Bernard, the sons of Bernard.... That fief that Viscount Isarnus holds, let him continue to hold it as long as he lives.

(c) *The fief de reprise*

*The chronicler Giselbert of Mons described the misfortunes of Richilda, countess of Hainault and Flanders and her young son, Baldwin. After the death of Richilda's husband, the count of Flanders, her brother-in-law Robert 'the Frisian' seized control of Flanders in 1071, preventing young Baldwin from succeeding to his father's county and leaving Richilda only with the county of Hainault (which she had inherited from her father). Richilda decided that the most effective way to safeguard her son's interests was to gain the support of her neighbour, the bishop of Liège, acquiring him as her lord by converting her county of Hainault into a fief.*

She sold all her allods in Hainault to the bishop of Liège in order that with the purchase money she might hire mercenaries to use against Robert. Bishop Theoduin gladly received these great allods and granted them back to Richilda and her son Baldwin, to be held as a liege fief from him and he paid a very great sum for them.

(d) *The money fief (fief-rente)*

*Treaty between King Henry I of England and Count Robert II of Flanders in 1101*

On account of the aforesaid agreements and of the aforesaid service King Henry will give to Count Robert every year 500 pounds of English pennies as a fief.

## TUTORIAL TWO:

### THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Please read the accompanying documents concerned with the kingdom of France in the eleventh century, then write a commentary of *about 500 words* on these documents, including some or all of the following topics.

*Topics for Discussion:*

1. Summarise the eleventh-century conception of the structure of society presented in Documents 1 and 2. (Consult two essays in **G. Duby**, *The Chivalrous Society* (No. 26): 'The history and sociology of the medieval west', pp. 81-87; and 'The origins of a system of social classification', pp. 88-93.)
2. Documents 3 and 4 are concerned with the feudal aspect of royal authority. Comment on the significance of the oath of the archbishop of Rheims (a senior churchman accepting the lordship of the Capetian king) and the complaint of the count of Blois. (Consult **J. Dunbabin**, *France in the Making* (No. 32) and **R. Fawtier**, *The Capetian Kings of France* (No. 34).)
3. Documents 5, 6 and 7 illustrate the workings of the institutions known as the Peace of God and the Truce of God. Comment on the workings of these institutions and how they originated, noting in particular the significance of Document 6. (Consult **J. Dunbabin**, *France in the Making* (No. 32), pp. 150-4; and the essay in **G. Duby**, *The Chivalrous Society* (No. 26): 'Laity and the peace of God', pp. 123-33.)
4. Comment on the attitude of the nobility towards the peasantry revealed in Documents 1, 2, 6 and 7. (Consult **R. Fossier**, *Peasant Life in the Medieval West* (No. 20), pp. 126-59.)

### THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: DOCUMENTS

## **A. Documents describing the structure of society**

### **1. The poem of Bishop Adalbero of Laon to King Robert II, 'the Pious' (1022/30)**

The community of the faithful is a single body, but the condition of society is threefold in order. For human law distinguishes two classes. Nobles and peasants indeed are not governed by the same ordinance.... The former are the warriors and protectors of the churches. They are the defenders of the people, of both great and small, in short, of everyone, and at the same time they ensure their own safety. The other class is that of the peasants. This luckless breed possesses nothing except at the cost of its own labour. Who could, reckoning with an abacus, add up the sum of the cares with which the peasants are occupied, of their journeys on foot, of their hard labour? The peasants provide money, clothes and food for the rest; no free man could exist without peasants.... The master, who claims to feed his peasantry, is in fact himself fed by them. The peasant never sees an end to his tears and sighs. God's house, which we think of as one, is thus divided into three: some pray, others fight and others work. The three groups which coexist cannot bear to be separated; the services rendered by one are a precondition for the labours of the two others. The threefold community is nonetheless united and it is thus that law has been able to triumph and that the world has been able to enjoy peace.

### **2. Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, *Table talk*, recorded by his biographer, Eadmer of Canterbury (c. 1100)**

The example of the sheep, the oxen and the dogs. The purpose of sheep is to provide milk and wool, that of oxen is to work the ground, and that of dogs is to defend sheep and oxen from wolves. If each type of animal performs its duty, God protects it.... Similarly, He has set up orders which He has established in view of the various duties which must be fulfilled in this world. He has established some - clerks and monks - so that they may pray for the others and so that, full of gentleness, like sheep, they may give the others the milk of preaching to drink and may inspire in them a fervent love of God by the wool of good example. God has established the peasants to sustain their own lives and other people's, as the oxen do by their work. God has established yet others, the warriors, to show force in so far as it is needful, and to defend those who pray and those who till the land from enemies such as wolves.

## **B. The king and his vassals**

### **3. Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims, oath to King Hugh Capet and King Robert II (989)**

I, Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims, promise King Hugh and King Robert that I will maintain unbroken my fealty towards them, giving them aid and counsel in all that concerns them; and that I will not knowingly and faithlessly furnish any manner of aid, help or counsel to their enemies.

### **4. Count Eudes (Odo) II of Blois, letter to King Robert (1023)**

I am astounded that without having heard me in my own defence, you should hasten to pronounce me unworthy of the fief I hold of you. For consider my ancestry: by dint of it I am, thank God, entitled to succeed to the counties of Meaux and Troyes. Consider the fief you have bestowed on me: it was not granted out of your crown lands but is part of the lands which have come down to me by hereditary right and of your royal grace. And consider the feudal services which I have performed for you: you are well aware that for the favours I have had from you I have served you in your household, on your travels and in your wars. And now you have deprived me of your favour and seek to take away from me the things you have given to me. It may be that in the course of defending myself and my honours, I have committed certain offences against you. I was driven thereto by necessity and the wrongs I have suffered. For is it conceivable that I should hesitate to defend my honour? By God and my immortal soul, I had rather die defending it than live deprived of it. If you will desist from your attempts to take away my honour, there is nothing in the world I should desire

more than to be restored to your good graces. For it is very painful for me to quarrel with you, my lord. From the man who is at loggerheads with you are withheld the blessings kingship bestows -- justice and peace. Wherefore I implore you to show me that clemency which is as a wellspring within you and which only evil counsel can cause to dry up. And I pray you to cease persecuting me and let me be reconciled with you.

### **C. The Peace of God and Truce of God**

#### **5. Ralph Glaber, *The Histories* (1033)**

In the thousandth year from the Passion of the Lord ... the bishops and abbots, first in Aquitaine, summoned synods of all the people to which many relics of the saints were brought. Thereupon the provinces of Arles, Lyons, the whole of Burgundy and the remoter parts of France decreed that councils should convene for the fostering of peace and faith ... The most important decision concerned the preserving of the peace inviolable so that men of any condition at enmity with the king might without fear lay down their arms. No one should prey upon or invade the territory of another, and if he did, should be punished by fine and severe corporal penalty.... Clerks, monks and pilgrims should be unmolested in travelling.

#### **6. King Robert II, oath to Archbishop Warren of Beauvais (before 1023)**

The oath submitted by Warren, the archbishop of Beauvais, to Robert the Pious and sworn to by him: I will not infringe in any way upon the Church. I will not attack a clerk or monk if unarmed.... I will not attack a peasant or servants or merchants, nor steal their money.... From the beginning of Lent to the end of Easter I will not attack an unarmed knight nor rob him.

#### **7. Council of Toulouges (near Perpignan), legislation of the Peace and Truce of God (1041)**

§1. This peace has been confirmed by the bishop, by the abbots, by the counts and viscounts and the other God-fearing nobles in this bishopric, to the effect that in the future, beginning with this day, no man may commit an act of violence in a church or in the space which surrounds it and which is covered by its privileges, or in the burying ground or in the dwelling-houses which are, or may be, within thirty paces of it.

§2. ... A man who breaks into a church or into the space within thirty paces around it must pay a fine for sacrilege and double the amount to the person wronged.

§3. Furthermore, it is forbidden that anyone attacks the clergy, who do not bear arms, or monks and religious persons, or do them any wrong; likewise, it is forbidden to despoil or pillage the communities of canons, monks and religious persons, the ecclesiastical lands which are under the protection of the Church or the clergy, who do not bear arms; and if anyone shall do such a thing, let him pay a double compensation....

§5. ... Let no one burn or destroy the dwellings of the peasants and the clergy, the dovecotes and the granaries. Let no man dare to kill, to beat or to wound a peasant or serf, or the wife of either, or to seize them and carry them off, except for misdemeanours which they may have committed; but it is not forbidden to lay hold of them in order to bring them to justice....

§7. The bishops have solemnly confirmed the Truce of God, which has been enjoined upon all Christians, from the setting of the sun of the fourth day of the week, that is Wednesday, until the rising of the sun on Monday, the second day.... If any one during the Truce shall violate it, let him pay a double compensation and subsequently undergo the ordeal of cold water. When anyone during the Truce shall kill a man, it has been ordained with the approval of all Christians that if the crime was committed intentionally, the murderer shall be condemned to perpetual exile, but if it occurred by accident, the slayer shall be banished for a period of time to be fixed by the bishops and canons. If anyone during the Truce shall attempt to seize a man or carry him off from his castle and does not succeed in his purpose, let him pay a fine to the bishop and to the chapter, just as if he had succeeded. It is likewise forbidden during the Truce, in Advent and Lent to build any castle or fortification, unless it was begun a fortnight before the time of the Truce.... When the bishop and the chapter shall have pronounced sentences to recall men to the observance of the Peace and Truce of God,

the sureties and hostages who show themselves hostile to the bishops and chapter shall be excommunicated by the chapter and the bishop, with their protectors and supporters, as guilty of violating the Peace and Truce of God. They and their possessions shall be excluded from the Peace and Truce of the Lord.

### TUTORIAL THREE

#### THE GERMAN MONARCHY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Read the accompanying documents concerned with the role of kings in the government of the German kingdom in the eleventh century, then write a commentary of *about 500 words* on these documents, including some or all of the following topics.

*Topics for Discussion:*

1. Documents 1 (a) and (b), illustrate the relationship of the king-emperor and the Church, a relationship that has been described by historians as the 'Imperial Church system'. It has been suggested that the early eleventh-century German Church was subject to the control of the monarch, who appointed bishops (by investiture) and employed them in his government. Write an account of the monarch's relations with the imperial Church as presented in 1 (a) and (b). (Note that this theme also appears in Document 5, paragraph 1.)
2. Documents 2 and 5 describe the elections of kings (of King Conrad II in 1024 and of anti-king Rudolf of Swabia in 1077). Discuss the circumstances of one or both of these elections and comment on the role played by the secular and ecclesiastical princes in royal elections.
3. Comment on the significance of the royal ceremony of coronation and consecration. Discuss the ideas of kingship (known technically as 'sacral kingship') expressed in the account of Conrad II's coronation in Mainz in 1024 composed by Wipo (Document 2).
4. Comment on the aims of King Henry III concerning the neighbouring kingdom of Hungary, as illustrated by Document 3. Discuss the related topic of the *imperial* ambitions of the German monarchy, especially in the reign of Henry III.
5. Discuss the motives for the rebellion of the nobility of Saxony against King Henry IV in 1073, as illustrated by Document 4. Discuss the eleventh-century idea of the nobility's *right of resistance* to the monarch.
6. Why had a faction of German princes resolved to replace King Henry IV by his brother-in-law, Duke Rudolf of Swabia, by March 1077? Discuss the motives of this faction, as revealed in Document 5. (Note the reference to the king's control over the appointment of bishops at the end of paragraph 1, which reflects these princes' concern with the so-called 'Imperial Church system', mentioned above in question 1 and described in Document 1.)

*Reading:*

C. N. L. Brooke, no. 1; T. Reuter, no. 47; H. Fuhrmann, no. 48; A. Haverkamp, no. 49; G. Barraclough, no. 50; J. Fleckenstein, no. 46 (pp. 124-30); I.S. Robinson, no. 54 (chapter 2).

#### THE GERMAN MONARCHY : DOCUMENTS

##### (1) The foundation of the bishopric of Bamberg by Emperor Henry II (1007)

##### ( a ) Synod of Frankfurt, confirming the foundation of the bishopric of Bamberg by Henry II (November 1007)

The most pious and serene Henry II ... great and peaceable, while he pondered how he might be most pleasing to God, determined, under divine inspiration, that he would choose God as his heir and make a donation by charter, setting up out of all his hereditary property a bishopric in honour of St Peter, prince of the apostles, in a certain place named Bamberg, where he had allods from his father, so that the paganism of the Slavs would be destroyed, and the name of Christ would always be remembered there.

But since he did not have a diocese in that place, in the sixth year of his reign he acquired from Bishop Henry of Würzburg by legal transfer a certain part of the diocese of Würzburg ... with the consent and approval of the venerable prelates . . . .

The most glorious King Henry, having carried out his vow, sent to Rome two of his chaplains, Alberic and Ludwig, with a letter from Bishop Henry of Würzburg, that they might better establish the undertaking according to Roman authority. The Roman pontiff and universal, John [XVIII] ... held a synod in the basilica of St Peter, and to confirm the bishopric of Bamberg he had a privilege drawn up and corroborated by apostolic authority....

**(b) *The Deeds of the Bishops of Eichstadt***

The most Christian Emperor Henry [II] was unable to give the bishopric of Bamberg a royal endowment unless he could purchase a diocese for it from the dioceses around it. Alone our Agonistes [Bishop Megingaud of Eichstadt], relying on his character and his family, resisted the emperor manfully, refusing even to the end of his life to acquiesce in the wicked exchange. But he died; and the ingenious emperor then gave the bishopric of Eichstadt, which from its origin until then had been held by nobles and men of high birth, to a person of servile origin. Then the emperor, hastening his project, wished the exchange of land to be expedited; but this new bishop, relying on the advice of his chaplains and chief knights, constantly resisted him. The emperor, becoming angry, in alleged to have said, 'Gunzo, what do I hear of you? Do you not know that I made you bishop of this place because I was unable to get my way with the previous bishop, even though he was my kinsman; and that therefore I appointed you since with you, being what you are, I could achieve my will without delay? Take care that I hear no more of this, if you wish to keep the title of bishop and my favour.'

**(2) The election and consecration of Conrad II as king of the Germans (1024)**

*An account by Wipo, who was a chaplain in the royal and imperial chapel in the reigns of Conrad II and Henry III and wrote his biography of Conrad II at the request of Henry III.*

**Wipo, *The Deeds of Conrad II* chapters 2, 3**

The nobility vacillated long between the elder and the younger Conrad ... but finally by divine providence it happened that they came into common agreement with the stipulation that if the greater part of the people should acclaim one of them, the other should yield to him without delay.... The archbishop of Mainz, whose opinion had to be taken before all, acclaimed and elected the elder Conrad as his lord and king, and ruler and defender of the fatherland. The other archbishops and the remaining clergy unhesitatingly followed him in this vote.... Then one by one, men from each of the several realms repeated the same words of election - there was a shout of acclamation by the people; all consented unanimously with the princes in the election of the king.... I believe that the good will of the heavenly powers was present at this election, since among men of singular power, among so many dukes and margraves, he was elected without malice and without controversy....

When the election was over, everyone eagerly hastened to follow the king to Mainz, where he was to receive consecration.... If Charlemagne<sup>1</sup> had been there alive, there could not have been more rejoicing than at the coming of the king.... During the sacred office of the holy unction, the archbishop of Mainz delivered this sermon to the king: '... It has been written, All power is of God. When the omnipotent King of kings pours the grace of some dignity upon princes of the earth, it is, of its origin, pure and unstained. When, however, it has come to those who wield this dignity unworthily and pollute it with pride, malice, lust, avarice, wrath and cruelty, they will serve the potion of iniquity to themselves and all those subject to them, unless they purge themselves by doing penance. Let the whole Church pray that the dignity which is offered today by God to our present lord and king, Conrad, be preserved inviolate by him.... You have come to the highest dignity: you are the vicar of Christ.... God requires many things of you, but He wishes most of all that you render judgement and justice, and peace for the fatherland, which always looks to you, and that you be the defender of churches and clerics, the guardian of widows and orphans. With these and other good works your throne will be firmly established here and forever....'

<sup>1</sup> The Frankish king Charles 'the Great' (768-814), crowned as the first western emperor in 800.

### **(3) King Henry III and the kingdom of Hungary, 1044-5**

*An account Henry III's victory over the Hungarians at the battle of Menfö and the submission of the Hungarian king Peter to Henry III by the monk Herman of Reichenau*

#### **Herman of Reichenau, *Chronicle* 1044**

When King Aba had broken his oath and his treaty, King Henry invaded Hungary with a very small force. Aba, who had equipped a very large army, held him in such contempt that he allowed him to enter the province, as though it would be easy to kill or to capture him. Henry, however, trusting in divine help, rapidly crossed the River Raab with part of his force and began the battle, while all the knights rushed hither and thither. In the first attack he defeated and put to flight the innumerable army of the Hungarians, losing very few of his own men. He himself fought very bravely and he won a most glorious victory on 5 July. King Aba narrowly escaped by fleeing, while all the Hungarians rushed in crowds to surrender to King Henry and promised subjection and service. He, however, being in all things a most pious man, restored King Peter, who had been expelled long before, to his kingdom. He endowed the Hungarians at their own request with the Bavarian law and returned in triumph to his own kingdom. Not long afterwards Aba was taken prisoner by King Peter and paid the penalty of his crimes with his head. ...

**1045** King Peter issued an invitation to King Henry and received him with great magnificence at the feast of Whitsun and presented him with very great gifts. He resigned to him the kingdom of the Hungarians, while the princes of the Hungarians confirmed their fealty to him and his successors by an oath. Peter, however, received the kingdom back from him to possess during his lifetime.

### **(4) The Saxon rebellion of 1073**

*An account of the origins of the rebellion of the nobility of Saxony against King Henry IV by Bruno, a member of the clergy of the cathedral of Merseburg in Saxony and an adherent of the rebel princes.*

#### **Bruno of Merseburg, *The Saxon War* chapters 16, 23**

Immediately after the king had grown out of his adolescence, he acquired Bishop Adalbert of Bremen as his adviser and on his advice he began to seek out high mountains with natural defences in deserted localities and began to build on them castles which, had they only stood in suitable places, would have been a great defence and ornament to the kingdom. To the first and greatest of these he gave the name 'Harzburg'. He fortified it outside with a strong wall, towers and gates, adorned it within with truly royal buildings, founded a monastery inside it and placed such beautiful objects in that monastery and gathered there so many and such distinguished clerks that it equalled some bishoprics in its splendour and even surpassed others.... As for the other castles, he sought to make them strong rather than fair. It would have been a truly blessed thing if he had built these fortresses against the heathen, for then they would long ago have become Christian or perpetually subject to Christian princes. But this castle-building in various places seemed at first to our fellow countrymen a childish game, because his evil intention was not yet recognised.... But after garrisons were placed in the castles and began to plunder the country roundabout, so as to harvest where they had not sown, to force free men to do the work of serfs and to seize the daughters and wives of others – then they saw at last what these castles meant, but still they did not presume to resist and defend themselves.

[In June 1073] the king commanded that all the princes of Saxony should meet in Goslar, so that he might debate with the common counsel of the princes whatever occurred in the general affairs of the kingdom that required action. They all hastened there with great eagerness because they hoped to put an end to the misfortunes that Saxony had borne for so long.... [But the king] left the doors of his chamber closed and remained inside with his courtiers playing dice and other foolish games, thinking nothing of keeping so many great men waiting outside like the meanest slaves. The whole day passed by and neither he himself nor any messenger bearing truthful news came out to them. When it was already night, one

of his courtiers came out and asked the princes derisively how long they wished to wait, since the king had departed by another door and was hastening to his castle [the Harzburg] at a rapid pace ? They were all outraged at being held in such contempt by the king in his arrogance.... That day and that cause originally began the war; that day was the beginning of all the evils that followed. For that same night all the princes, ... after first shedding many tears, said that they would rather suffer death than live such a life amidst disasters and insults. They therefore decided the day and the place when they would all meet with all the Saxons and take steps together about their common freedom, which they saw was about to be taken away from them. And thus they each went back to their homes, as though they would never give service to the king again.

**(5) The election of Duke Rudolf of Swabia as anti-king in opposition to Henry IV (1077)**  
**Bruno of Merseburg, *The Saxon War* chapter 91**

*The decision of a hostile faction of German princes (who did not comprise a majority of the princes) to replace King Henry IV by his brother-in-law (March 1077) provoked a civil war ('the Investiture Contest') in the western empire that continued intermittently until 1122.*

Meanwhile the Saxons and Swabians met at Forchheim; but envoys were present from the other regions, who declared that their compatriots would approve whatever they decided for the good of the commonwealth. Also present was the legate of the pope, who confirmed with the authority of the supreme pontiff all the useful decisions of our magnates concerning the kingship. From the many whose honesty made them worthy of election, the Saxons and Swabians at length unanimously elected as their king, Rudolf duke of the Swabians. But when they came individually to acclaim him as king, certain of them wished to introduce particular conditions so that they would raise him over themselves as king on these terms: that he promised specific redress for their grievances. For Duke Otto<sup>1</sup> did not wish him to be made king unless he promised to restore the honour unjustly taken from him. Many others introduced their own particular cases, which they wished him to promise to correct. When he learned of it, the pope's legate forbade this to be done: declaring that he was to be the king not of individuals but of all men, he held that it was sufficient for him to promise that he would be just to all.... Nevertheless certain cases were specially excepted there which he ought to amend, because they had flourished unjustly: namely, that he should not confer bishoprics for payment or for the sake of friendship, but should permit each church to elect its own bishop, as the Church's laws command.

This also was approved by common consent and corroborated by the authority of the Roman pontiff: that the royal power should belong to no one by heredity, as was formerly the custom, but that the son of the king, even if he was extremely worthy, should succeed as king rather by spontaneous election than by the line of succession. But if the king's son was not worthy or if the people refused to accept him, the people should have it in their power to make king him whom they wished.

<sup>1</sup> Count Otto of Norheim, formerly duke of Bavaria but deposed by Henry IV in 1070. (Otto was the hero of Bruno of Merseburg's book, *The Saxon War*.)

## TUTORIAL FOUR

### THE CAPETIAN KINGDOM IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

Please write a commentary of not more than 500 words on the documents provided, answering some or all of the following questions.

(1) Comment on those aspects of the career of Abbot Suger of St. Denis that throw light on his relations with the Capetian kings and on his writing of the *Life of Louis the Fat*. (C.N.L. Brooke, *Europe in the Central Middle Ages* offers relevant information.) Discuss the relationship of the abbey of St. Denis with the French monarchy in the Middle Ages.

(2) What was Suger's purpose in writing his biography of Louis VI ? How is the author's purpose revealed in the extracts included below (**Document 1**) ?

3) Comment on the significance of the passages in **Document 1** dealing with the relations of Louis VI with the papacy [10] and the French church [24]. How did Louis VI profit from his close relationship with the church, as described in [24] ?

(4) Comment on the presentation of the character of Louis VII in document (2) (composed by Walter Map, a cleric and satirist who had been a servant of Henry II of England) and in document (3) (composed by Odo of Deuil, who was one of Suger's monks in St. Denis). What was the purpose of these authors in presenting their accounts of the deeds of Louis VII?

(5) Discuss the motives of Louis VII in participating in a crusade, his involvement in the crusade of 1147-8 and the outcome of this Second Crusade.

**Reading:**

**C.N.L. Brooke** (Reading list No. 1); **R.H.C. Davis** (No. 2); **Jean Dunbabin**, *France in the making, 843-1180* (No. 32); **E.M. Hallam**, *Capetian France, 987-1328* (No. 33); **R. Fawtier**, *The Capetian kings of France* (No. 34).

## THE CAPETIAN KINGDOM IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY: DOCUMENTS

### I. The reign of Louis VI

#### 1. Abbot Suger of St. Denis, *The Life of Louis the Fat*

(1) This youth of high lineage, conforming to the ancient custom, attested by imperial decrees of King Charlemagne and other excellent princes, devoted himself to the holy martyrs who are at St. Denis and to their servants.... He put all his trust in them, after God, and abandoned himself body and soul to them in order, if it were possible, to become a monk there....

William, king of the English, a man trained to the profession of a soldier, impatient of glory and covetous of fame, having disinherited his elder brother Robert, succeeded his father, William, and after the departure of his brother to Jerusalem, obtained the duchy of Normandy and sought to extend his power beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, striving by all means to attack the young prince. In their struggle they showed themselves ... totally dissimilar. The elder, with his great wealth, lavished the treasures of England in the trade of buying and selling knights; the younger, lacking money, careful guardian of the resources of his father's kingdom, gathered knights only by showing great activity and boldness in resistance.

(2) [*The visit of Pope Paschal II to France in 1107*] At St. Denis King Philip and the lord Louis, his son, came to meet him, with gladness and devotion, for the love of God laying at his feet the royal diadem, following the custom which kings observe at the tomb of the fisherman Peter. The lord pope raised them and made them sit opposite him like the most devoted sons of the apostles. He conversed familiarly with them on the subject of the state of the Church and he begged them to lend assistance to St. Peter and his vicar, to keep the Church in safety and, like their predecessors as kings of the Franks, Charlemagne and the others, to resist with boldness the tyrants and enemies of the Church.

(13) [1108] While every day the son made progress, his father, King Philip every day lost his strength. In fact, since he had taken the countess of Anjou as his concubine, he had no longer achieved anything worthy of the royal majesty, but preoccupied himself with his violent passion. He took no thought for the interests of the state and only the fear and love which his son inspired, maintained the kingdom.

(14) [*The coronation of Louis VI at Orléans by Archbishop Daimbert of Sens*] After celebrating mass, he took from the king the sword of worldly combat and girded on that of the Church for the punishment of sinners. He crowned him with the royal diadem and devoutly gave him the sceptre and the rod, which signified the defence of the churches and the poor.

(24) The right hand of a king is very strong and by virtue of a consecrated right of office of kings, they repress the audacity of tyrants whenever they see them provoking wars, taking pleasure in endless pillaging, ruining the poor and destroying the churches.... Such a tyrant

was Thomas de Marle. While the king gave attention to wars elsewhere, Thomas had ravaged the countryside of Laon, Rheims and Amiens. The devil caused his enterprises to prosper because the prosperity of fools usually leads them to their perdition. He had devoured the countryside like a furious wolf. No fear of ecclesiastical punishments brought him to spare the clergy; no feeling of humanity to spare the people. He seized from the convent of St. John of Laon two excellent estates simply to fortify - as if they were his own properties - the castles of Crécy and Nouvions, turning them into dens of thieves. Exasperated by the intolerable vexations of that man, the French Church assembled a general council at Beauvais in order to pronounce a sentence of excommunication against the enemies of Jesus Christ. The venerable legate of the holy Roman church, Bishop Cuno of Palestrina, struck by the complaints of the churches and the sufferings of the poor and the orphans, laid low his tyranny by striking him with a general anathema, declaring him deposed from all his honours, an infamous criminal, the enemy of the Christian name. Yielding to the prayers of the great council, the king quickly moved his army against him, accompanied by the clergy, to whom he was always very strongly attached.

[28] [1124] Emperor Henry [V] had long been angered against the lord King Louis, because of the anathema which had been pronounced in the latter's kingdom, at Rheims, by Pope Calixtus [III]. The emperor gathered as large an army as possible of Lotharingians, Swabians, Bavarians and Saxons. On the advice of Henry [I], king of the English, whose daughter he had made his empress, he planned a sudden attack on the city of Rheims.... King Louis, assembling his nobles, explained his plans. Various accounts and repeated experience had taught him that St. Denis is the special patron and, after God, the unparalleled protector of the kingdom. He would hasten to him, pressing him with prayers and benefactions, to defend his kingdom and resist his enemies according to tradition. Finally, since the French have received from the saint this privilege, that if any other kingdom dares to invade their own, the relics of this saint, this admirable defender, may, with those of his companions, be placed on the altar in defence of the kingdom, the king did this with great solemnity.

## II. The reign of Louis VII

### 2. Walter Map, *Courtiers' Trifles* part V, chapter 5

To [Louis VI] succeeded his son Louis, the most Christian and kind of men, who by the grace of Christ kept all the days of his life the peace his father had won by arms. He hoped in the Lord and doubted not, Who never forsakes him that hopes in Him. I speak of what I have seen or know. While he was a man of such kindness and simple mildness, showing himself affable to any poor man, to his own subjects or to strangers, that he might have been thought a simpleton, he was the strictest of judges and an executor, often with tears, of justice, strict to the proud and to the meek but not unfair....

It happened that when I was making some long stay with the king in Paris [in the 1170s] and he was talking with me of the riches of kings, among other matters, he said: 'As the wealth of kings is varied, so it is marked out by many differences. The riches of the king of the Indians are in precious stones, lions and leopards and elephants; the emperor of Constantinople and the king of Sicily glory in gold and silken webs, but they have no men who can do anything except talk, for they are useless in military affairs. The Roman emperor, as they call the ruler of the Germans, has men skilled in arms and war-horses, but no gold or silk or other splendour. For when Charlemagne conquered that land from the Saracens, he gave everything except the castles and forts, for Christ's sake, to the archbishops and bishops whom he had established in all the cities that he had converted. But your lord, the king of England, who wants for nothing, has men, horses, gold, silk, jewels, fruits, game and everything else. We in France have nothing but bread and wine and gaiety.' This saying I took note of, for it was merrily said and truly....

This Louis and his father were both remarkable for wisdom in act and simpleness in speech. The son had such reverence for God that whenever any case affecting him and the Church arose, he was judged by the decision of the chapter, like one of the canons, and made his appeal against the indictment.

It was his habit that, wherever he felt sleep coming on he would take his rest on or near the spot. As he was slumbering by a wood in the shade, attended only by two knights (for the rest were hunting), the Count Theobald [V of Blois], whose sister he had married, found him and reproved him for sleeping in this solitary fashion: it was not right, he said, for a king to do so. He answered, 'I may sleep alone quite safely, for no one bears me any ill will.' It was a simple answer, the utterance of a pure conscience. What other king can claim so much for himself ?

With such kind favour did he promote clergy that in his time they flocked to Paris from all quarters of Christendom, and, nourished and protected under the shadow of his wings, have continued in the schools to this day....

When I was in Paris there arose a conflict between the clerics and laymen of this king's court and the schism grew strong and the laymen prevailed and they struck many of the clerics hard with fists and cudgels and then, in fear of the king's justice, fled to hiding-places. The king heard the cry of the poor, however, and came and found a very poor little boy in a black cope, bleeding from a broken head, and enquired of him, 'Who did this ?' The boy pointed out to him the master of the queen's chamberlains, who had just brought to court the king of Spain's daughter\* and out of pride and presuming on his own dignity, neither deigned to flee nor, when charged, to deny the act. He only made answer that the boy had spoken offensively to him. Accordingly at the king's command he was arrested, bound and led off to the place of execution. The queen heard of it and was thunderstruck. She hurried to the spot with dishevelled hair, threw herself at the king's feet and so did all the crowd of courtiers and begged for pardon with great wailing. She pleaded the man's nobility, his wisdom and the fact that her father had entrusted him to her hands and her care and, for a wonder, compassion moved Louis to tears. Nevertheless justice compelled him to punish and he commanded the right hand, with which the boy's head had been struck, to be cut off.

\* Constance, daughter of King Alfonso VIII of Castille married Louis VII, as his second wife, in 1154.

### **3. Odo of Deuil, *The Expedition of Louis VII to the East***

*[Preface]* To Suger, the venerable abbot of the church of St. Denis, the least of his monks, Odo of Deuil, sends greeting....

Since I have enjoyed the generous favour of the renowned King Louis and have been closely associated with him during the crusade, I am eager to thank him, but my powers are meagre. Let this be the task of St. Denis, out of love for whom the king did these favours, and let this be your task, because he accepted your monk as yourself. You moreover owe him much on your own behalf, for he has particularly favoured you in his kingdom and, on leaving it for a time, influenced by zeal for extending the faith, he entrusted that very realm to you. He was, of course, thereby protecting his own interests by confiding them to a man of proven loyalty and unique wisdom.

You have recorded his father's deeds and it would be a crime to cheat posterity of knowing the son, whose entire life is a model of virtue. For when as a mere boy he began to reign, worldly glory did not cause him sensual delight, but brought increase and lustre to his virtues....

*[Book I]* Upon setting out [on the Second Crusade], he did a praiseworthy thing, which few, perhaps no one of his lofty rank, could imitate. For, having first visited some monks in Paris, he went outside the gates to the leper colony. There I myself saw him enter, with only two companions, and shut out the rest of his great retinue for a long time. Meanwhile his mother [Queen Adelaide] and his wife [Eleanor of Aquitaine] and countless others went ahead to St. Denis. When the king arrived there presently, he found the pope [Eugenius III] and the abbot [Suger] and the monks of the church gathered together. Then he prostrated himself most humbly on the ground and venerated his patron saint. The pope and the abbot indeed opened the small golden door and drew out the silver reliquary a little way, so that the king might be made the more eager for his task by seeing and kissing the relic of him whom his soul venerated. Then, when the banner had been taken from above the altar, after he had received the pilgrim's wallet and a blessing from the pope, he withdrew from the crowd to the monks'

dormitory.... On that day the king and a few of his retinue dined in the refectory with the brothers and, after receiving the kiss of peace from all, he departed, accompanied by the tears and prayers of all.

[*Book VI*] The Turks killed the horses, which, though not able to gallop, were nevertheless of value in carrying the heavy armour. The mail-clad French, now on foot, were overwhelmed among the attacking enemy as if they were drowned in the sea.... During this engagement the king lost his small but renowned royal guard. Keeping a stout heart, however, he nimbly and bravely scaled a rock by making use of some tree roots which God had provided for his safety. The enemy climbed after, in order to capture him and the more distant rabble shot arrows at him. But by the will of God his cuirass protected him from the arrows and, to keep from being captured, he defended the crag with his bloody sword, cutting off the heads and hands of many opponents in the process. Since they did not recognise him and felt that he would be difficult to capture and they feared a surprise attack, the enemy then turned back to collect the spoils before night fell.

[*Book VII*] He suffered shipwreck on the way to Antioch: some of his vessels were battered and damaged, but yet by the will of God, not sunk. Serious were the losses and hazards which he endured, father Suger, but you ought to be comforted by the fact that he is safe. For it will even be to his advantage to have toiled thus, since he is recognised as one who is prudent in time of danger and serenely happy after suffering losses and he has borne all kinds of fortunes wisely and steadfastly. His only grief was for the misfortune of his subjects, of whom he always took as much care as possible, on the theory that a king is born, not for his own benefit but for the advantage of others and that a king should be not only pious but also without any fear of poverty. In order to live up to his ideal of honour he disregarded the caution usual for a king and, clad in mail, endured the nights' cold and the days' heat while protecting alternately the van and the rearguard. Amid so many hardships his safe preservation was owed to no other remedy than his religion, for he always took communion before he went to attack the enemy forces and on his return requested vespers and compline, so always making God the alpha and omega of his deeds. Thus, as a generous prince, a brave knight, a lively youth, a mature older man, he adapted himself to various situations, circumstances and capacities and by his integrity he procured the favour of men, by his piety the favour of God.

## TUTORIAL FIVE

### EMPEROR FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA

Please write a commentary of not more than 500 words on the documents provided, answering some or all of the following questions.

(1) The Documents **2** and **3** refer to the relations of Frederick I with two of his kinsmen (a) Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and later of Bavaria and (b) Henry 'Jasomirgott' of Babenberg, originally duke of Bavaria, but later duke of Austria. The context of these texts is the pacification of the kingdom after a protracted struggle for control of the duchy of Bavaria between the rival Henries dating from the reign of King Conrad III. Write an account of the emperor's relations with the two dukes, based on these documents.

(2) Documents **1**, **2**, **4** and **5** illustrate the career of Frederick I's cousin, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria. Discuss the factors that contributed to the power of Henry the Lion.

(3) What factors brought about the downfall of Henry the Lion (as recorded in Document **5**)?

(4) What evidence do the documents in section **I** provide about (a) the nature of the authority of the German princes and (b) the feudal authority of the emperor ?

(5) Discuss the contrast between the claims made by Frederick I over the Lombard cities at Roncaglia in 1158 (Document **6**) and the settlement which he reached with the Lombard cities in 1183 (Document **7**). What circumstances brought about this change in policy ?

*Reading:*

See the chapters on Frederick I in **R.H.C. Davis** (reading-list no. 2); **G. Tabacco** (no. 8); **H. Fuhrmann** (no. 48); **A. Haverkamp** (no. 49); **G. Barraclough** (no. 50).  
More detailed information: **P. Munz** (no. 55); **M. Pacaut** (no. 56); **G. Barraclough** (no. 57).

## EMPEROR FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA: DOCUMENTS

### I. Frederick I and Germany

#### (1) King Frederick I, Privilege for Henry 'the Lion', Duke of Saxony

In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity. Frederick, by the grace of God, king of the Romans.

As we have by the grace of God risen to the supreme office of king, it is fitting that we should widen and extend the fame, honour and worship of Him from Whom all power derives, so that all things may minister to His glory....

Therefore, let all men present and future know how we have commanded our beloved Henry, duke of Saxony, to found, establish and build in the province beyond the Elbe, which he holds by our generosity, bishoprics and churches to extend the empire of Christendom. We have also granted him freedom to endow these churches out of the property of the kingdom, in accordance with his own wishes and with the extent of the lands. That he may attend more earnestly and faithfully to this matter, we grant to him and to all who shall succeed him in this province, the homage of the three bishoprics of Oldenburg, Mecklenburg and Ratzeburg, so that anyone who is to be promoted to a bishopric there may receive the *regalia* in it from Henry's hands as if they were ours. We further add that if he can by his own efforts establish bishoprics in the surrounding provinces in which the Christian religion is not yet observed, he may wield the same power therein.

#### (2) The settlement of the conflict in Bavaria, 1156

##### Otto, bishop of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick*<sup>1</sup>

[Frederick] held a conference with his uncle, Duke Henry ['Jasomirgott' of Babenberg], to persuade him to reach an agreement with the other Henry [the Lion], who now had obtained possession of the duchy of Bavaria by the judgement of the princes. When Henry [Jasomirgott] did not give him his assent at this time, another date was set to treat with him about this matter through intermediaries.... During the time that the monarch was in Italy, almost the whole transalpine [German] region felt the absence of its head, being torn by uprisings and thrown into confusion by fire and sword and open warfare. Notably these two princes, so much the more effective in committing injuries as they were the more powerful, had stained almost all the Rhineland and especially the famous territory of the city of Mainz by pillage, bloodshed and burning.... Finally the emperor decreed that his plan for terminating the conflict of the two dukes was to be made public at an assembly in Regensburg....

This, as I recall it, was the essential part of the agreement. The elder Henry [Jasomirgott] resigned the duchy of Bavaria to the emperor by the surrender of seven banners. These were handed over to the younger Henry [the Lion]. The latter gave back, by means of two banners, the East Mark [Austria] with the counties belonging to it. Thereupon, by the judgement of the princes, the emperor made of that Mark, with the aforesaid counties (there are said to be three of them), a duchy and handed it over not only to Jasomirgott but also to his wife, by means of two banners, and ordained that it might not be changed or infringed in the future by any of his successors. This was done in the fifth year of his reign as king, the second of his rule as emperor.

So having, as he had hoped, brought to an end without bloodshed the controversy between his paternal uncle and the son of his mother's brother, he returned to the city rejoicing. On the next day, sitting in public assembly, he caused to be solemnly sworn a truce for a year from the next Whitsunday, so that henceforward Bavaria might not be without a

share in the peace of the kingdom. Thereafter from that day to the present time, so great a felicity of peace smiled on the entire transalpine empire that Frederick may rightfully be called not only emperor and augustus but also father of his country.

<sup>1</sup> Otto, bishop of Freising, the biographer of Frederick I, was Frederick's uncle and the brother of the Duke Henry of Austria mentioned in the extract.

### **(3) The creation of the duchy of Austria**

**Frederick I, *Privilegium Minus*** (charter for the duke of Austria, 17 September 1156)

... We have converted the March of Austria into a duchy and have granted this duchy with all its rights as a benefice to our uncle Henry and his most noble wife Theodora. We ordain, by a law to be valid forever, that they and their children after them, whether male or female, may have the said duchy of Austria and hold it of the kingdom with a hereditary right. But if our aforesaid uncle and his wife die childless, they will be free to bequeath this duchy to anyone they wish.

We further decree that no person, great or small, may presume to exercise any jurisdiction within the dominion of the duchy without the consent or permission of the duke.

The duke of Austria shall not for his duchy be obliged to perform any service to the empire other than that of answering the summons to courts which the emperor arranged in Bavaria. He need not come to the imperial army, unless the emperor has summoned an army to enter the kingdoms or provinces near Austria.

### **(4) The career of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria**

**Helmold of Bosau, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*\***

**I.68.** In those days [*circa* 1148] our young duke ... began to rule over the whole country of the Slavs, his power gradually waxing stronger and stronger. Whenever the Slavs were troublesome, he brought his martial hand down upon them and they gave him whatever he chose to ask, in return for their lives as well as for their fatherland. However, in the several expeditions that the young man has so far undertaken into *Slavia*, no mention has been made of Christianity bit only of money. The Slavs still perform sacrifices to their demons and not to God and they continue to make piratical incursions into the land of the Danes.

**I.86.** At that time [1157] the city of Lübeck was destroyed by fire. The merchants and other inhabitants of the city then sent word to the duke, saying: 'For a long time now the market at Lübeck has been closed by virtue of your command [of 1152]. Until now, however, we have stayed in the city, hoping to recover the market through the good will of your favour.... But now that our houses have been destroyed, it is idle to build again in a place in which a market may not exist. Give us, therefore, a place to build a city, a site that is acceptable to you.' The duke accordingly asked Count Adolf [II of Holzatia] to concede to him the port and island of Lübeck, but this the latter would not do. Then the duke laid out a new city on the River Wakenitz, not far from Lübeck, in the land of Ratzeburg. There he began to build and fortify a city, which he called after his own name, Löwenstadt, that is, 'City of the Lion'. But since that site was ill suited either for a port or for fortification and could not be reached except in small ships, the duke began to reopen negotiations with Count Adolf about the island of Lübeck and the port, promising him many things if he complied with his wish. The count was at length persuaded, did what necessity demanded and resigned the fortress and island to the duke. At his bidding the merchants at once returned with joy and, abandoning the inconveniences of Löwenstadt, they started to rebuild the churches and the walls of Lübeck. The duke sent messages to the cities and kingdoms of the north – Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Russia – offering them peace so that they should have free access to his city of Lübeck. he also ordained there a coinage and tolls and most respectable city rights. Thenceforward the business of the city prospered and the number of its inhabitants multiplied.

**II.6.** The duke's power now increased beyond that of all who were before him and he became a prince of the princes of the earth. He trod upon the necks of rebels and broke up their strongholds; he extirpated the men who had revolted and made peace in the land; he built

very strong fortresses and possessed an exceedingly great heritage. For besides the inheritance from his great progenitors, Emperor Lothar [III] and his wife Richenza, and from the many dukes of Bavaria and Saxony, there passed to him also the possessions of many nobles....

**II.7.** But because glory begets envy and because nothing in the affairs of men is permanent, all the princes of Saxony were jealous of the great glory of the man. For the [duke] supplied with immense wealth, illustrious with victories and sublime in his glory through the twofold principate of Bavaria and Saxony, seemed unbearable to all in Saxony, princes as well as nobles. But fear of the emperor restrained the hands of the princes, that they did not carry into the effect the plans they were conceiving. However, after the emperor had made preparations for his fourth expedition into Italy [October 1166] and conditions offered opportunity, the old conspiracy at once came out into the open and a strong league of all was formed against one.

\* The chronicler Helmold was a priest of Bosau in Saxony, writing in the 1160s.

### **(5) The deposition of Henry the Lion**

**Frederick I, Charter of Gelnhausen (1180)**

... Let the whole body of loyal subjects of the empire, both present and future, know how Henry, late Duke of Bavaria and Westphalia, had severely repressed the liberty of the churches of God and of the nobles of the empire by seizing their property and diminishing their rights.

Hence, on the urgent complaint of the princes and of a great many noblemen, he was summoned before us, but scorned to present himself to our majesty and for this contumacy was sentenced by the princes and by the Swabians of the same status as he to be outlawed by us, but still he did not cease to attack the churches of God and the rights and liberty of princes and nobles.... Hence he has been deprived of the duchies of Bavaria and Westphalia and Angaria [Saxony] and of all the benefices which he held of the empire by the unanimous sentence of the princes in a solemn court held at Würzburg and these have been added to our estates.

Having deliberated with the princes, we by their collective advice have divided in two the duchy which is called that of Westphalia and Angaria [Saxony] and, considering how our beloved prince, Archbishop Philip of Cologne has deserved the privilege of the emperor's favour for furthering and upholding the honour of the imperial crown without hesitating to spend his property or endanger his person, we have, by a lawful deed of gift and with imperial generosity, conferred a part of the duchy upon the church of Cologne ... and to our beloved kinsman Duke Bernard we have granted the remainder of the duchy....

## **II. Frederick I and Italy**

### **(6) Frederick I's claims to imperial rights in the kingdom of Italy**

#### **The Council of Ronçaglia, 1158**

These are the regalian rights or rights of the crown.

*Arimanniae* [taxes paid by those who held special lands once owned by free Lombards], public roads, navigable rivers and those which unite to form navigable rivers, harbours, and the banks of rivers;

tolls, coinage, profits from fines and penalties;

ownerless and confiscated lands, and the property of those who have contracted incestuous marriages or have been outlawed for crimes mentioned in the *Novellae* of Justinian [i.e. in Roman Law];

rights of conveyance [the right to demand conveyances of various kinds] on direct routes and crossroads, and the prestation of ships [pressed into service to convey the emperor];

the special taxes for the royal expedition; the appointment of officials for the administration of justice;

mines; royal palaces in the customary cities; the profits of fisheries and saltworks;

the property of those who are guilty of offences against the emperor;

half the treasures discovered in places belonging to the emperor or dedicated to religious purposes, and all of it if the finder was aided by the emperor.

#### **(7) Frederick I's peace treaty with the Lombard League**

##### **The Peace of Constance, (January 25, 1183)**

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity. Frederick, by divine mercy emperor of the Romans, Augustus, and Henry VI, his son, king of the Romans, Augustus....

1. We, Frederick, emperor of the Romans, and our son Henry ... hereby grant to you, the cities, territories, and persons of the league, the regalia and other rights within and without the cities, as you have been accustomed to hold them; that is each member of the League shall have the same rights as the city of Verona has had in the past or has now.

4. The regalia which are not to be granted to the members of the League shall be determined in the following manner: in ... each city, certain men shall be chosen for this purpose from both the bishopric and the city; these men shall be of good repute, capable of deciding these questions, and such as are not prejudice against either party. Acting with the bishop of the diocese, they shall swear to inquire into the questions of the regalia and to set aside those that by right belong to us. If, however, the cities do not wish to submit to this inquisition, they shall pay to us an annual tribute of 2000 marks in silver as compensation for our regalia. If this sum seems excessive, it may be reduced.

17. All injuries, losses, and damages which we or our followers have sustained from the League or any of its members are hereby pardoned, and all such transgressors are hereby received back into our favour.

18. We will not remain longer than is necessary in any city or bishopric.

19. It shall be permitted to the cities to erect fortifications within or without their boundaries.

20. It shall be permitted to the [Lombard] League to maintain its organization as it now is or to renew it as often as it desires.

### **TUTORIAL SIX THE IDEA OF CRUSADE**

Please write a commentary of not more than 500 words on the documents provided, answering some or all of the following questions.

(1) Document 1 is an extract from a *narrative source* or *chronicle*, composed, in its final version, as late as 1127 by a northern French author who, some twentieth-century scholars believed, had been present at the council of Clermont. Comment on the *limitations* of such a text for the study of the council. What is the purpose of the crusade, as presented in this version of the papal sermon?

Document 2 is a strictly *contemporary* source: part of a record of the legislation agreed at the council, kept by a bishop who was present at Clermont. In what important respect does this second document differ from the first in its view of the purpose of the crusade?

(2) Document 3 is an account of the First Crusade written *circa* 1150 by Bishop Otto of Freising, who had just played a leading role in the German army of the Second Crusade. Comment on the attitude of the author to the crusade, to the Moslems, to the Byzantine empire and to the theme of supernatural help for the crusaders.

(3) Document 4 contains part of a letter by means of which Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (official papal preacher of the Second Crusade) sought to recruit crusaders for the Second Crusade. Discuss Bernard's influence on the Second Crusade. Comment on the arguments in document 4 in favour of participation in the crusade. Note the emphasis on the spiritual reward of the crusader. How does Bernard's description of this spiritual reward differ from that given in Document 2?

(4) Discuss the condition and relative security of the western crusader states by 1127. Comment on the attitude of the 'resident crusaders' in Outremer in 1127, as presented in Document 5 by the crusading historian Fulcher of Chartres.

*Reading:*

**H.-E. Mayer** (No. 74); **K.M. Setton** (No. 75); **S. Runciman** (No. 76); **J. Riley-Smith** (No. 83); **J. Philipps** (No. 82).

## THE IDEA OF CRUSADE: DOCUMENTS

### (1) **Fulcher of Chartres**, *The History of Jerusalem*

When many matters had been dealt with, everybody present, both clergy and laity, giving thanks to God, willingly approved what the lord Pope Urban [II] had said and ratified his decrees with a promise to keep them truly. But he added that another disaster, which was no less grave than the afflictions already mentioned, but was indeed greater and more terrible, was now confronting Christendom from the other half of the world. 'O children of God,' he said, 'since you have promised God most earnestly to keep the peace among yourselves and faithfully to preserve and maintain the rights of the Church, it is fitting that you, being invigorated by the discipline of God, should devote the full force of your righteousness to another matter which concerns God and yourselves. For it is vital that you should make a rapid expedition to help your brothers who live in the east, who need your assistance and have many times appealed for it. For, as most of you have already been told, they have been invaded as far as the Mediterranean Sea, up the point called the Arm of St. George, by the Turks, a Persian people, who have overrun an increasing amount of Christian territory on the frontiers of *Romania*, and have conquered and overcome your brothers seven times over in war, killing or capturing many of them, ruining churches and ravaging the kingdom of God. If you leave them any longer thus unmolested, they will go much further afield to trample upon the faithful of God. It is not I but the Lord Himself who begs and exhorts you, as the heralds of Christ, to persuade all men, be they knights or common soldiers, be they rich or poor, by repeated proclamations, to devote themselves to helping their fellow Christians, like a hurricane, to sweep away this evil race out of our people's country. I say this to you who are present and I send to those who are absent; but Christ Himself commands it. And all who end this mortal life upon that journey, on the march or on the crossing or in the fight against the heathen, shall obtain an immediate remission of their sins. I promise this to all who go, for I have received it as a gift from God. How inglorious that this degenerate, outcast race, the demons' minion, should thus overthrow a people fortified with faith in Almighty God and resplendent with the name of Christ! How gravely will the Lord Himself reproach you if you do not help those who are recognised, even as you are, to be of the Christian persuasion! All those who have been feuding with their fellow Christians should go forth to the fight against the infidels, which is now ready to begin and to end in victory. Let those who are brigands become soldiers of Christ; let those who have been fighting against their own brothers and kinsfolk now fight lawfully against the barbarian; let those who are hired for a few pence now find eternal rewards!... Those who are going must not delay, but lease their property and gather all the money they need and when winter ends and spring follows, let them set forth eagerly, the Lord going before them.'

### (2) **Council of Clermont (1095), canon 2**

If any man sets out to liberate the church of God in Jerusalem solely in devotion and not for love of glory or gain, the journey shall be accounted a complete penance on his part.

### (3) **Otto of Freising**, *History of the Two Cities*

At that time, while Henry IV still reigned in Rome and Alexius [I Comnenus] reigned in Constantinople, nation rose against nation and the eastern Church suffered severe persecution at the hands of pagans. The holy City was trampled underfoot by the heathen and only the sepulchre of the Lord was held in veneration by them, though only for the sake of

gain. Therefore the worshippers of Christ, who dragged out a wretched existence there, subject to tribute, sent a letter not only to Alexius, the emperor of Constantinople, but also to Pope Urban [II] and asked him to help them. Moved by the affliction of the people of God, Urban undertook a wearisome journey into France and he held a council there. By the word of his holy preaching he united about 100,000 men of various nations in the warfare of Christ and set over them as leaders Godfrey of Lotharingia, Robert [II] of Flanders, Raymond, count of St. Gilles, Hugh, the brother of Philip [I], king of France and other nobles and men of war. The charge over all these men he entrusted to the venerable bishop of le Puy. Reports of what Urban had done aroused various peoples of Aquitaine, Normandy, England, Scotland, Ireland, Brittany, Galicia, Gascony, France, Flanders, Lotharingia and the other peoples, not only those who lived on the continent but also those who dwelt on the islands of the sea and the farthest ocean.... All these men, from many nations and using different languages, were united into one body. They wore the cross on their garments and promised that they would be disciples of the Cross of Christ. Trusting in the efficacy of the Cross, they set out on their journey to the east, with Godfrey as their leader, to fight in the name of the Lord against the enemies of the Cross. This expedition had less effect on the eastern Franks, the Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians and Swabians, because of the schism which existed at that time between the kingship and the priesthood. Yet there were some of these people who undertook this same warfare, falsely pretending to do so in the name of religion. Among these was a certain Emicho, count of the Rhine country. Arrogating to himself the leadership of about 12,000 men, he devoted himself to destroying Jews wherever he found them or else sought to bring them into union with the Church....

Godfrey and the other leaders, having with great difficulty reached Constantinople, suffered much from the treachery of Emperor Alexius [I Comnenus]. When they had escaped death in an uprising that occurred, they stormed a bridge of the royal city and destroyed its suburbs. Then, numbering 300,000 warriors, they proceeded to Nicea (once a stronghold of the Catholic faith) and, after putting to flight Soliman, leader of the heathen, captured it and handed it over to the emperor.... [During the siege of Antioch] the compassionate Lord, beholding in mercy the contrition of His people, by a revelation from above pointed out to His followers the Holy Lance (hitherto unknown) by which, as we read, the side of His Son, the Christ, had been pierced at the Crucifixion. The Christians, trusting in this spear, although they were weak from famine, went forth and routed the Saracens, not through any strength of their own but through the strength of Christ.... They directed their armies against the Holy City, now inhabited by the Saracens. Since they were unable to capture it by siege, they held a conference and decided to imitate the Master's humility and to walk about the city with bare feet. Accordingly, on the eighth day ... the city was captured and the enemy found there were cut down with such slaughter that in Solomon's Porch the blood of the slain reached even to the knees of the steeds of our warriors. Observe that after the abasement of the people of God and the pouring out of their prayers to the Lord, the Holy City that had been trodden underfoot by the Gentiles was on the eighth day gloriously recovered by our people.

**(4) Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letter to the English* (1146)**

Now is the accepted time, the day of abundant salvation. The earth has been shaken; it trembles because the Lord of Heaven has begun to lose His land, the land in which for more than thirty years He lived as a man amongst men.... But now because of our sins the sacrilegious enemies of the Cross have begun to show their faces even there; their swords are wreaking havoc in the Promised Land.... What are you doing, you mighty men of valour? What are you doing, you servants of the Cross? ... Is the Lord's arm grown so short that He has become powerless to bring salvation and must needs summon us, poor earthly worms that we are, to defend and restore Him His inheritance? Can He not send more than twelve legions of angels ... and so free His land?.... But I say to you, the Lord God is testing you. He is looking down on the sons of men to see if He can find anyone who understands and grieves over what is now happening on earth.... See then with what skill He plans your

salvation and be amazed. Look, sinners, into the depths of His pity and trust in Him.... He is not trying to bring you down but to raise you up. What is it but a unique act of generosity when Almighty God treats murderers, thieves, adulterers, perjurers and criminals of all kinds as though they were men of righteousness and worthy to be called to His service. Do not hesitate. God.... pretends to be in debt so that He can repay those who take up arms on His behalf with the forgiveness of sins and with eternal glory.... I would call blessed that generation that has the chance to obtain so rich an indulgence, blessed to be alive in this year of jubilee, this year so pleasing to the Lord.... O mighty soldier, o warrior, you now have a cause in which to win is glorious and for which to die is to gain.... Or are you a shrewd businessman, quick to see the profits of this world ? If you are, I can offer you a splendid bargain. Do not miss this opportunity. Take the sign of the Cross. At once you will have indulgence for all the sins you confess with a contrite heart. It does not cost you much to buy and if you wear it with humility, you will find that it is the kingdom of heaven.

**(5) Fulcher of Chartres, *The History of Jerusalem***

[1127] We who had been westerners, have become orientals; the man who had been a Roman or a Frank has here become a Galilean or a Palestinian and the man who used to live in Rheims or Chartres, now finds himself a citizen of Tyre or Acre. We have already forgotten the places where we were born; already many of us know them not or no longer hear them spoken of. Some among us already possess in this country houses and servants which belong to them as of hereditary right. Another has married a wife who is not his compatriot, a Syrian or an Armenian woman perhaps, or even a Saracen who has received the grace of baptism.... He who was once a stranger here is now a native. Every day our dependants and our relatives follow us, leaving behind, unwillingly perhaps, all their belongings. For he who was poor there now finds that God has made him rich here. He who had little money now possesses countless besants. He who did not hold even a village over there, now enjoys a town which God has given him. Why should anyone return to the West, who has found an East like this ?