

James Plumtree

**FORMING THE FIRST CRUSADE: THE ROLE OF THE KINGDOM OF  
HUNGARY IN WESTERN CRUSADING DISCOURSE**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies



Central European University

Budapest

2010

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by  
James Plumtree  
(United Kingdom)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies  
Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Supervisor

I, the undersigned, **James Pluntree**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on the copyright of any person or institution. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 2010

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Signature

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Thanks must go to Prof. Marcus Bull, who introduced me to the curious text of Albert of Aachen, and Prof. Pamela King, who suggested I study in Budapest.

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And last, but not least, thanks must go to the staff and my fellow students at CEU who aided this construction. The shortness of this note is in directly oppositional to the breadth of my appreciation.

On the possibility of a missprint, error, or other attempt at academic *tahrif* (فيريحت), I can but accredit it to the labours of Titivillus.

## MANTRAS

ERNEST: Gilbert, you treat the world as if it were a crystal ball. You hold it in your hand, and reverse it to please a wilful fancy. You do nothing but re-write history.

GILBERT: The one duty we owe to history is to re-write it. That is not the least of the tasks in store for the critical spirit. When we have fully discovered the scientific laws that govern life, we shall realize that the one person who has more illusions than the dreamer is the man of action. He indeed, knows neither the origin of his deeds nor their results.

*from Oscar Wilde, 'The Critic as an Artist – Part 1' (1891)*

Reprinted in *The Artist as Critic, Critical Writings of Oscar Wilde*, ed. Richard Ellmann  
(Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 359

A szokatlan világ amint elterjedett

[Such an uncanny landscape came into sight]

*from Sándor Petőfi, John the Valiant (1845)*

Republished, with translation by John Ridland (London: Hesperus Press, 2004), 30-31

## Introduction

The First Crusade remains something of an historical anomaly. Spanning a great geographical distance, it involved and effected a huge multitude of people, and left a lasting legacy in a vast array of places.<sup>1</sup> As one recent academic publication for a popular audience noted, the “events of the crusade were so dramatic, its impact so colossal as to inspire countless generations, across nine centuries, to grapple with its history.”<sup>2</sup> By examining a small aspect of the whole, I intend in this thesis to show not just the changing presentation of Hungary in the accounts of the First Crusade (1095-1099) but the evolution of the idea of crusading as a result of its unexpected success with the capture of Jerusalem in 1099.<sup>3</sup>

In examining the textual accounts of the First Crusade for their presentation of the kingdom of Hungary, I intend to plot a movement from the simple practical and pragmatic account that appears in the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum* (henceforth its common shortening *Gesta Francorum*),<sup>4</sup> to the complicated textual treatments produced by theological writers, who seemingly reshaped the details regarding the history of the Hungarian route to suit their narratives.<sup>5</sup> With the success of reaching Jerusalem permeating in religious discourse, the First Crusade found itself provided with a clear goal, in which later contemporary crusader narratives would subsequently consider to be the original

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<sup>1</sup> For an example, see Roy Jenkins, “Refighting Old Religious Wars in a Miniature Arena,” *New York Times*, December 9, 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), ix. For a “grand narrative” account of the crusades as a whole, see Christopher Tyerman’s *God’s War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> In the view that the aim of the First Crusade evolved as it progressed, I follow the argument Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986). For a stimulating discussion on whether the figure ‘at the top’ had a plan, see Bernard S. Bachrach, “Papal War Aims in 1096: The Option Not Chosen,” in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 319-341

<sup>4</sup> The edition that is used is Rosalind Hill’s *Gesta Francorum: Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem* (1962; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). This edition will soon be replaced by a revised edition by Professor Marcus Bull of the University of Bristol for Oxford Medieval Texts (see <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/history/staff/bull.html>.) A draft of this edition, which I have been fortunate enough to see, shows Hill’s troublesome stylistic mannerisms in translation have been toned down.

<sup>5</sup> For an introduction to dealing with medieval historiography, see the still widely-reputed work of Gabrielle Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1997).



aim of the movement.<sup>6</sup> As a consequence of this, previous events in the First Crusade were presented with knowledge of the eventual outcome, and were therefore manipulated to fit within an imposed conceptual framework. With this in mind, my examination of how the texts deal with the physical passage through the kingdom of Hungary will reveal how individual authors used the event as a parallel journey to Jerusalem, and a microcosm of the crusade as a whole.<sup>7</sup> The defeat of some of the large masses of armed pilgrims who headed eastwards before the pope had intended his selected knights to move, resulted in a troublesome deviation in the narrative of a successful crusade. I shall argue that the passage through Hungary aided the creation of a clearer conception of what a crusade was and should be,<sup>8</sup> since it permitted authors to analyse and criticize flaws in the failed attempts and investigate why the successful transients were successful.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, to plot how this conception of both Hungary and crusading evolved, I shall be showing how each respective author manipulated his presentation and for what purpose each individually adjusted their text.

The reasons for this study are both personal and academic. Being relocated in Budapest after studying in Bristol, it was only natural that my study of the Crusades would edge slightly closer to the Holy Land and examine the history of one's surroundings. Fortunate for the academic in me (and unfortunate for the *flâneur* in me),<sup>10</sup> the subject revealed far greater value than a passing fancy.

The issue of the kingdom of Hungary in the accounts of the First Crusade had also been neglected. In Hungarian historiography, the eagerness to provide Hungary with

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<sup>6</sup> At this point, I should comment on the claim that the crusaders reframed their roles in their narrative as they progressed on the crusade. I reveal my anglocentric bias in agreeing with this argument put forward by Jonathan Riley-Smith (predominantly his landmark *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*), and to the work and teaching of my former lecturer Marcus Bull. For a sympathetic placing of the work of these two in regards to the historiography of the origins of the First Crusade, see Norman Housely, "The Origins and Character of the First Crusade," in *Contesting the Crusades* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 24-47.

<sup>7</sup> In conceiving the Hungarian episode in this manner, I am indebted to the assistance of my supervisor József Laszlovszky. For dealing with narratology, I am indebted to Marcus Bull and Niels Gaul. For dealing with my own text, appreciation must be given to Judith Rasson.

<sup>8</sup> The modern debate concerning what a crusade is should be mentioned here. Though the debate started in the "Anglo-Saxon" discourse with Jonathan Riley-Smith's *What Were the Crusades* (1977; reprint, London: Macmillan, 2002), a good starting point is C. J. Tyerman's iconoclastic article "Were There Any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?" *English Historical Review* 110, no. 437 (1995): 553-577. Tyerman makes the important point that to "put it crudely, we know there were crusaders; they did not; or, if they did, their perception was far from the canonically or juridically precise definition beloved of some late twentieth-century scholars." For a restatement of this argument, intended for a more popular audience, see Christopher Tyerman, *Fighting For Christendom: Holy War and the Crusades* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 25-92.

<sup>9</sup> This concept of using criticism as a means to define and strengthen a conception of crusading is heavily indebted to Elizabeth Sidberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>10</sup> Thanks here should go to my peers in Budapest who travelled with this thesis: Jana Bačová, Sona Grigoryan, Dora Ivanisevic, Tatiana Krapivina, Courtney Krolikoski, Madalina Toca, and Luka Špoljaric.

historical texts resulted in the cutting and pasting of any mention of Hungary from any chronicle, and publication of these severed sources with little comment on their original context.<sup>11</sup> This nationalistic intent means the relationship between Hungary and the crusade as a whole is never fully established because the focus of the historian is confined within an area. This also applies at a smaller level in the expertise of local history; while often the knowledge is highly specialized and detailed, it is rarely placed in context.<sup>12</sup> The situation however is changing.<sup>13</sup> In English historiography, Hungary has predominantly been examined with regards to the later crusades where an active role was played.<sup>14</sup> This focus is being expanded and refined by the recent publication in English of thematic works by Hungarian historians: one publication on sacred kingship which deals with the changing relationship of Hungarian rulers to the idea of crusading,<sup>15</sup> and the other concerned with the changing position of Hungary's minorities.<sup>16</sup> I intend to expand the historiography of both countries by looking at an earlier period with a new method. I will be examining the texts with a new perspective: as single texts with single aims, within a framework of their production, and with a close attention being paid to narratology and to the context of the

<sup>11</sup> A good example of this method is the four volume set of Gombos F. Albin's *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae* (Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937-1943). This method was recently employed in the volume *Magyarország és a Keresztes Háborúk: Lovagrendek és Emlékeik* [Hungary and the Crusades: Chivalric Orders and their Heritage], ed. József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy, and József Zsengellér (Máriabesnyő – Gödöllő: Attraktor, 2006), 283-311: "Szemelvények a Korai Keresztes Hadjáratok Történetéhez." This method is still current elsewhere; for example, the text of Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* has recently been employed to examine the role of Danes in the crusade movements; see Vivian Etting, "Crusade and Pilgrimage: Different Ways to the City of God," in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kurt Villads Jensen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005), 186.

<sup>12</sup> One superb example, however, of a narrow focus being placed successfully in context is an analysis of local writers dealing with the pogroms of Trier by Tuomas Heikkilä, "Pogroms of the First Crusade in Medieval Local Historiography: The Death of Archbishop Eberhard of Trier and the Legitimation of the Pogroms," in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kurt Villads Jensen (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2005), 155-162.

<sup>13</sup> For example, one scholarly work which contextualises Albert of Aachen is László Veszprémy's *Lovagvilág Magyarországon: Lovagok, keresztesek, hadmérnökök a középkori Magyarországon* [The World of Chivalry in Hungary: Knights, Crusaders, and Military Engineers in Medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2008), 81-93, a partial republication of his earlier article "Magyarország és az első keresztes hadjárat. Aachen Albert tanúsága" [Hungary and the First Crusade: the Testimony of Albert of Aachen], *Hadttörténelmi Közlemények* 118 (2005): 501-516. After dealing with the issues of identification, reliability, and the authenticity of the aspects of the narrative, Veszprémy discusses issues of representation in the text before making an assessment on the policy of Coloman towards the crusaders.

<sup>14</sup> See, for instance, James Ross Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades, 1169-1218," *International History Review* 3, no. 4 (1981): 467-481, and Norman Housely, "King Louis the Great of Hungary and the Crusades, 1342-1382," *Slavonic and East European Review* 62, no. 2 (1984): 192-208.

<sup>15</sup> Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. Éva Pálmai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>16</sup> Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

episodes being examined in the narrative.<sup>17</sup> By doing this, I will be able to reach a more nuanced conclusion and a greater comprehension of both the image of Hungary in the chronicles and changing perceptions of the crusaders.<sup>18</sup>

I have had to be selective with the texts that I have used. Instead of the usual point concerning limitations of time and space, inclusions and omissions have been made conscientiously. My decisions can be justified as follows.

Some texts have been omitted because the texts themselves do not deal with the route through Hungary. I have omitted the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* by Raymond of Aguilers, because, by his own omission, he passes over the passage through Hungary to focus on another section of the crusade.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, I have omitted the *Gesta Tancredi* of Ralph of Caen, for it omits the incident altogether due to its focus on the figure of Tancred (c. 1072-1112), who did not take the land route through Hungary since he went the same route of his relative Bohemond (c. 1058-1111) and fellow Normans from Southern Italy: sailing from the port of Bari.<sup>20</sup> Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana* in a similar manner passes over the Hungarian incidents. It too, has been excluded.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> The prime example of this method being employed is Irene de Jong, *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). With regards to medieval studies, the best introduction to the topic is Tony Davenport, *Medieval Narrative: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), though it displays a clear bias towards the "literary" side of medieval literature, underplaying the potential and calibre of non-literary works to feature the same techniques. This thesis will show that such techniques are clearly visible in "non-literary" texts.

<sup>18</sup> For a predecessor of this manner of working, see Luka Špoljaric, "Rhetoricizing Effeminacy in Twelfth-Century Outremer: William of Tyre and the Byzantine Empire," in *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU*, vol. 15 (Budapest: CEU Press, 2009), 9-21.

<sup>19</sup> *Sed quia alii per Sclavoniam, alii per Hungariam, alii per Longobardiam, alii per mare venerunt, tædiosum nobis ad scibendum de singulis fuit. Quapropter, dimissis aliis, de comite et episcopo Podiensi, et exercitu eorum scribere curavimus. Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866), 235. For the whole work of Raymond, see the same edition, 235-309. With regards to the Latin, I would like to thank the assistance of Cristian Gaşpar.

<sup>20</sup> For the placing of Tancred in the broader narrative of the route taken, see Stephen Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem* (1951; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 155. On the issue of Hungarians in the *Gesta Tancredi*, one should note, however, the curious footnote in the recently published translation: "Ralph's reference to Huns in this context [of people speaking outside Antioch, prior to the discovery of the Holy Lance] most likely means Hungarians, that is, Magyars." *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen: A History of the Normans on the First Crusade*, ed. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 118. For the Latin, see *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866), 587-716.

<sup>21</sup> For the Latin text, see *Fulcheri Carnotensis: Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1913); for a translation of the first book, see *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 47-101; for the whole work, see *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. Frances Rita Ryan, ed. Harold S. Fink (New York: Norton, 1969). As with the *Gesta Tancredi*, the references to Hungarians confirm their presence at later stages on the crusade (albeit, it should be noted, when they flee and return home).

For a different reason, the *Zimmern Chronicle* will not be included. After the illuminating analysis by Alan V. Murray of the problematic issues regarding this text,<sup>22</sup> with the conclusion that it “tells us far more about the conceits and inventiveness of the early modern nobility of Swabia than about the German response to the appeal of Pope Urban II” that was made at Council of Clermont in 1095,<sup>23</sup> I have used that evaluation omitting that chronicle too.

Finally, I must justify the exclusion of texts that exist on the periphery of my topic: William of Tyre’s account,<sup>24</sup> and the Jewish chronicles. Because of the lateness of its composition, and because of his orientation to the east, I believe the work of William of Tyre existed and took part in a subtly different discourse to the Latin West texts that I have chosen to discuss. The later discourse of the Crusades has already been carefully analysed.<sup>25</sup> With regards to the Jewish chronicles,<sup>26</sup> these have been omitted for one specific reason. These Jewish texts, while being in the same geographical context and dealing the same events of the western Latin accounts,<sup>27</sup> belong in a different tradition and therefore are engaging in a different discourse. Furthermore, the subject has been substantially examined by Robert Chazan,<sup>28</sup> with would have left me little opportunity for new insights into these texts.

My inclusions, too, have justifiable reasons for their appearance in this thesis. The aforementioned *Gesta Francorum* will be the first text analyzed,<sup>29</sup> because it is the prototype

<sup>22</sup> Alan V. Murray, “The Chronicle of Zimmern as a source for the First Crusade,” in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 78-106. This includes, as an appendix, a translation of the passages relevant to the First Crusade.

<sup>23</sup> Murray, “The Chronicle of Zimmern as a source for the First Crusade,” 92. For an attempt to piece together the “something of a damp squib” (Tyerman, *God’s War*, 65) that was Urban II’s speech at the Council of Clermont, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, “Pope Urban II’s Preaching of the First Crusade,” reprinted in *The Crusades: The Essential Readings*, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), 15-29.

<sup>24</sup> For a good introduction to the work of William of Tyre, see Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> The dissemination of the First Crusade in later texts has been articulated well by James M. Powell, “Myth, Legend, Propaganda, History: The First Crusade, 1140-ca. 1300,” in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1996), 127-141.

<sup>26</sup> In spite of the omission, I would like to thank Carsten Wilke for his comments on the subject.

<sup>27</sup> Here it is worthwhile commenting on a dubious habits of taking chronicles at face value, and claiming that the appearance of the same event in two chronicles confirms the existence of the event. One instance of these two issues is the oft repeated tale of the peasant crusaders following a goose said to be occupied by the spirit of Christ. In a recent publication by John France, this story is taken at face value (*Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 92-93). Edgington states that this story is “confirmed” in the Jewish chronicles (*H. I.*, 58n). Chazan, the source Edgington quotes, is less literal in his interpretation of the passage, noting it “should not be taken too literally,” being “an effort to discredit totally Emicho and his followers” (Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1996), 65). To be more direct, because two different sources tell the same story does not confirm its truth, it merely confirms that the story was widely told.

<sup>28</sup> The key text being Chazan’s *European Jewry and the First Crusade*. For his attempt to position this work in a broader context, see his *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley, BA: University of California Press, 1997).

<sup>29</sup> For details of the text used, see footnote 4.

eyewitness crusader text that was later reworked by non-participants.<sup>30</sup> For a similar reason, I shall also examine, because of its widespread dissemination, the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk.<sup>31</sup> Though having nothing of the influence of the previous two texts, I shall also deal, in spite of his small readership,<sup>32</sup> with Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos*.<sup>33</sup> With these two Benedictine monastic writers, attention will be paid towards how their theological context manipulates the narrative of the crusade passing through Hungary in order to present a negative image of the controversial figure of Peter the Hermit.<sup>34</sup> Then, to contrast with these Frankish orientated texts, I will be examining the *Hierosolymita* of Ekkehard of Aura.<sup>35</sup>

In examining these texts in this manner, looking at how the incident is presented as an exemplum, I am provided with a stepping-stone in the re-evaluation of Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*.<sup>36</sup> Recently published in an edition of the Oxford Medieval Texts as a

<sup>30</sup> Examples being Guibert de Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos* and Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*. For a good introduction to the *Gesta Francorum*, and its reworkings, see John France, "The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade," in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 29-42.

<sup>31</sup> For a recent English translation, see Carol Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). Robert's text is currently subject to a large research project covering the manuscript tradition led by Marcus Bull, see <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/history/research/iherosolimitana.html/>. For the Latin, I shall be using the text prepared in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1866), 717-882, which uses only B.N. lat 5129, a twelfth-century manuscript. This volume will be called *R. H. C. Occ 3*. in the following citations.

<sup>32</sup> For the manuscript tradition, see R. B. C. Huygens, *La Tradition Manuscrite de Guibert de Nogent* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1991).

<sup>33</sup> For a masterful biography of Guibert, see Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002). Guibert's crusader text has recently been re-edited: Guibert de Nogent, "*Dei gesta per Francos*" et cinq autres textes, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996). Though this edition is highly commendable, I shall be using the edition printed in *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 4 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1879), 113-263, as this is the edition used by Robert Levine, ed. *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei Per Francos* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997). The Latin edition will be abbreviated to *R. H. C. Occ 4*.

<sup>34</sup> On the role and character of Peter, there has been much scholarly discussion since Hans Hagenmeyer's *Peter der Ermitte: ein kritischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1879). Important texts include the revisionist article by E. O. Blake and C. Morris, "A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade," *Studies in Church History* 21 (1984): 79-107, the recent book by Jean Flori, *Pierre l'Ermitte et la Première Croisade* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), and the brief article by Colin Morris, "Peter the Hermit and the Chroniclers," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. Jonathan Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 21-34. For a helpful discussion of the argument, placing it in the context of different academic interpretations, see Jay Rubenstein, "How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit," in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. Susan J. Ridyard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 53-69.

<sup>35</sup> For the Latin, I will be using *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 5 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1895), 1-40, which will henceforth be abbreviated to *R. H. C., Occ 5*. For the translation, I will be using August C. Krey, ed. *The First Crusade: The Accounts of Eye Witnesses and Participants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921), the text which Peters' anthology uses.

<sup>36</sup> *Albert of Aachen: Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. Susan Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007). In the footnotes, this shall be cited as *H. I.* As Edgington notes in an article, the earliest manuscripts of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* do not feature the name "Albert", and the placement of

consequence of the scholarship of Susan Edgington, Albert's text is undergoing something of a reassessment.<sup>37</sup> I intend for this thesis to continue with this work. Recently, the great crusade scholar Jonathan Riley-Smith damned Albert's text with faint praise, describing it as "almost as good" as the eye-witness accounts of the First Crusade in a bibliography, placing it alone in its own category, a liminal space between eye-witness accounts and "important contemporary and theological narratives,"<sup>38</sup> despite Albert being at times the most detailed – or at times the only source – regarding events in the crusade.<sup>39</sup> Previous academic work on Albert's text has focused predominantly on Albert's troubling claim – for text-based academics – to have written his work *ex auditu et relatione*,<sup>40</sup> using oral accounts from those who returned from the Crusade, and hence the troubling question regarding reliability. This originates from the nineteenth-century German historian Heinrich von Sybel's concern that though "the work is admirable and worthy of praise," "very little is said that can determine the value of his testimony as an historian."<sup>41</sup> I intend to sidestep this issue, and rather look at the value of Albert as a medieval writer, rather than the modern concept of a historian. Due to the great length and detail that his *Historia* gives to his account of the route through Hungary, and his unique technique among the texts that shall be examined of referring back to the event at a later stage in the narrative which will be analysed in a structuralist manner,<sup>42</sup> Albert's *Historia Ierosolimitana* merits a chapter on its own.

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Aachen is from the reading of the text (Susan Edgington, "Albert of Aachen, St. Bernard and the Second Crusade," in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 54). While noting that this is the case, I will be using the name "Albert of Aachen" as it is more useful than the repetition of "Anonymous", which has the added issue of possible confusion with the now-anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*.

<sup>37</sup> Edgington, in addition to her edition, has aided this with multiple articles on a wide variety of topics: "Medieval Knowledge in the Crusading Armies: The Evidence of Albert of Aachen and Others," in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Variorum, 1994), 320-326; "The Doves of War: the Part Played by Carrier Pigeons in the Crusades," in *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1996), 167-175; "The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence," in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. J. P. Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 55-77; "Albert of Aachen reappraised," in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepolis, 1998), 55-67; "Albert of Aachen and the *chanson de geste*," in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 23-57.

<sup>38</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Pilgrims and Crusaders in Western Latin Sources," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 132 (2007): 15.

<sup>39</sup> One particular being Edessa; "Without Albert of Aachen we should have great difficulty in explaining clearly the progress of the Franks in North Syria and we should lack much information concerning the methods of the Franks in winning their foothold in the East." André Alden Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa," in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1928) 137-138.

<sup>40</sup> *H. I.*, 1.

<sup>41</sup> Heinrich von Sybel, *The History and Literature of the Crusades*, trans. Lady Duff Gordon (London: Chapman and Hall, 1861), 212. For the chapter, see 206-254, not 156-196 as listed in *H. I.*, xxvii.

<sup>42</sup> On the issue of *analepsis* in the text of the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, I shall be employing Gérard Genette's *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).

This radical approach to the texts, building upon previous historical research focused on the accounts with my own utilisation of literary techniques, will unearth the perceptions of the western Latin authors towards Hungary and the crusades, and show the enticing possibility of examining underexplored elements lying buried in the texts.

### **Brief Note on Some Minor Points**

Brief elucidation of some minor points of this thesis is required before beginning in order to avoid confusion in the reader. These concern the issue of spelling, and the appendix.

In regards to spelling, it is immediately clear that I have not opted to select one spelling for one of the characters depicted in two of the narratives: Emico/Emicho. This has been done in part to show that the texts – even the translations – have been given the primary place in my argument, free from alteration, and secondly, because the spelling reflects the difference in spelling in the Latin texts (Emicho/Emecho). In making this choice, I intend to show the reader, if only subliminally, that the focus in my thesis concerns not the “real people” but their representations in the text. Since the texts are different in their presentations, the difference in spelling may help to reinforce the uniqueness of the stance of each text.

The second issue is the appendix where I have provided maps, one showing the kingdom of Hungary at the time of the First Crusade,<sup>43</sup> and one showing the route of the crusaders through this part of Europe.<sup>44</sup> Though this thesis is concerned with textual depictions of the route through Hungary made by the crusaders, these maps have been included to provide a geographical and contextual placement for readers unfamiliar with the historical location and event.

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<sup>43</sup> Tibor Dudar, ed, *Történelmi világtalasz* [Historical World Atlas] (Budapest: Cartographia, 1991), 109.

<sup>44</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed, *The Atlas of the Crusades* (New York: Facts on File, 1991), 31 (detail).

## Part One

### **The Route, Prior to Albert**

#### **1. 1. The Route Prior to the First Crusade**

Before dealing with the crusader representation of the route through Hungary, it is worthwhile examining the actual itinerary itself. In establishing the pre-First Crusade history of this passage, explanations of the Hungarian response to the crusaders become apparent. This in turn will provide useful context for understanding the textual responses of the crusade literature produced following the First Crusade.

For the person following the call of Urban II, three routes, “used previously by pilgrims and merchants”,<sup>45</sup> to Jerusalem were possible.<sup>46</sup> The first was to reach Bari in Italy, travel across the Adriatic Sea, and then follow the Via Egnatia to Constantiople. This was the route taken by Bohemond and his brother Tancred.<sup>47</sup> The second was the southern route, going through Croatia to meet with the Via Egnatia,<sup>48</sup> taken by the Provençals.<sup>49</sup> The third was the “Bavarian Road”, which went through Germany and passed through Hungary. This third route will be the focus of this study.

The route through Hungary was made possible by the conversion of the country to Christianity by St. Stephen the Great (ruled 1000-1038). While this change was probably motivated by political rather than religious reasons,<sup>50</sup> the kingdom of Hungary soon publicly orientated itself as Christian with the passion of a convert: Stephen founded churches in

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<sup>45</sup> Jean Richard, *The Crusades: c. 1071 – c. 1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 37.

<sup>46</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, repr. 2002), 36. The subject is dealt with by Alan V. Murray, “The Middle Ground: Land and Sea Routes in Crusades to the Holy Land, 1096-1204,” in press.

<sup>47</sup> Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*: 155.

<sup>48</sup> At the 21<sup>st</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Elena Koytcheva discussed the logistics of this route: “Logistical problems for the movement of the early crusades through the Balkans: transport and road systems;” for the abstract, see *Proceedings of the 21<sup>st</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, vol. 2, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys and Judith Gilliland (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 54.

<sup>49</sup> Richard, 37.

<sup>50</sup> “St Stephen (1000-1038) adopted Roman Christianity, probably out of fear of German intervention, but he supported the Byzantine Emperor Basil II against the Bulgars and the Greek influence remained strong, while there was evident paganism at least until the 1060s.” John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom 1000-1714* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 234.



Rome and Jerusalem,<sup>51</sup> and his *Vita* by Hartvic repeatedly presents him as assisting pilgrims.<sup>52</sup> Hungary, previously a symbol of a pagan frontier, now assisted Western Latin Christianity. The chronicler Rodulfus Glaber (985-1047) provides us with an early Latin depiction of this route and its history.

At that time the Hungarians, who lived along the Danube, together with their king, were converted to the faith of Christ. This king took the name Stephen at his baptism and became a good catholic; the aforementioned Emperor Henry gave him his sister in marriage. After that almost all those from Italy and Gaul who wished to go to the Sepulchre of the Lord at Jerusalem abandoned the usual route, which was by sea, making their way through the country of King Stephen. He made the road safe for everyone, welcomed as brothers all he saw, and gave them enormous gifts. This action led many people, nobles and commoners, to go to Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup>

Glaber's depiction of the Hungarians and the Hungarian route is clearly appreciative.<sup>54</sup> It is apparent that this route was considered safer, and less expensive, than the route by sea, and that consequently, people voted with their feet. Adhemar of Chabannes records that the group of William IV of Angoulême with Abbot Richard of St. Canes and seven hundred other pilgrims took this route in 1026.<sup>55</sup> At the risk of sounding glib, Glaber presents an admiring sales pitch.

The route itself is gathered from other sources.<sup>56</sup> The Bavarian route, from Hainburg on the border of present-day Austria to the Sava River by Belgrade, took nineteen days. The route went from county castle to castle before reaching the famed Hungarian landscape: from Hainburg, the route took two days to reach the castle of Raba (today Győr), then three days to Fehérvár (today Székesfehérvár), then three days to Hanesnbruch castle (which is now

<sup>51</sup> For the Hungarian churches in Jerusalem, see Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, vol 3: *The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 380-381.

<sup>52</sup> For an English translation, see Nóra Berend, "Hartvic, *Life of King Stephen of Hungary*," in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas Head (New York: Garland, 2000), 375-398.

<sup>53</sup> *Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, ed. John France, Neithard Bulst, and Paul Reynolds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 97. *Ipsa igitur tempore Vngrorum gens, que erat circa Danubium cum suo rege ad fidem Christi conuersa est. Quorum regi, Stephano ex baptisate uocato, decenterque Christianissimo, dedit memoratus imperator Henricus germanam suam in uxorem. Tunc temporis ceperunt pene uniuersi, qui de Italia et Galliis ad sepulchrum Domini Iherosolimis ire cupiebant, consuetum iter quod erat per fretum maris ommittere, atque per huius regis patriam transitum habere. Ille uero tutissimam omnibus constituit uiam; excipiebat ut fratres quoscumque uidebat, dabatque illis immense munera. Cuius rei grati prouocata innumerabilis / multitudo tam nobilium quam uulgi Iherosolimam abierunt.*

<sup>54</sup> For an analysis of Glaber and Hungary, see Attila Györkös, "La relation de Raoul Glaber sur les premières décennies de l'Etat hongrois," in *The First Millennium of Hungary in Europe*, ed. Klára Papp and János Barta (Debrecen: Debrecen University Press, 2002), 120-126. This section on Glaber is indebted to András Vadas.

<sup>55</sup> For a contextualisation of this pilgrimage, see the chapter "Jerusalem Pilgrimage, Abbacy Lost, History Gained: *Beta*", in Richard Allen Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 154-177.

<sup>56</sup> In this, I must acknowledge the work and assistance of József Laszlovszky. A Hungarian translation of the itinerary is published in Györffy György, *István Király és Műve* [King Stephen and his Work] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977), 300-302. For help with my Hungarian, I must thank Katalin Tolnai and András Vadas.

difficult to ascertain where this actually was), then four days to Dulmumast (similarly, now unlocatable), then four days of crossing woodlands, several lakes, and a river (by boat), reaching a village near the castle of Valkó (today Vokovar). After this the land became dry and barren, until reaching the river Sava, which is near Belgrade, where the territory of Bulgaria began.

For the argument of this thesis, stating that the role of Hungary in the First Crusade changed with each rewriting of the history, it is worth noting the following important point. For Hungarians, the seemingly sudden emergence of a large mass of foreigners crossing their border was, while uncommon, not unique. The 1064-1065 German Pilgrimage was vast in number, with “seven to twelve thousand persons – the equivalent of a respectable medieval army.”<sup>57</sup> Though historiography has argued the extent to which these pilgrims were armed,<sup>58</sup> it is quite clear that in the collective memory of the Hungarians, the mass movement of the First Crusade was not, as is sometimes assumed from reading Crusader narratives, the beginning of a new history, but a successful continuation and evolution of an established pilgrimage route. The following chapters will show how authors of the Latin West depicted the events of the First Crusades in their own unique manner.

## 1. 2. The Route in Pre-Albert Texts

In order to comprehend the unique qualities of Albert of Aachen’s *Historia Ierosolimitana*, it is worth spending a brief while examining closely accounts of the route through Hungary in four crusader texts: two will be dealt with together due to their similarity, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent’s *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, and Ekkehard of Aura’s *Hierosolymita*.

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<sup>57</sup> Walter Porges, “The Clergy, the Poor, and the Non-Combatants on the First Crusade,” *Speculum* 21, no. 1 (1946), 1.

<sup>58</sup> For an early example of this scholarly argument, see Einar Joranson, “The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065,” in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by his Former Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York: F. S. Crofts, 1928), 3-56. For perhaps the best summation of this question, see the pithy sentences of Mayer: “Near Ramleh in Palestine they were suddenly attacked by Muslims and for several days they had to fight a defensive battle. It is not easy to explain how they managed this since pilgrims were always unarmed.” Hans E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. John Gillingham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).

In this brief reading of these texts, it will become apparent how briefly these authors deal with the route through Hungary. The brevity of their accounts will be explained, as will, importantly, their positioning of the event in the text.

### 1. 2. 1. The Frankish Spin

#### **The *Gesta Francorum* and Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana***

The mentions of the Hungarian route in the accounts of two Frankish authors, the anonymous composer of the *Gesta Francorum* and Robert the Monk, are similar in presentation. The reason was that Robert the Monk's text, the *Historia Iherosolimitana*, was a self-confessed deliberate rewrite of the earlier work.<sup>59</sup> These two texts establish the location of the author of the *Gesta Francorum* on the crusade, and the deliberate attempt to assert the role of the Franks in leading the movement.

The self-proclaimed eye-witness nature of the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* has led to simplistic readings of the text, an unfairness that has led to the neglect of incidents described in non-eyewitness accounts (such as Albert's).<sup>60</sup> Similarly, the wide-spread dissemination, translation, adaptation, and utilisation of Robert the Monk's account has led to scholarly hesitance at engaging with such a text.<sup>61</sup> These two texts however reveal they are subject to the same manipulations and textual issues as the less critically esteemed *Historia Ierosolimitana*.

The *Gesta* deals with the division of the crusaders into various groups with a sparse simplicity. At the same time, the author deals swiftly with the Hungarian route.

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<sup>59</sup> For this connection, see Carol Sweetenham, "Robert and the *Gesta Francorum*," in *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 12-27.

<sup>60</sup> For an interesting discussion regarding the rhetoric and terminology of the *Gesta*, see Jeanette Beer, "Heroic Language and the Eyewitness: The *Gesta Francorum* and *La Chanson d'Antioche*," in *Echoes of the Epic: Studies in Honor of Gerard J. Braut*, ed. David P. Schenk and Mary Jane Schenck (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1988), 1-16. In addition to the passage of Hungary, another interesting passage in Albert that appears to have been neglected is the decapitation of a Muslim nobleman during the siege of 1099, after a failed attempt at conversion. This account is made credible by an account in a crusader letter, as shown in a recent article illuminating the neglected passage. For the incident and an analysis, see Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant," in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), 190-199.

<sup>61</sup> For an ongoing attempt, see footnote 31. For a brief but helpful note on the manuscript tradition, with notes concerning its translations and adaptations (including the *Chanson d'Antioche*, *Solymaris*, and the lost *Antiochi Bella*), see Sweetenham, 8-11.

The Franks ordered themselves in three armies. One, which entered Hungary, was led by Peter the Hermit and Duke Godfrey, Baldwin his brother and Baldwin, count of Hainault. These most valiant knights and many others (whose name I do not know) travelled by the road which Charlemagne, the heroic king of the Franks, had formerly caused to be built to Constantinople.<sup>62</sup>

Though there has been some scholarly debate concerning the possible allusion to Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*,<sup>63</sup> most of the textual analysis of the *Gesta Francorum* has focused on establishing its relationship with the texts that it influenced, rather than seeing what the text itself established. Investigation into the authorship of the text from internal evidence reveals that the author was likely to have been a Norman from Italy.<sup>64</sup> Sidestepping the issue biographical fallacy and the difficulty of perceiving the real author from a text, simple structural elements reveal the geographical focus of the text: more time, and a greater vocabulary, is spent dealing with the route that Bohemond took than the passage through Hungary.<sup>65</sup>

In spite of the peripheral nature of the route through Hungary when compared to the main route described in the *Gesta*, the account still serves specific functions from the practical to the political. There is the obvious explanation of how one, however briefly, got from point a to point b. As such, it fulfils the role of a pilgrimage narrative, a narrative centred upon a journey. Of narratives concerned with journeys, the great narratologist Todorov wrote that their purpose is to confirm the importance of the traveller and the travel: the "very existence of a narrative necessarily implies the valorization of its subject (because it is worthy of a mention), and therefore also implies a certain satisfaction on the part of its narrator."<sup>66</sup> This "valorization" is apparent in the final section which connects the route taken through Hungary with the mythical route Charlemagne took on his supposed pilgrimage to

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<sup>62</sup> Hill, 1. *Fecerunt denique Galli tres partes. Vna pars Francorum in Hungariae intrauit regionem, scilicet Petrus Heremita, et dux Godefridus, et Balduinus frater eius, et Balduinus comes de Monte. Isti potentissimi milites et alii plures quos ignoro uenerunt per uiam quam iam dudum Karolus Magnus mirificus rex Franciae aptari usque Constantinopolim.* I have quoted the translation in the main text solely for the purpose of readability.

<sup>63</sup> For the likely answer to the possible connection to *omnia Gallia in tres partes diuisa est*, see Emily Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 149.

<sup>64</sup> For a summary of the investigation, see Hill, xi-xvi. See also the telling use of Apulia in the inserted speech of Karbuqa: *Amodo iuro uobis per Machomet et per omnia deorum nomina, quoniam ante uestram non ero rediturus presentiam, donec regalem urbem Antiochiam et omnem Suriam siue Romaniam atque Bulgariam usque in Apuliam adquisiero mea forti dextera, ad deorum honorem et uestrum, et omnium qui sunt ex genere Turcorum.* Hill, 51-52.

<sup>65</sup> For the relationship of the text to Bohemond, see K. B. Wolf, "Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*," *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991): 207-216.

<sup>66</sup> Tzvetan Todorov, "The Journey and Its Narratives," in *The Morals of History*, trans. Alyson Waters (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 64.

Constantinople.<sup>67</sup> By alluding to Charlemagne, the noted king of the Franks, in a passage noting the Frankish Peter the Hermit and three Frankish aristocrats, the anonymous author of the *Gesta* asserts the Frankish nature of such a journey. The allusion is important also for the character of Godfrey, who could trace his lineage to Charlemagne.<sup>68</sup> This is a point that requires putting in perspective. Many of the Frankish protagonists of the First Crusade were curious choices for religious warriors, as many had either themselves had disputes with the papacy, or had originated from troublesome families.<sup>69</sup> In describing the Hungarian route in this manner, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* illustrates the subtle shaping of non-eyewitnessed history for political purposes.<sup>70</sup>

This assertion of Frankishness appears also in Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, albeit with its own additional ideological persuasions inserted into the narrative. The *Sermo apologeticus* at the start of the text asserts its authorial voice to be Robert, a monk in the monastery of St-Rémi,<sup>71</sup> and this official Benedictine context is important. Robert stresses in addition to Frankishness the order of the church, beginning his text and therefore his image of the crusades as originating with the pope at Clermont.<sup>72</sup> Therefore Robert, following the *Gesta Francorum* while adding his own spin, uses the passage through Hungary for the valorization of the main protagonists and their ideas.

As a consequence of this context of assertiveness, Robert's text lambastes and satirises Peter the Hermit with quips against his character. This hostility towards the lay preacher is a conceptual one triggered by Robert's adherence to the views of his Benedictine community. The Rule of St. Benedict,<sup>73</sup> to which Robert as a Benedictine monk would adhere, begins by establishing a hierarchy of types of monks. At the top are the cenobites,

<sup>67</sup> For a brief account of the figure of Charlemagne in the popular imagination at the turn of the eleventh century, see Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Revised ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 72-73.

<sup>68</sup> For an account of this lineage, in which both "the paternal and maternal branch claimed descent from Charlemagne, an assertion which seems substantiated," see John C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1947), 9-11.

<sup>69</sup> The clearest example of this is Godfrey of Bouillon, who, in the Investiture Controversy, sided with Henry IV against Pope Gregory VII. See Asbridge, 61-62. In regards to families, as Tyerman writes in *God's War*, 107, the "first great western lord to set out for Jerusalem, somewhat paradoxically, was the brother of the king Urban II had excommunicated at Clermont," this being Hugh I, count of Vermandois, brother of Philip I, excommunicated for bigamy.

<sup>70</sup> For a discussion on the use of the word "Frank" and the biases that this usage shows, see Michel Balard, "Gesta Dei per Francos: L'usage du mot 'francs' dans les chroniques de la première croisade," in *Clovis: Histoire & Mémoire: Le Baptême de Clovis, son echo à travers l'histoire*, ed. Michel Ruche (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), 473-483.

<sup>71</sup> Sweetenham, 75. The *incipit apologeticus sermo* can be found in *R. H. C. Occ* 3, 721-722.

<sup>72</sup> Sweetenham, 79-81. *R. H. C. Occ* 3, 727-728.

<sup>73</sup> The edition of the *Regula* that I have used is that edited by Gregorio Magno, *Vita di San Benedetto e la Regola* (Roma: Città Nuova, 1995, repr. 2006). This has been abbreviated to *Regula* in the footnotes.

who live in a monastery and serve under a rule and an abbot;<sup>74</sup> at the bottom are the gyrovagues, itinerant monks who follow no rule and who are deemed unstable and prone to gluttony.<sup>75</sup> Consequently, for Robert, a cenobite, the itinerant Peter is depicted according to the rule: feasting on wine and food without restraint or order.

At that time there was a man called Peter, a famous hermit, who was held in great esteem by the lay people, and in fact venerated above priests and abbots for his religious observance because he ate neither bread nor meat (though this did not stop him enjoying wine and all other kinds of food whilst seeking a reputation for abstinence in the midst of pleasures). At that point he gathered round him a not insignificant force of knights and footsoldiers and set off via Hungary. He joined forces with a certain Godfrey, Duke of the Germans, who was the son of Count Eustace of Boulogne but Duke of Germany by virtue of office. Godfrey was handsome, of lordly bearing, eloquent, of distinguished character, and so lenient with his soldiers as to give the impression of being a monk rather than a soldier. However when he realised that his enemy was at hand and battle imminent, his courage became abundantly evident and like a roaring lion he feared the attack of no man. What breastplate or shield could withstand the thrust of his sword? Godfrey, with his brothers Eustace and Baldwin and a large band of horse and foot, journeyed through Hungary, doubtless following the same route as Charlemagne the incomparable king of the Franks once followed on his pilgrimage to Constantinople.<sup>76</sup>

As one can see, there is no focus whatsoever on the route itself (other than that the knights went by horse; the point that “Godfrey reached Constantinople before all the French princes because he had travelled straight across Hungary,”<sup>77</sup> appears much later in the text). Hungary exists in the text as a means to stress the ideological orientation of the author towards the main figureheads of the First Crusade. The geographical space of the route permits Robert to explain away the insinuations of Germanness with quick explanations of their Frankish

<sup>74</sup> *Regula*, 114; *Primum Coenobitarum, hoc est, monasteriale, militans sub regula vel Abbate*.

<sup>75</sup> *Regula*, 116; *Quartum vero genus est monachorum, quod nominatur Gyrovagum, qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hispitantur, semper vagi et nunquam stabiles, et propriis voluptatibus et gulae illecebris servientes, et per omnia deteriores Sarabaitis; de quorum omnium miserrima conversatione melius est silere, quam loqui*.

<sup>76</sup> Sweetenham, 83-84. I have not corrected the term “footsoldiers” which appears in the text. *Erat in illis diebus quidam, qui heremita existiterat, nomine Petrus, qui apud illos qui terrena sapient magni aestimabatur, et super ipsos praesules et abates apice religionis efferebatur, eo quod nec pane nec carne vescebatur, sed tamen vino aliisque cibis omnibus fruebatur et famam abstinentiae in deliciis quaerebat. Hic ea tempestate collegit sibi non modicam equitum peditumque multitudinem, et iter suum direxit per Hungariam. Associatur autem cuidam duci Teuthonicorum, nomine Godefrido, qui erat Eustachii Boloniensis comitis filius, sed officio dignitatis dux erat Teuthonicus. Hic vultu elegans, statura procerus, dulcis eloquio, moribus egregious, et in tantum militibus lenis, ut magis in se monachum quam militem figuraret. Hic tamen quum hostem sentiebat adesse et imminere praelium, tunc audaci mente concipiebat animum, et, quasi leo frendens, ad nullius pavebat occursum. Et quae lorica vel clypeus sustinere poterat impetum mucronis illius? Hic, cum fratribus suis Eustachio et Balduino et magna manu militum peditumque, per Hungariam iter arripuit, per viam scilicet quam Karolus Magnus, incomparabilis rex Francorum, olim suo exercitui fieri usque Constantinopolim praecipit. R. H. C. Occ 3, 731-732.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid*, 94. *Dux Godefridus, prior omnium Francorum principum, Constantinopolim vernit, quia per Hungariam recto gressu itineravit. R. H. C. Occ 3, 743.*

origin, to present Godfrey as the religious leader who is more like a monk than a soldier (and therefore a greater figurehead than Peter the Hermit), and to insert a common Frankish romantic motif of a roaring lion into the text.<sup>78</sup> As can be seen, Hungary is relegated to the purpose of the authors.

### 1. 2. 2. A Re-Arranged Narrative

#### Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos*

The account of Guibert, abbot of the monastery of St. Mary at Nogent, entitled *Gesta Dei Per Francos*,<sup>79</sup> differs in its account of the passage through Hungary. Though seen as a heavily theological account on the First Crusade,<sup>80</sup> the text provides narrative information not present in the previous accounts. It is, notably, longer than the previous accounts discussed. Since this text is more complex in style and purpose, and longer than the previous texts, it is worth discussing in greater depth. The increase in length permits Guibert greater narrative space in which to castigate the non-official (the non-aristocratic, non-Church sanctioned) branch of the Crusade led by Peter the Hermit. Placed in the context of the narrative, Guibert's presentation of the passage through Hungary is used to deride and diminish the importance of Peter's wave, concluding with the statement that his forces helped no crusaders, but rather the Turks.<sup>81</sup> To do this, Guibert splits the narrative into two parts: one section dealing with the "insane"<sup>82</sup> army of Peter the Hermit, and the second, dealing with the dukes and the counts, in contrast with the shared journeys of these characters suggested in the *Gesta Francorum*

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<sup>78</sup> Hill, 36. *Fuit itaque ille, undique signo crucis munitus, qualiter leo perpressus famem per tres aut quatuor dies, qui exiens a suis cauernis, rugiens ac sitiens sanguinem pecudum sicut improuide ruit inter agmina gregum, dilanians oues fugientes huc et illuc; ita agebat iste inter agmina Turcorum.* This is described as Bohemond's "grandest moment in the *Gesta*" by Albu, *The Normans in their Histories*, 200; it is also one of the few similes in the text. For other examples, see *Gesta Tancredi*, 46, 143.

<sup>79</sup> Levine, 26. For the Latin, see *R. H. C. Occ* 4, 121.

<sup>80</sup> See for example the listing in Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Pilgrims and Crusaders in Western Latin Sources," 15.

<sup>81</sup> Levine, 52. *Comitiæ Petri Heremite talis fuit exitus: cujus historiam ideo sine alterius materiæ interstitio prosecuti sumus, u team aliis nullam impendisse opem, sed Turcis addidisse audaciam monstraremus.* *R. H. C. Occ* 4, 146.

<sup>82</sup> Levine, 51. This adjective is used after the movement from Hungary, when Guibert suggests Peter, incapable of controlling an army, hands over command to Walter *sine habere. Petrus ille interea qui a nobis supra expositus est, de multa comitum suorum vecordia sæpe vexatus, et crebra strage confuses, tandem cuidam transsequano et cogniti generis viro, armis quantum ad se strenuo, nomine Galterio, orimaturn suæ gentis dederat: ut quos documentis distinere non poterat, ille saltem militari auctoritate restringeret. Is itaque Civizum, civitatem quamdam, quæ Niceæ urbi, secundum loci positionem, præminere dicitur, cum suo illo dementi exercitu properabat attingere.* *R. H. C. Occ* 4, 145.

and the *Historia Iherosolimitana*. In doing this, Guibert uses the textual journey across Hungary to stress his opinions on the validity of specific types of society that went on the crusade.

To understand this point, we must look at the text that Guibert provides in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos*. Sandwiched between a description of popular unrest in Frankish territory and the violence against the Greeks is the account of Peter's passage through Hungary. The geographical location of these events is not important for Guibert's narrative, as will be shown by his delayed mentions of places. Rather, it is the exposition and the context which is important, for it frames Peter and his followers within a deliberately negative perspective. Even in the sentence where Peter is introduced, opening the paragraph containing the first mention of Hungary, Guibert's Gordian prose style manipulates the narrative to depict him and his followers in a negative light, questioning their ability to complete the journey.<sup>83</sup>

While the leaders, who needed to spend large sums of money for their great retinues, were preparing like careful administrators, the common people, poor in resources, but copious in number, attached themselves to a certain Peter the Hermit, and they obeyed him as though he were the leader, as long as the matter remained within our own borders.<sup>84</sup>

This "within our own borders" is an example of Guibert's deliberate construction of geographical space. In making this point, the narrative alerts the reader that conflict will appear outside of these borders. This will be in Hungary. Before that, however, Guibert continues with character attacks on Peter the Hermit. One historian has described this account as "a polished sneer from a Benedictine monk to an itinerant preacher;"<sup>85</sup> the text is more than a sneer, it is a crafted condemnation. As with Robert the Monk's account, Guibert fleshes out the character of Peter with a description of the gyrovagues from the Rule of St. Benedict: wandering figures with no stability.<sup>86</sup> The text of *Gesta Dei Per Francos* however foregrounds this element, using more words to stress its point than the *Historia Iherosolimitana*. This is also apparent in the deliberate use of style: Guibert frequently interrupts the narrative with expressions of doubt, thereby triggering scepticism in his audience when they hear established facts concerning Peter the Hermit.

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<sup>83</sup> The issue of how Peter's followers were provided for is dealt with by Charles R. Glasheen, "Provisioning Peter the Hermit: from Cologne to Constantinople, 1096," in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 119-129.

<sup>84</sup> Levine, 47. *Principibus igitur, qui multis expensis, et magnis obsequentium ministeriis indigebant, sua morose ac dispensative tractantibus, tenue illud quidem substantia, sed numero frequentissimum, vulgus Petro cuidam Heremita cohaesit; eique interim, dum adhuc res intra nos agitur, ac si magistro paruit. R. H. C. Occ 4, 142.*

<sup>85</sup> Morris, 24.

<sup>86</sup> *Regula*, 116.



If I am not mistaken, he was born in Amiens, and, it is said, led a solitary life in the habit of a monk in I do not know what part of upper Gaul, then moved on, I don't know why, and we saw him wander through cities and towns, spreading his teaching, surrounded by so many people, given so many gifts, and acclaimed for such great piety, that I don't ever remember anyone equally honoured.<sup>87</sup>

Guibert then proceeds to explain the attraction of Peter and his charismatic effect on his followers. The same criticism that Robert the Monk copied from the *Regula*, that Peter was gluttonous in that he consumed wine and fish while presenting himself as religious, is used to punctuate the image.

He was very generous to the poor with the gifts he was given, making prostitutes morally acceptable for husbands, together, with generous gifts, and, with remarkable authority, restoring peace and treaties where there had been discord before. Whatever he did or said seemed like something almost divine. Even the hairs of his mule were torn out as though they were relics, which report not as truth, but as a novelty loved by the common people. Outdoors, he wore a woolen tunic, which reached to his ankles, and above it a hood; he wore a cloak to cover his upper body, and a bit of his arms, but his feet were bare. He drank wine and ate fish, but scarcely ever ate bread.<sup>88</sup>

As such, the role that Peter is given in Guibert's text is that of an *exemplum*, an image of a troublesome self-regarding hermit that the Rule of Benedict condemned; the character becomes indistinguishable in *Gesta Dei Per Francos* from the role he is assigned. A monastic Benedictine audience, hearing the details of his character, would already be instilled with the idea of reacting negatively to these features; they would also know that Peter, for the lesson to be taught, will need a situation in which his comeuppance occurs. To provide for this, Guibert manipulates the incident in Hungary to pass judgment on the very characteristics of Peter that he himself supplied. Guibert inflates him to puncture him, with Hungary being used as the pin.

Having established that Peter and his large army are bound to fail, Guibert then moves on to the actual narrative: the movement of the crusaders.

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<sup>87</sup> Levine, 47. *Quem ex urbe, nisi fallor, Ambianensi ortum, in superiori nescio qua Galliarum parte solitariam sub habitu monachico vitam duxisse comperimus; inde digressum, qua nescio intentione, urbes et municipia praedicationis obtentu circumire vidimus, tantis populorum multitudinibus vallari, tantis muneribus donari, tanto sanctitatis praekonio conclamari, ut neminem meminerim simili honore haberi.* R. H. C. Occ 4, 142.

<sup>88</sup> Levine, 47-48; I have retained the American spelling of his translation. *Multa enim funerat, ex his quae sibi dabantur, dilargitione erga paupers liberalis; prostitutas mulieres non sine suo munere maritis honestans; in discordibus ubique paces et foedera, mira auctoritate, restituens. Quicquid agebat namque seu loquebatur, quasi quiddam subdivinum videbatur, praesertim quum etiam de ejus mulo pili pro reliquiis raperentur: quod nos non ad veritatem, sed vulgo referimus amanti novitatem. Lanae tunica ad purum, cucullo super, utrisque talaribus, byrro desuper utebatur, brachis minime, nudipes autem; vino alebatur ac pisce, pane vix aut nunquam.* R. H. C. Occ 4, 142.

This man, partly because of his reputation, partly because of his preaching, had assembled a very large army, and decided to set out through the land of the Hungarians.<sup>89</sup>

The narrative then compares the abundance of the land with the savagery of Peter's forces. To make this point clear, Guibert provides his audience with a snippet of information concerning Hungarian agriculture amongst the panegyric description of the countryside and its people, a snippet of reality to make the portrait seem believable.

The restless common people discovered that this area produced unusually abundant food, and they went wild with excess in response to the gentleness of the inhabitants. When they saw the grain had been piled up for several years, as is the custom in that land, like towers in the fields, which we are accustomed to call "metas" in every-day language, and although supplies of various meats and other foods were abundant in this land, not content with the natives' decency, in a kind of remarkable madness, these intruders began to crush them.<sup>90</sup>

The image of Hungary as being a fertile land may reflect actual conditions; it approaches something of a *topos* status in later texts (as in Otto of Friesing's *Gesta Frederici*).<sup>91</sup> Likewise, the *metas* that Guibert speaks of were public granaries, which in Hungary could refer to specific places where goods were collected as tax for the king. These may have been memorable for the foreign crusader, unexpectedly confronted with a centralised system orientated on goods rather than coins.<sup>92</sup> Guibert fits these perceptions into his Benedictine attack on Peter the Hermit; the abundance of food, and the behaviour of his flock, becomes testament to the wayward nature of the itinerant preacher defined as a gyrovague. Guibert continues this moral shaping of the narrative by presenting the Hungarians as a contrast to the followers of Peter. His deliberate presentation of the Hungarians as Christians provides an interesting turn on the issue of otherness: the wild crusaders become the akin to the rampaging horde of Muslims described in the supposed letter of the Greek emperor to Robert,

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<sup>89</sup> Levine, 48. *Is autem vir, partim opinione, partim suo monitu quum immanem conflasset exercitum, per Hungarorum terram delegit abire. R. H. C. Occ 4, 142.*

<sup>90</sup> Levine, 48. *Quorum regions quum earum rerum quæ ad alimentum pertinent opulentissimas, idem vulgus indocile repperisset, cæperunt luxuriis enormibus contra indigenarum mansuetudinem debacchari. Quum enim plurimorum annorum segetes triticeas, ut in ea terra moris est, in modum turrium per agros stabilitas cernerent, quas nos metas vulgariter vocare solemus; quum cranium diversarum aliorumque victualium, quorum illa feracissima tellus est, copiæ suppeterent, non contesti humanitate eorum, mira dementia, ipsi alienigenæ cæperunt turpiter conculcare gentiles; R. H. C. Occ 4, 142-3.*

<sup>91</sup> As expected, this text too is manipulated to express the contrast between the wealth of the country and the nature of its inhabitants; see Sverre Bagge, "Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*," *Journal of Medieval History* 22, no. 4 (1996): 359-360. This however does not necessarily invalidate the truth of the original, pre-politicised point: the perception of the agricultural richness of the Hungarian landscape.

<sup>92</sup> For the word "meta", see Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 26-29.

count of Flanders which Guibert had previously quoted at length.<sup>93</sup> These Muslim invaders, the letter claimed, “took virgins and made them public prostitutes, since they were never deterred by shame or feeling for marital fidelity.”<sup>94</sup> In Guibert’s depiction of the passage through Hungary, the same motifs of violating women and marital vows appear.<sup>95</sup>

While the Hungarians, as Christians to Christians, had generously offered everything for sale, our men willfully and wantonly ignored their hospitality and generosity, arbitrarily waging war against them, assuming that they would not resist, but would remain entirely peaceful. In an accursed rage they burned the public granaries we spoke of, raped virgins, dishonoured many marriage beds by carrying off many women, and tore out or burned the beards of their hosts.<sup>96</sup>

The crusaders are depicted as little better than the Muslims they intended to fight against. Guibert presents Peter’s army as chaotic, and, in his narrative, suggests they have lost the social order in which makes a crusade is possible. As a consequence of their disorder, the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* asserts their failure, humiliation, and public ridicule:

None of them now thought of buying what he needed, but instead each man strove for what he could get by theft and murder, boasting with amazing impudence that he would easily do the same against the Turks. On their way they came to a castle that they could not avoid passing through. It was sited so that the path allowed no divergence to the right or left. With their usual insolence they moved to besiege it, but when they had almost captured it, suddenly, for a reason that is no concern of mine, they were overwhelmed; some died by sword, others were drowned in the river, others, without money, in abject poverty, deeply ashamed, returned to France. And because this place was called Moisson, and when they returned they said that they had been as far as Moisson, they were greeted with great laughter everywhere.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Levine, 36-37; *R. H. C. Occ* 4, 131-132. Issues on the authenticity of the letter which Guibert includes are irrelevant to the main point of this chapter, since the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* by its very act of being a self-contained work presents the letter as truth. However, for a translation of the letter and a note on its authenticity, see Sweetenham, 215-222. For a lengthier, albeit somewhat dated but still worthwhile, discussion, see Einar Joranson, “The Problem of the Spurious Letter of Emperor Alexius to the Court of Flanders,” *American Historical Review* 55, no. 4 (1950): 811-832.

<sup>94</sup> Levine, 37. With more salacious context, the Latin: *Virgines enim fidelium deprehensæ publicum fieri præcipiebantur scortum, quum nusquam pudori deferretur ac honestati conjugum. Matres correptæ in conspectus filiarum, multipliciter repetitis diversorum coitibus vexabantur, quum filia assistentes carmina præcinere saltando nefaria inter hujusmundi cogerebantur. R. H. C. Occ* 4, 131.

<sup>95</sup> For a contextualisation of women in crusader narratives, using this passage, see Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 138, and Susan Lambert, “Crusading or Spinning,” in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2002), 9.

<sup>96</sup> Levine, 48; I have retained the misspelling of his text; *et quum idem, utpote Christiani Christianis, venalia cuncta gratanter ingererent, illi, libidinis impatientes, pia hospitalitatis ac beneficentia immemores, bello gratis eos aggrediuntur: dum illos opinantur nihil ausuros contra, ac penitus futuros imbelles. Rabie igitur execranda, publicis quos diximus horreis per eos ingerebatur incendium; puellis eripiebatur violentia illata virginium; dehonestabantur connubial crebis raptibus feminarum; vellebant sive ustulabant suis barbas hospitibus. R. H. C. Occ* 4, 143.

<sup>97</sup> Levine, 47-48. *Nec jam de emendis usui necessariis quicquam tractabatur, sed quisque eorum, prout poterat, rapinis et cædibus nitebatur: sic se acturos mira lascivia contra Turcos libere minabantur. Castrum quoddam*

The final sentence shows well the technique and intent of Guibert in his text. “Moisson” is likely to be Moson (Wieselburg), close to the western border of the kingdom of Hungary. As the translator of Guibert notes, “Moisson” means “harvest” in French.<sup>98</sup> Guibert deliberately concludes with this coincidence, connecting the name of a castle in Hungary with the inserted theme of gluttony originating from the description of gyrovagues in the Rule of Benedict. This conclusion, of the followers of Peter in chaos at the very edge of Hungary, reinforces the point made earlier about the “within our own borders”. Both Hungary and Peter the Hermit are shaped in Guibert’s narrative to reinforce the teachings of his monastic order, and the narrative ends with a clear moral.

The complex prose and textual details of the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* permits Guibert the chance to create multiple contrasts to illuminate his points. As mentioned above, the hordes that followed Peter the Hermit are associated with rampaging Muslims and contrasted with the Christianised Hungarians. This contrast is aided by a second contrast, deliberately created by Guibert’s formulation of the history: a contrast of Peter and the “common” horde with the aristocratic knights. In the previously discussed accounts of the crusader passage through Hungary in the *Gesta Francorum* and Robert the Monk’s *Historia Iherosolimitana*, the knights and Peter are dealt with in the same block of text; in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, Guibert deliberately separates them, writing “And now we shall return to men we have passed over, who followed the same path that Peter did, but in a far more restrained and fortunate way.”<sup>99</sup> This deliberate complication of the narrative has the effect of both foregrounding Guibert’s interpretation of the crusade, and increasing the importance of the passage through Hungary.

The “second” narrative journey through Hungary deliberately mimics the first. In contrast to the chaos surrounding Peter, Guibert depicts the knights as successful. He does this by playing with narrative time, making the audience aware of their future success in his account: one being “King of Jerusalem, and who still rules there” indicates that they, unlike Peter’s men, managed to reach the intended destination.

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*interea habuere pervium, cujus nullo modo poterant evitare transitum! is enim terræ situs est, ut in modum angiporti nequaquam ad dexteram vel sinistram pateat diverticulum. Ipsum solita insolentia obsidere aggressi sunt, sed quum prope capiendum esset, repente, non curo quo eventu, ita obruti sunt, ut pars gladiis occumberet, partem fluvialis unda submergeret, pars sine ullis stipendiis, immo turpi pauperie, magis autem pudore, in Franciam consumpta rediret. Et quare idem castrum Moissonem vocabant, et reversi ad suos ad Moissonem, usque se fuisse dicebant magna omnium irrisione excepti sunt. R. H. C. Occ 4, 143.*

<sup>98</sup> Levine, 48.

<sup>99</sup> Levine, 52. *Nunc itaque ad eos quos omiseramus, qui eadem, qua Petrus præcesserat, subsequuti sunt via, sed longe feliciori modestia, revertamur. R. H. C. Occ 4, 146.*

Duke Godfrey, the son of Count Eustace of Boulogne, had two brothers: Baldwin, who ruled Edessa, and succeeded his brother as King of Jerusalem, and who still rules there; and Eustace, who rules in the country he inherited from his father.<sup>100</sup>

To counter the disorder of the “common” army, the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* informs the audience of the lineages of these men. To further the difference between the two groups, Guibert introduces into the text an account of the mother of his protagonists.

They had a powerful father, who was competent in worldly affairs, and their mother was, if I am not mistaken, a learned Lotharingian aristocrat, but most remarkable for her innate serenity and great devotion to God. The joys she received from such exemplary sons were due, we believe, to her profound religious belief. Godfrey, about whom we are now speaking, had received a duchy in Lotharingia as his maternal heritage.<sup>101</sup>

The amount of space that Guibert spends discussing the mother of the brothers in comparison with the father shows the text is being positioned to make a deliberate point concerning motherhood.<sup>102</sup> The woman is presented as the bastion of society, and, consequently, shown as being the reason for the success of her children: “All three, in no way inferior to their mother in honesty, flourished in great military deeds, as well as in the restraint of their behaviour.”<sup>103</sup> In presenting the passage through Hungary as two separate accounts, Guibert is able to assert by contrast an emerging conception of the requirements for a successful crusader.

In addition to defining for the future the lessons of the event, the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* uses the route through Hungary to present a different perspective on history. Having used the first passage through Hungary to diminish the reputation of Peter the Hermit, Guibert uses the second passage through Hungary to rewrite the origin of the crusade movement.

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<sup>100</sup> Levine, 52. *Dux Godefridus, Eusthacii Boloniensium comitis filius, duos habuit fraters: Balduinum, qui Edissenæ urbi præfuit, et post ipsum fratrem rex effectus Iherosolimæ, nunc usque regnat; et Eusthacium, qui paterno comitatu præest.* R. H. C. Occ 4, 146-147.

<sup>101</sup> Levine, 52. *Il patrem habuerunt potentem et sæcularis ingenii virum, sed matrem litteris quidem, nisi fallor, eruditam, et ex Lotharingis ingenue admodum oriundam, sed potissimum ingenita serenitate et magna erga Deum animi devotione præstantem: cujus diutinæ religioni tam spectabilium debebantur, ut credimus, gaudia filiorum. Illi plane, de quo loqui adorimur, Godefrido ex maternal hæreditate apud Lotharingos ducatus accesserat.* R. H. C. Occ 4, 147.

<sup>102</sup> An interesting comparison, which might illuminate Guibert’s use of this motif, would be to examine it in comparison with his texts concerned with his mother. For his relationship, see Rubenstein, 61-85, and for an enjoyable psychoanalytical reading, Nancy F. Partner, “The Family Romance of Guibert of Nogent: His Story/Her Story,” in *Medieval Mothering*, ed. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland, 1996), 359-379.

<sup>103</sup> Levine, 52. *Hi tres, a matris nequaquam simplicitate degeneres, quum multa armorum Gloria, tum modestia non minore floruerunt.* R. H. C. Occ 4, 147.

The glorious woman used to say, when she marvelled at the result of the journey and the success of her sons, that she had heard from the mouth of her son the duke a prediction of the outcome long before the beginning of the expedition. For he said that he wanted to go to Jerusalem not as a simple pilgrim, as others had done, but forcefully, with a large army, if he could raise one. In accordance with this divinely inspired intuition, fortune later smiled on his project.<sup>104</sup>

Guibert repeatedly asserted the Frankish elements of the crusade: he declares his title, *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, is honourable,<sup>105</sup> stresses the Frankish origin of the pope who commissioned the crusade,<sup>106</sup> recounts an argument with a German archdeacon regarding the Franks,<sup>107</sup> and repeatedly orientates the Franks as the chosen race above even the Jews.<sup>108</sup> Here, however, Guibert's text goes further than the *Gesta Francorum* and Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*; here, Guibert attempts to remove all possibility that Peter the Hermit originated the crusade. This passage of history inserted in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* makes the assertion that while Guibert may have been required to deal with Peter's passage through Hungary first because of chronological time, his sympathy and his interest is with the second wave of aristocratic knights whom he tries hard to present as being the first wave. Regardless of whether he is a successful or not, Guibert's repeated stressing of the attributes of the knightly protagonists, their lineages, and praising them in comparison to Peter the Hermit continues into the close of the passage.

The three brothers, heedless of the great honors they already had, set out on the journey. But even as Godfrey was wiser than his other brothers, so he was

<sup>104</sup> Levine, 52. *Solebat narrare gloriosa mulier, quum hujus profectionis exitum et filiorum suorum miraretur eventum, quoddam se audisse ex ore filii ducis tale præsagium, multo antequam fieret aliquod hujus peregrinationis initium. Dicebat namque se desiderare proficisci Iherosolimam, et hoc non simpliciter, ut alii, sed cum violentia exercitus, si sibi copia suppeteret, magni. Cui, secundum divinum a quo imbuebatur instinctum, mirabilis super hoc postmodum opportunitas arrisit. R. H. C. Occ 4, 147.*

<sup>105</sup> Levine, 26. *Nomen autem inidi quod arrogantia careat gentisque honori proficiat: scilicet Dei Gesta Per Francos. R. H. C. Occ 4, 121.*

<sup>106</sup> Levine, 40. *Urbanus papa ante papatum Odo vocabatur, ex Francis claro germine oriundus, ex territorio et clero Remensi, et existens, ut ferunt, nisi falluntur, papa primus ex Francis. R. H. C. Occ 4, 135.*

<sup>107</sup> Levine, 41. *Audivi, anno præterito, dum cum archidiacono quodam Magontino super sua ipsorum rebellione congregederer, quod regem nostrum cum populo in tantum vilipenderit, ob hoc solum quia domnum papam Paschalem cum suis principibus grate ubique suscepit, ut eos non modo Francos, sed irrisorie Francones vocaverit. Cui inquam: "Si ita eos inertes arbitaris et marcidos, ut celeberrimum usque in Oceanum Indicum nomen, fæde garriendo detorqueas, dic mihi ad quos papa Urbanus contra Turcos præsidia contracturus divertit? nonne ad Francos? Hi nisi præissent et barbariem undecumque confluentium gentium vivaci industria et impavidis viribus constrinxissent, Teutonicorum vestorum, quorum ne nomen quidem ibi sonuit, auxilia nulla fuissent." Hæc ad illum. R. H. C. Occ 4, 136.*

<sup>108</sup> Levine, 143. *Tabernacula Juda, sicut in principio, Dominus salvat, quum ipse, qui cum patribus nostris mirabilia fecerit, nostris etiam glorificatur adeo temporibus, ut sub ærumnis et calamitatibus majora omnino moderni isti videantur egisse quam Judæi antiquitus, cum uxoribus ac filiis et continua ventrium plenitudine, sub ducatu apparentium angelorum, frequentibusque miraculis æstimentur implesse. R. H. C. Occ 4, 239.* For a detailed study of Guibert's rhetoric concerning Jews, see Elizabeth Lapina, "Anti-Jewish rhetoric in Guibert of Nogent's *Dei Gesta Per Francos*," *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009): 239-253.

equipped with a larger army. He was joined by Baldwin, Count of Mons, son of Robert, the paternal uncle of the young Count of Flanders. With the splendid knightly ceremony and spectacle, the band of powerful young men entered the land of the Hungarians, in possession of what Peter was unable to obtain: control over his army. Two days before Christmas, the first of the French leaders to arrive, they reached the city of Constantinople, but their lodgings were outside the city.<sup>109</sup>

With this conclusion, Guibert's text implies that the two passages through Hungary, deliberately contrasted in the text, can be seen both as an explanation as to why one movement was successful and the other chaotic, and as a microscopic *exempla* of the nature of crusading.

### 1. 2. 3. A Different Perspective

#### Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymita*

At this point, having examined the evolution of the Frankish-orientated crusader texts, it is necessary to examine the *Hierosolymita* of Ekkehard of Aura. While it is worth evaluating for the contrast in presentation between it and the accounts of the earlier *Gesta Francorum* and its related rewritings, and for its contrast in depictions of characters who will feature in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Ekkehard's *Hierosolymita* repays close analysis for its own distinct presentation of an ideology concerning crusading. In connection with the topic of this thesis, Ekkehard's text is important for its utilisation of Hungary in presenting both the narrative and his perspective on the crusades.

The first point to note about the *Hierosolymita* is the absence of a zealous promotion of an individual ethnic group. The authorial voice is dismissive about the crusading zeal of the Franks, intimating that any excuse would have been sufficient to influence them to take up arms and journey into foreign lands.

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<sup>109</sup> Levine, 52-53. *Tres hi, maximus quos habebant oblitis honoribus, perrexere. Sed quo ceteris fratribus praeferentior, eo Godefridus dux extitit militia numerosiore potentior. Huic adiungitur Balduinus comes de Montibus, Roberti, Flandernsis comitis junioris patris, filius. Cum nobili igitur rerum equestrium pompa et spectabili fortissimorum juvenum frequentia, Hungarorum ingrediuntur terram, habentes tamen eam, quam Petrus tenere non valuit, erga suos milites disciplinam; et duobus ante Domini Natale diebus, primi ante omnes Franciae principes urbem attingere Constantinopolitanam; sed hospitati sunt extra ipsam. R. H. C. Occ 4, 147.*

The West Franks could easily be induced to leave their lands, since for several years Gaul had suffered, now from civil war, now from famine, and again from excessive morality; and, finally, that disease [a plague] which had its origin in the vicinity of St. Getrude of Nivelles alarmed them to such an extent that they feared for their lives.<sup>110</sup>

This placing of the crusades is unique to the text of Ekkehard. In a similar manner, he contextualises the slow response of the Germans.

But for the East Franks, the Saxons, the Thuringians, the Bavarians, and the Alemanni [Swabians] this trumpet call sounded only faintly, particular because of the schism between the empire and the papacy from the time of Pope Alexander even until today.<sup>111</sup>

Despite being from Aura, and therefore being one of the countrymen he lambastes, Ekkehard's text proceeds to draw attention to the failings of the German character.<sup>112</sup> This interest of context and character that is apparent in the *Hierosolymita* is due to the focus being placed upon the motivation of those individuals and groups who followed the call of the crusade.

The interest in motivation that the *Hierosolymita* displays is a feature used to stress an interpretation about the crusade. Ekkehard's intent is to make a clear distinction between the crusaders who were honest in their desire to liberate Jerusalem, and those whose intentions were less acceptable in religious terms because of their behaviour.

While by these and like signs all creation was being summoned into the army of the Lord, that enemy of men, the evil one himself (ever on the watch, even while others are sleeping) did not delay to sow his own tares, to rouse false prophets, and, under the guise of religion, to mingle with the army of the Lord false brethren and shameless women. And so, through the hypocrisy and falsehoods of some and the gross immorality of others, the army of Christ was polluted to such an extent that, according to the prophecy of the good shepherd, even the elect were led astray.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Krey, 41-42. *Francigenis occidentalibus facile persuaderi poterat sua rura relinquere. Nam Gallias per annos aliquot nunc seditio civilis, nunc fames, nunc mortalitas nimis afflixerat. Postremo plaga illa, quæ circa Nivalensem Sanctæ Gertrudis ecclesiam orta est, usque ad vitæ desperationem terruerat. R. H. C. Occ 5, 17.*

<sup>111</sup> Krey, 42. *Orientalibus autem Francis, Saxonibus et Thuringis, Bajoriis et Alamannis, hæc buccina minime insonuit, propter illud maxime scisma, quod inter regnum et sacerdotium, a tempore Alexandri papæ usque hodie. R. H. C. Occ 5, 17.*

<sup>112</sup> *R. H. C. Occ 5, 17-18.*

<sup>113</sup> Krey, 46. *His et hujusmodi signis tota creatura in Creatoris se militia cohortante, nihil moratur inimicus ille, cæteris etiam dormientibus semper pervigil, bono illi semini zizania sua superseminante, pseudopphetas suscitare, dominicis exercitibus falsos fratres et inhonestas femineæ sexus personas sub specie religionis intermiscere; sicque per aliorum hypocrisim atque mendacia, per aliorum vero nefaris pollutiones Christi greges adeo turpabantur, ut juxta boni Pastoris vaticinium etiam electi in errorem ducerentur. R. H. C. Occ 5, 19.*



It is these figures who led astray and who were led astray who are the predominant focus of the *Hierosolymita*. Ekkehard's reason for condemning the "shameless women," mocking the belief that Charlemagne would rise from the dead and lead the crusaders,<sup>114</sup> and criticising the repeated story of a goose guiding a gullible woman,<sup>115</sup> are all examples of the text drawing the audience's attention to these false signs. In regard to the resurrection of Charlemagne, this may be a reference to the contemporaneous belief in the apocalyptic figure of the Last Roman Emperor,<sup>116</sup> which could be used to explain the widespread attempted conversion – and massacre – of the Jews.<sup>117</sup> Ekkehard, however, does not intend to explain; he is not a modern historian. Rather, he intends to question those who propagate false rumours and lies about the crusade,<sup>118</sup> in order to establish the truth. As such, the *Hierosolymitana* intends to promote apocalyptic imagery that is considered verifiable and truthful from that which Ekkehard considers to be the work of the pseudo-prophets inspired by the devil.<sup>119</sup>

As a consequence of this intention, the *Hierosolymita* focuses more on the false prophets than on the successful ones. The first figure to be depicted as a false prophet who attempts to cross Hungary is Folcmar.<sup>120</sup> Ekkehard's text omits details of Folcmar's progression prior to Hungary barring a short mention of Bohemia (omitting, for example, the pogrom of Jews in Prague),<sup>121</sup> to focus on his downfall in Hungary.

Now, as has been said, a band followed Folcmar through Bohemia. At the city of Neitra, in Pannonia, an uprising took place, in which part were taken prisoners, while the very few survivors are wont to testify that the sign of the cross, appearing in the heavens above them, delivered them from imminent death.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Krey, 46. *R. H. C. Occ* 5, 19.

<sup>115</sup> Krey, 46. *R. H. C. Occ* 5, 19.

<sup>116</sup> Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 149

<sup>117</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 35.

<sup>118</sup> For his line of questioning, see Krey, 46. *R. H. C. Occ* 5, 19.

<sup>119</sup> In both popular and academic scholarship, Ekkehard's work has typically been assessed in the light of apocalypticism. For example: Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 6-7; Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 89; Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Longing for the End: A History of Millennialism in Western Civilization* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 59.

<sup>120</sup> I have used the spelling employed by Krey; other variants include Folkmar and Volkmar.

<sup>121</sup> An account of the Prague pogrom can be found in the *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague; for an edition, see *Chornica Boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz (Berlin: Weidmannsche, 1923).

<sup>122</sup> Krey, 53. *Nam, ut praelibatum est, plebs Folcmarum per Bohemiam sequens, cum apud Nitram, Pannonia civitatem, seditione concitata, partim captivitate, partim ferro disperiisset, paucissimi qui remanserant adhuc testari solent, quod crucis signum super se caelitus apparens ab imminente eos nece. R. H. C. Occ* 5, 20.

In order to imply to his audience that Folcmar was a false prophet, Ekkehard includes the final detail of a celestial vision to convince them of a higher, more truthful, authority. Hungary, then, in the text of the *Hierosolymita*, is the place where God determines who is a good crusader, and who is not.

This theme is continued in the account of Gottschalk. A longer form of Gottschalk's failed passage through Hungary appears in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*; the two texts will be compared in the next chapter of this thesis. At this point in the thesis, I shall stay focused on evaluating the text of Ekkehard. The *Hierosolymita* presents him as a false prophet, his followers as poor crusaders, who are corrected by the Hungarians.

Then Gottschalk, not a true, but a false servant of God, entered Hungary with his followers and not without injury to East Noricum. Next, under an astonishing glamour of false piety, he fortified a certain town situated on a height and placed a garrison there and began, with the rest of his company, to ravage Pannonia round about. This town, forsooth, was captured by the natives without delay, and great numbers of the band having been killed or taken prisoners, the rest were dispersed, and he himself, a hirling, not the shepherd of the flock, was driven away from there in disgrace.<sup>123</sup>

In this text of Ekkehard, it is readily apparent that due to the falsity of his religious conviction, Gottschalk is humiliated and forced to flee after his followers are scattered.

A separate account further develops this theme of falsehood through the presentation of the brief and contentious crusading career of a nobleman, Emico. The *Hierosolymita* depicts the count as a usurper of a just cause.

Just at that time, there appeared a certain soldier, Emico, Count of the lands around the Rhine, a man long of very ill repute on account of his tyrannical mode of life. Called by divine revelation, like another Saul, as he maintained, to the practice of religion of this kind, he usurped to himself the command of almost twelve thousand cross bearers.<sup>124</sup>

The comparison to Saul has been claimed by some historians to present Emico as "unstable,"<sup>125</sup> in that his personality changed drastically, while others claim it sets the tone of

<sup>123</sup> Krey, 53. *Gotescalcus vero non verus, sed falsus Dei servus, postquam non sine damno orientalis Noricæ Hungariam cum suis intravit, ammiranda falsæ religionis specie munitionem in arce quadam constituere, et in ipsa locatis præsiidiis, per reliquum vulgus Pannonias circumcirca vastare cæpit. Quo nimirum oppido ab indigenis sine dilatione capto, et turba multa trucidata atque captivata, grex reliquus dispersus, ipseque mercenarius, non pastor, turpiter fugatus est. R. H. C. Occ 5, 20.*

<sup>124</sup> Krey, 53. *Surrexit etiam diebus ipsis quidam vir militaris, comes tamen partium, illarum, quæ circa Rhenum sunt, Emicho nomine dudum tyrannica conversatione nimis infamis, tunc vero velut alter Saulus revelationibus, ut fatebatur, divinis in hujusmodi religionem advocatus, fere duodecim millium signatorum sibimet usurpans ducatum. R. H. C. Occ 5, 20.*

<sup>125</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 34.

the account as “laudatory,”<sup>126</sup> since Emico sees the light of righteousness and starts the conversion (or killing) of Jews required for the apocalypse to commence.<sup>127</sup> Both interpretations are incorrect. While the actual figure of Emico may have been mentally unstable, in Ekkehard’s text, he has a rigid position, one which contradicts the reading of the depiction as being “laudatory.” Emico is clearly described as being a false leader like Folcmar and Gottschalk. Though the text concerning the massacres and forced conversions of the Jews is somewhat ambiguous to modern readers,<sup>128</sup> the image and relevance of Emico in the text is readily apparent.

Ekkehard’s image of Emico in the text is clear in its structure in the *Hierosolymita*. Placed after the defeat of Folcmar and Gottschalk, the text strongly implies that the Emico’s approach to the border of Hungary is bound to fail. Ekkehard makes this clear by describing the terrain that Emico and his followers face.

When their forces, already increased by a great number of men and women, reached the boundary of Pannonia, they were prevented by well fortified garrisons from entering that kingdom, which is surrounded by swamps and partly by woods.<sup>129</sup>

This is promptly followed by an account of the dubious reputation of Emico and his followers. Firstly, the affect of their actions in regards to their status, and secondly, their actions themselves.

For rumour had reached and forewarned the ears of King Coloman; a rumour that to the mind of the Teutons, there was no difference between killing pagans and Hungarians. And so, for six weeks they besieged the fortress Wieselburg and suffered many hardships there; yet, during this very time, they were in the throes of a most foolish civil quarrel over which one of them should be King of Pannonia.<sup>130</sup>

With the insertion of the rumour into his text, Ekkehard presents Emico’s army as having digressed from the original aim of the crusade. As with the spurious letter from the Greek

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<sup>126</sup> Michael Frassetto, *Christian Attitudes towards the Jews in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2007) 71.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Krey, 53; *qui nimirum per civitates Rheni, Mæni quoque atque Danubii deducti, execrabilem Judæorum quacumque repertam plebem, zelo Christianitatis etiam in hoc deservientes, aut omnio delere, aut etiam inter ecclesiæ satagebant compellere sinum. R. H. C. Occ 5, 20.*

<sup>129</sup> Krey, 53. *Ad confinia quoque Pannoniarum innumeris jam utriusque sexus copiis cum pervenissent multiplicati, regnum ipsum, quod scilicet partim paludibus, partim silvis cingitur, per obfirmata præsidia vetantur ingredi. R. H. C. Occ 5, 20.*

<sup>130</sup> Krey, 54. *Fama quippe Colomanni regis perculerat vel jam præmonuerat aures, inter paganorum et Hungariorum necem nihil apud Theutonicas differre mentes; qua da re munitionem Misenburg per sex hebdomadas expugnantes, plura inibi patiuntur incommoda, inter quæ etiam quis illorum sub nomine regis Pannoniarum potiretur terris, civili stultissimaque quatiuntur discordia. R. H. C. Occ 5, 20.*

Emperor to the Count of Flanders that Guibert includes in his narrative,<sup>131</sup> the issue of whether such a rumour existed is not important; what is important is its place in the narrative. It is placed there to present Emico and his followers in a negative light. This criticism is continued with the account of the internal bickering during their siege of Wieselburg: the *Hierosolymita* depicts Emico's men of having followed not the aim of the crusade, but rather followed the tyrannical nature of Emico himself.

To make an *exemplum* out of the behaviour of Emico and his followers, Ekkehard uses like Guibert's *Gesta Dei Per Francos* the motif of the Hungarians as a Christian nation. The *Hierosolymita* however makes this connection more overt, by claiming that though the Hungarians were defeated, God himself intervened on their behalf to pass judgment on the Emico's army by saving the town.

Moreover, while engaged in the final assault, although the walls had already been broken through, and the citizens were fleeing, and the army of the besieged were setting fire to their own town, yet, through the wonderful providence of Almighty God, the army of pilgrims, though victorious, fled. And they left behind them all their equipment, for no one carried away any reward except his wretched life.<sup>132</sup>

The followers of Emico, who had previously been bickering about who would rule Hungary, now act like the false prophet Gottschalk by fleeing. Ekkehard concludes the account with a clear moral.

And thus the men of our race, zealous, doubtless, for God, though not according to the knowledge of God, began to persecute other Christians while yet upon the expedition which Christ had provided for freeing Christians. They were kept from fraternal bloodshed only by divine mercy; and the Hungarians were also freed.<sup>133</sup>

The armed pilgrims, while having dedication to a cause, were dedicated to a wrong cause, and consequently had to be corrected by divine mercy via the Hungarians.

The *Hierosolymita* is an interesting text for the amount of focus it spends upon what it considers to be false prophets. If quoted out of context, these passages would give the impression that Ekkehard was a vehement critic of the concept of crusading; given that Ekkehard himself participated in the 1101 Crusade, this clearly would be contradictory.

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<sup>131</sup> See footnote 93.

<sup>132</sup> Krey, 54. *Itaque oppugnatione insudantes ultima, jam muris interruptis, jam fugientibus oppidanis, jamque indigenarum exercitu vastante propria flammis, miro Dei omnipotentis nutu, victor peregrinorum exercitus terga nihilominus vertit, relictisque suppellectilibus, nihil quisque præter miseram animam emolumenti reportavit. R. H. C. Occ 5, 20-21.*

<sup>133</sup> Krey, 54. *Sic nimirum, sic nostræ gentis homines zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam Dei habentes; quippe qui, in militia quam in liberandis christianis Christus præviderat, alios vicissim christianos persecuti cæperant, miseratione divina fraterno sanguine repressi, Hungarii quoque liberati sunt. R. H. C. Occ 5, 21.*

Rather, Ekkehard's *Hierosolymita* is an evolution of the critiquing of specific aspects of the First Crusade in order to redefine and assert what a crusade should be.<sup>134</sup> This intent is apparent when Ekkehard attacks those who use the examples of Emico and company as a means to dismiss the idea of crusading altogether.

This is the reason why some of the more guileless brethren, ignorant of the matter, and too hasty in their judgment, were scandalized and concluded that the whole expedition was vain and foolish.<sup>135</sup>

The support for this argument is the entire text of the *Hierosolymita*. As shown in this discussion, Ekkehard argues in his text that even God is for crusading, albeit only when the crusaders stick to the correct path through Hungary.

#### 1. 2. 4. Concluding Remarks about the Pre-Albert Texts

Before moving onto discussing the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen, it would be beneficial to examine the texts concerned with the First Crusade from a distance, and to set their individual features against each other. With this methodology, it will be possible to see how each of the texts employs the kingdom of Hungary in their narrative, and, consequently, allow us to see an insight into the texts themselves.

In the *Gesta Francorum*, the first text that was discussed, the passage through Hungary is depicted in a single, short paragraph. Though the *Gesta* is regarded as being an eye-witness account, it is apparent the now anonymous author took a different route to Jerusalem from that of the road through Hungary. Consequently, the version of the Hungarian route in the First Crusade as depicted in the *Gesta* is notably one constructed on hearsay or misremembered details (for example, the text implies that Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon led an army together). As a result, the colouring of the text is a reference to the legend that Charlemagne built the road that they travelled upon, an all too obvious of the text to assert the Frankish nature of the crusade.

The next text, Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, is an expansion of the version included in the *Gesta Francorum*. In addition to the assertion of Frankishness which

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<sup>134</sup> Here I should repeat my conceptual debt to Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274*.

<sup>135</sup> Krey, 54. *Hæcque est causa qua quidam simpliciores fratres, utpote rem ignorantes, scandalizati, totum hujus profectionis conatum vanum atque frivolum ipsi nimis præproperi iudices interpretati sunt. R. H. C. Occ 5, 21.*

it shares with its source material, Robert's *Historia* uses the passage through Hungary for religious debate. The character of Peter the Hermit is shaped to appear like a gyrovague as depicted in the Rule of St. Benedict, a rule to which the author of the *Historia* would have followed. Actual details, such as the speed at which Godfrey travelled to Constantinople, are not foregrounded in the text; instead it is rather praise of Godfrey, who is said to have joined forces with Peter, who is the focus in order to diminish the reputation of the hermit.

The Benedictine bias against Peter and the Frankish orientation is also apparent in Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos*. Guibert however adds resonance to the passage through the kingdom of Hungary by turning the journey into an exemplum. He splits into two the account in his source, the *Gesta Francorum*, by having two accounts of travel through Hungary; the first being the travel of Peter and his followers, the second being Godfrey and his army. Hungary, depicted as a fertile and Christian land, is shown by Guibert to be too tempting for Peter's flock, who rape and pillage, until they are defeated while trying to besiege a castle at "Moisson." This is likely to be Moson (also known in the texts as Mosony), which is where Ekkehard presents Emico as failing, and where Albert presents Gottschalk as failing. Guibert associates Peter with this defeat to strengthen his argument against the itinerant preacher and his "common" followers. To counter this, the leaders of the second journey, predominantly knights, are supplied by Guibert with lineages and a back story suggesting they were the originators of the concept of crusading, and not Peter. Consequently, in the text of *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, Hungary is given the authority of determining – by action – which foreign army is acceptable enough as a crusading force to continue with the journey to Jerusalem.

The passage through Hungary is similarly treated as an *exemplum* in the *Hierosolymita* of Ekkehard of Aura, albeit with a different structure and purpose. Having no ethnic bias to assert, Ekkehard is motivated instead upon the authenticity of the religious motivation of those who embark on a crusade. He uses Hungary as a means to pass judgment on false prophets, such as having a cross appear in the sky only to save a few of the followers of Folcmar in a conflict, and having Gottschalk follow a biblical verse and flee from his flock, and God intervening to have Emico lose a battle.

This brief plotting of the different accounts is more than a summary of the previous discussions of the text, for it shows quite clearly the evolution of the texts concerning crusades. With the focus on the kingdom of Hungary, we see the various cobbled together itineraries being altered to fit a religious argument, and a rudimentary point a to point b account being polished into an *exemplum*. In short, we see a change from an account of what

happened evolve into accounts of why things happened and how things should happen. With this aspect established, it is now appropriate to closely analyse Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* to see how it manipulates the road through Hungary to add its own distinctive voice to the discourse on the First Crusade.

## Part Two

### The Account of Albert of Aachen

#### The *Historia Ierosolimitana*

Before closely examining the text for how it positions the events of the First Crusade in Hungary, it is worth placing Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* in context and addressing the issue of its apparent difference in regards to size and sources with the other texts.

When confronted with the Albert's *Historia*, one is immediately confronted with its apparent difference from the other narratives of the First Crusade. The first visual difference is its size. In the edition of the texts published in the landmark series *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, the *Gesta Francorum* fills 44 pages,<sup>136</sup> Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* 165 pages,<sup>137</sup> Guibert of Nogent's *Gesta Dei Per Francos* 150 pages,<sup>138</sup> and Albert's text a majestic 448 pages.<sup>139</sup> The sheer size of the work makes it notably different from other narratives of the First Crusade. Consequently, it has been described as "the most complete, the most detailed and the most colourful narrative of the First Crusade,"<sup>140</sup> albeit one "comparatively little used."<sup>141</sup> I assert, and my argument in the next sections will confirm, that this difference is not as troublesome as it appears; the *Historia Ierosolimitana* functions in the same manner as a text as the other accounts of the First Crusade.

Similarly troubling for many, but not much relevant for this thesis, is the issue of sources for Albert's *Historia*. It is "uniquely, independent of the three accounts of the First Crusade written by participants,"<sup>142</sup> the *Gesta Francorum*, Raymond of Aguilers's *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, and Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*. These works, added to by the reworkings of the *Gesta Francorum* by Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent, put forward a Frank-orientated image of the First Crusade. As a result, the narrative of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* is distinctly different from the Frankish accounts.

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<sup>136</sup> *R. H. C. Occ* 3, 119-163.

<sup>137</sup> *R. H. C. Occ* 3, 717-882.

<sup>138</sup> *R. H. C. Occ* 4, 113-263.

<sup>139</sup> *R. H. C. Occ* 4, 265-713.

<sup>140</sup> Edgington, "The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence," 61.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *H. I.*, xxviii.



This is clearly visible in the depiction of Peter the Hermit, whom Albert not only positions as the instigator of the journey,<sup>143</sup> but also, in contrast to the Benedictine accounts fleshed out with *exempla* material, provides him with a back story.<sup>144</sup> There are two explanations for this difference between Albert's work and the Frankish orientated texts:<sup>145</sup> firstly, he used a lost Lotharingian chronicle, and secondly, he added to his narrative with oral sources.<sup>146</sup> The issue of whether the Lotharingian chronicle existed, and whether that necessarily makes Albert's *Historia* more reliable, is unanswerable. Similarly, the issue of oral sources as a means to extract actuality is a technique fraught with methodological issues. Rather than attempt the impossible and apply the modern criteria of a historian upon a twelfth century writer, it is more fruitful to examine the *Historia Ierosolimitana* with a different perspective. This interpretative framework requires us to look at Albert more as a constructor of a narrative of multiple parts, a scheme with has a modern comparison with oral histories.<sup>147</sup> By doing this, the issue of sources is sidestepped, and the issue of narratology is foregrounded. As noted in the introduction, this method has been employed predominantly in studies of literature;<sup>148</sup> this section of the thesis will continue to provide a framework for applying this technique to medieval chronicles.

It is worth noting here that one must stress that texts do not exist in a vacuum. Every text exists with an author, a context, and an audience regardless of whether it is known to the reader or not. In this regard, the *Historia Ierosolimitana* is a difficult text. Later suppositions affect the text: the name "Albert" is a name attached to a later account of the text,<sup>149</sup> and the reading that the *Historia* is a panegyric of Godfrey of Bouillon stems from another later assertion into the text.<sup>150</sup> In spite of this, much can be gained from examining the text in the same manner that we looked at the *Gesta Francorum*: the predominant amount of the text is weighed towards Godfrey, his brother, and the house of Lorraine.<sup>151</sup> It is therefore likely that

<sup>143</sup> *H. I.*, 2. *Sacerdos quidam Petrus nomine, quondam heremita, ortus de ciuitate Amiens, que est in occidente de regno Francorum, omni instinctu quo potuit huius uie constantiam primum adhortatus est.*

<sup>144</sup> *H. I.*, 4 for the declaration: *Qua occasione et intentione hanc uiam idem heremita predicauerit, et eius primus auctor extiterit, presens pagina declarabit.*

<sup>145</sup> For a chart showing the relationships of the "Gesta Family," see France, "The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade," 42.

<sup>146</sup> For an early presentation of this theory, see Bernhard Kugler, *Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1885).

<sup>147</sup> For examples of these collections of oral sources producing an overarching "whole", see "*The Good War*": *An Oral History of World War Two*, ed. Studs Terkel (New York: Random House, 1984), and Haruki Murakami, *Underground: The Tokyo Gas Attack and the Japanese Psyche*, trans. Alfred Birnbaum and Philip Gabriel (New York: Vintage, 2000).

<sup>148</sup> See footnote 17.

<sup>149</sup> For a discussion on this matter, see footnote 22.

<sup>150</sup> *H. I.*, xxxi.

<sup>151</sup> Edgington, "The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence," 63.

the author that we call Albert for ease originated from this area. It is similarly likely that his intended audience were of the same geographical space. Though the issue of who the *Historia Ierosolimitana* was intended for will probably never be fully defined, the text when examined at a larger perspective shows a favouring of material taken from poetic narratives<sup>152</sup> in favour of the “comparatively few biblical, patristic, or liturgical citations,”<sup>153</sup> it is likely that Albert’s text was intended for a broader audience than merely listeners to theological texts. This concept of a “popular” audience for the *Historia* provides us with an illuminating angle at which to examine the text. In the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers, the text begins with an attack on those who fled from the crusade and propagated lies at home.<sup>154</sup> Given that the focus of Albert’s text is concerned predominantly with the passage through Hungary, the road taken by the majority of those travelling from the area in which Albert is likely to have lived, I see no reason against my assertion that the greater length allocated in *Historia* to this part of the crusade in comparison to the other texts discussed is due to an intent to counter the tales spread by those who fled by condemning their behaviour, and to define a clearer image of crusader values by praising those that stayed on course to Jerusalem.

Because of the length, detail, and intricacy of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* in regards to its presentation of Hungary, I have given it its own chapter in this thesis. In the first part of this section, I shall examine closely the lengthy account of the passage through Hungary, examining why Albert decided to focus so much attention on an incident that other accounts passed quickly over. In the second part, I shall examine a unique feature in Albert’s narrative not present in the other texts that have been examined: the referring back to the Hungary incident in later stages of the text. These will be analysed for their structural purpose in the *Historia*. As such, the *Historia Ierosolimitana* shall be treated, despite its differences, in the same manner as the earlier texts: individually, to draw out its own features and statements.

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<sup>152</sup> Edgington, “Albert of Aachen and the *chanson de geste*.”

<sup>153</sup> *H. I.*, xxxvi.

<sup>154</sup> *Necessarium duximus vobis et Transalpinis omnibus manifestare magnalia quæ Deus nobiscum, solito pietatis suæ more, fecit, et assidue facere non desinit; maxime ideo quia imbelles et pavidî, recedentes a nobis, falsitatem pro veritate astruere nituntur. Sed qui apostasiam eorum viderit, verba et consortia eorum fugiat. R. H. C. Occ 3, 235.*

## 2. 1. Albert's Account of the Journey through Hungary

Albert's account of the route through Hungary in the First Crusade deals with many movements of people; within the larger narrative are smaller individual narratives concerned with the movements led by specific figureheads. In order, these are first the "popular" movements led by Walter 'Sansavoir' (often mistakenly called "Penniless" in the historiography),<sup>155</sup> Peter the Hermit, Gottschalk, Emicho,<sup>156</sup> and then the "typical" crusader movement headed by Duke Godfrey of Bouillon.

These separate narratives, due to dealing with the same geographical location and having different results, permit Albert as a narrator and as a compiler to create contrasts and motifs to articulate a meaning for the event. In a manner similar to the "double" narrative through Hungary used by Guibert of Nogent in *Gesta Dei Per Francos*, Albert's depiction of the increasing brutality and failure to pass through Hungary by the successive waves of the popular movements is presented in such a manner as to formulate for his audience a clearer image of how a successful armed pilgrimage should progress to their destination.

These "smaller" narratives of the passage through Hungary will be examined separately, and, when it is required, will be placed in the broader context of the *Historia*. Unlike the earlier discussed Latin texts which were quoted in full, due to the fact that the length of these smaller narratives would occupy without any commentary the length of this thesis, these accounts will be selectively quoted, but analyzed – like the earlier texts – with the same rigorous systematic framework of narratological contextualisation.

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<sup>155</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Continuum, 2005), 27.

<sup>156</sup> See "Brief Note on Some Minor Points" for a note on the spelling.

### 2. 1. 1. Walter ‘Sansavoir’

Immediately after describing the role of Peter the Hermit in originating and propagating the idea of a mass movement to liberate Jerusalem,<sup>157</sup> and the success of wooing the ecclesiastical and aristocratic orders,<sup>158</sup> the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen notes that “in confirmation of these things a great earthquake occurred, predicting nothing other than the mobilization of armies of different kingdoms.”<sup>159</sup> Earthquakes and other natural disasters are typically employed as divine forewarnings of bad events in medieval chronicles,<sup>160</sup> therefore Albert’s text is therefore a curious anomaly or – more likely – deliberately making his audience anticipate the teething problems of the mass movement. Following this seismic event, Albert’s narrative produces order by providing his audience with the first experience, and the benchmark, of crusading by portraying the first crusader army passing through Hungary.

The first group depicted in the *Historia Ierosolimitana* is described by Albert succinctly. The text establishes the date, the leader of the army, and then a brief description of the structure of his followers.

In the year of our Lord’s incarnation 1096, the fourth indiction, when Henry was the fourth king and the third august emperor of the Romans, in the forty-third year of his reign and the thirteenth of his imperial rule, Urban II (who was also Odard) being pope, the eighth day of March, Walter, nicknamed ‘Sansavoir’, an outstanding warrior, entered the kingdom of Hungary with a great fellowship of Frankish foot soldiers and only eight knights who were

<sup>157</sup> *H. I.*, 2. *Cui Petrus in hoc modo respondit: ‘Venerande pater, satis comperimus et nunc intelligimus ac uidemus quam inualida manus Christianorum sit tecum hic inhabitantium; quantis obpressionibus subiaceatis gentilium. Qua de causa ob Dei gratiam et uestram liberationem, et sanctorum emundationem, Deo comite, uita sospite, rediens imprimis domnum apostolicum requiram, deinde omnes primates Christianorum, reges, duces, comites, et principatum regni tenetes, iugum seruitutis uestre reserans et angustiarum uestrarum intolerantiam. Iam omnia inter se hec nuncia eque uidentur ut fiant.’* For Peter’s vision of Christ, see *H. I.*, 6.

<sup>158</sup> *H. I.*, 8.

<sup>159</sup> *H. I.*, 8-9. *In quorum affirmatione terremotus magnus factus est, nil aliud portendens quam diuersorum regnorum iter moturas legiones.*

<sup>160</sup> For examples and analysis, see Mischa Meier, “Natural Disasters in the Chronographia of John Malalas: Reflections on their Function An Initial Sketch,” *Medieval History Journal* 10, nos. 1&2 (2007): 237-266; Paul Edward Dutton, “Observations on Early Medieval Weather in General, Bloody Rain in Particular,” in *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*, ed. Jennifer R. Davis and Michael McCormick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 167-180. This interpretation of events appears to be wider than just Latin Christendom; see Anna Akasoy, “Islamic Attitudes to Disasters in the Middle Ages: A Comparison of Earthquakes and Plagues,” *Medieval History Journal* 10, nos. 1&2 (2007): 387-410, and Seong-rae Park, *Portents and Politics in Korean History* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 1998).

starting on the journey to Jerusalem in response to the urging of Peter the Hermit.<sup>161</sup>

As noted earlier, the status of the papacy in the text of Albert of Aachen is less central to that of the previous texts; this is apparent in its placement behind the date connected to the Holy Roman Emperor. This could possibly show Albert's allegiance in regard to the Investiture Contest;<sup>162</sup> more likely, it shows the bias of his audience in regards to their geographical location (this detail was previously discussed in the introduction of this chapter). It is quite possible that the *Historia*, in addition to fulfilling Albert's stated wish to memorialise the First Crusade, was intended to engage with an audience not present in the contemporary discourse concerned with how to define the historical phenomenon.

After establishing Walter, giving him the description of being a great warrior, noting his army, and their motivation from Peter the Hermit, the text proceeds to quickly pass through Hungary.

Once his purpose was heard and understood, and the reason the journey had been undertaken, he was graciously received there by Lord Coloman, the very Christian king of the Hungarians, who granted him in peace passage through all the lands of his kingdom and a licence to buy food. And so, without any misfortune or assault upon them whatsoever, they advanced right to Belgrade, the city of the Bulgars, passing through Zemun, where the territories of the Hungarians end.<sup>163</sup>

This passage, though seemingly without incident, is an important moment in the opening of the text. The mentioning of a peaceful passage and licences to buy food are important, for these features will be paralleled later in the narrative of Walter when he passes through the territory of the Bulgars. It is clear that the author of the text intended comparisons to be made, since Albert deliberately introduces the audience to the figure of Coloman I (King of

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<sup>161</sup> *H. I.*, 8-9. *Annon Dominice incarnationis millesimo nonagesimo sexto, indictione quarta, Henrico quarto rege, ac tercio imperatore Romanorum augusto, anno regni sui quadragesimo tercio, imperii uero eius terciodecimo, Vrbano secundo (qui et Odardus) apostolico, octauo die mensis Martii, Walterus cognomento Senzauehor miles egregius, cum magna societate Francigenarum peditum, solummodo octo habens equites, ex admonitione predicti Petri Heremite in initio uie Ierusalem intrauit regnum Vngarie.*

<sup>162</sup> Though the formatting is erratic and often unhelpful, the most cohesive work on the subject is Uta-Renate Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

<sup>163</sup> *H. I.*, 8-9. I have retained Edgington's use of the modern placename Zemun, for the reason that it provides geographical awareness in the reader. *Vbi cognita et audia illius animi intentione, et causa assumpte uie, a domno Kalamanno rege Christianissimo Vngariorum benigne susceptus est, et pacifice concessus est sibi transitus per uniuersam terram regni sui, et emendi licentia. Hic itaque sine offensione et aliquo aduerso incursu, usque ad Belegrauam ciuitatem Bulgarorum profectus est, transiens Maleuillam, ubi terminantur fines regni Vngariorum.*

Hungary, 1095-1116), thereby permitting such comparisons to be made.<sup>164</sup> With this established in the mind of the audience, the success in travelling through Hungary (here, Walter's forces pass straight through without problem) becomes in the *Historia Ierosolimitana* a means to assess the dedication of the army to the crusader cause. Hungary, personified in the figure of Coloman, is positioned in Albert's *Historia* as both the crusader equivalent of a baptism of fire, and a symbol of their likely success on the journey.

The success of Walter's travelling across Hungary is immediately contrasted with conflict at the border of the land of the Bulgars. The mentioning of "purpose" at the start of the journey through Hungary and the sense of movement is contrasted with an image of a divided group.

There they peacefully crossed the river Morava in boats, but in that same place, Zemun, sixteen of the fellowship stayed behind to buy arms, unknown to Walter, who had by then crossed the river long before. In fact, certain Hungarians with evil minds, seeing from afar that Walter and his army were absent, fell upon that band of sixteen and stripped them of their arms, clothes, gold and silver, then they let them go, naked and empty handed.<sup>165</sup>

Consequently, the text suggests that when the group splits, and loses a coherent focus, difficulties emerge. Strength, the *Historia* suggests, is in numbers. After the sixteen reaching Belgrade and report to Walter (who notes vengeance would be tedious),<sup>166</sup> a more significant problem emerges: the previously mentioned issue of licences.

Then the same night that the naked and empty-handed comrades were taken in, Walter asked the prince of the Bulgars and the city magistracy for a licence to buy the necessities of life. The officials considered the damage and the people spying on their land, and they forbade all sales to them.<sup>167</sup>

As a consequence, Walter and his troop begin rustling cattle and sheep belonging to the locals. This situation results in conflict, with one hundred and sixty pilgrims, like the sixteen

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<sup>164</sup> To illuminate this point, it is worthwhile presenting an example of a medieval text that deliberately does the opposite. In William of Tyre's *Historia Ierosolymitana*, the favourable actions of Alexios towards the "People's Crusade" is presented without referring to the emperor by name, while he is named in the text when being vilified for his actions towards the "Prince's Crusade"; see Luka Špoljarić, "William of Tyre and the Byzantine Empire: The Construction and Deconstruction of an Image" (MA Thesis, CEU, Budapest, 2008), 13-14.

<sup>165</sup> *H. I.* 8-11. *Illic pacifice fluvium Maroe nauigio traiecit, sed in eodem loco Maleuille sedecim de comitatu / illius remorati sunt, ut emerent arma, ignorante Waltero qui iam diu flumen transierat. Vngari uero quidam peruerse mentis uidentes procul Walteri absentiam et illius exercitus manus illis sedecim iniecerunt: quos armis, uestibus, auro et argento spoliauerunt, et sic nudi ac uacui abire permissi sunt.*

<sup>166</sup> *H. I.* 10-11. *Hui uero dolentes, rebus et armis uacui, usque ad predictam Belgrauam quo Walterus cum omni manu sua extra muros ad hospitandum tentoria posuerat iter accelerauerunt, omne infortunium quod eis acciderat sibi referentes, sed equo animo, quia redivit ad uindictam tedio erat, accepit.*

<sup>167</sup> *H. I.*, 10-11. *In ipsa denique nocte qua socii nudi et uacui recepti sunt, Walterus licentiam emendi uite necessaria requisivit a principe Bulgarorum et magistratu ciuitatis. Qui fraudem et exploratores terre estimantes, omnia uenalia illis interdixerunt.*

Franks mentioned before, being separated from the main group.<sup>168</sup> This parallelism results in the image of a chapel, in which these crusaders occupied for defense, being burnt by the Bulgars,<sup>169</sup> contrasting vividly with the earlier description of the “very Christian king of the Hungarians.”<sup>170</sup> The text is clearly noting by its comparative structure that a lesson should be learnt.

In the dispute between the crusaders and the Bulgars, Albert’s text asserts the solution is to be found in the traditional power structure. The solution is not found amongst the many, but amongst the focus of the narrative: the actions of Walter, as he speaks to a king.

After this disaster and weakening of his men Walter abandoned his comrades who were fleeing all around, and he passed through the Bulgarian woods in eight days and withdrew to a very rich city in the middle of the Bulgarian kingdom, called Niš, where he found the leader and prince of the country and reported to him all the outrage and the damage inflicted upon himself and he easily obtained justice from him in regard to all these things. Indeed that same lord of the country bestowed both arms and money on him in reconciliation, and gave him a safe-conduct through the Bulgarian towns of Sofiya, Philippopolis, and Adrianople, and a licence to buy, and Walter marched down with all of his band as far as the imperial city of Constantinople, which is the capital of all the empire of the Greeks.<sup>171</sup>

The success of this communication between characters, similar to the success with communicating the intent to the Hungarian King Coloman, is repeated later when Walter communicates to the Byzantine Emperor Alexios.

Moreover, as he marched down he entreated the lord emperor himself, with all the possible urgency in a most humble petition, that he might peacefully take a breathing-space in his kingdom, with licence to buy the necessities of life, until he had Peter the Hermit as comrade-in-arms, at whose instigation and inspiration he had started the journey, and with their thousands of men joined together they would cross the Straits of St George in boats and thus be able more safely to oppose the Turks and all the battle-formations of the gentiles. All this was carried out, and the lord emperor, Alexios by name, graciously responded and granted everything he sought.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> *H. I.*, 10-11.

<sup>169</sup> *H. I.*, 10-11.

<sup>170</sup> *H. I.*, 8-9.

<sup>171</sup> *H. I.*, 10-13. *Post hanc calamitatem et attritionem suorum, Walterus relectis circumquaque sociis fugitiuis, siluas Bulgarorum per octo dies exuperans, ad ciuitatem ditissimam que uocatur Nizh in medio Bulgarorum regno secessit, ubi duci et principi terre reperto iniuriam et dampnum sibi illatum retulit, iusticiam de omnibus ab eo clementer consecutus. Quin et arma et pecuniam illi in reconciliatione largitus est, ac ei conductum idem domnus terre, per ciuitates Bulgarie Sterniz et Phinepopolim atque Andronopolim pacifice dedit, et emendi licentiam, quousque ad imperatoriam urbem Constantinopolim que est caput totius regni Grecorum, cum omni manu sua descendit.*

<sup>172</sup> *H. I.*, 12-13. *Vt autem descendit omni instantia humillime petitionis qua potuit ab ipso domno imperatore exorauit, quatenus in regno suo pacifice moram obtineret cum licentia emendi uite necessaria, donec Petrus Hermita cuius admonitione et instinctu uiam hanc inchoauerant socius haberetur et, sic coniunctis milibus suis, brachium maris sancti Georgii nauigio transmearent, et sic tutius Turcis cunctisque gentiliuum cuneis*

With the repetition of communication with kings (with the land of the Bulgars being the first to be greeted after travelling through Hungary), and the issue of licences, and Walter waiting for Peter for greater numbers and less division, the *Historia Ierosolimitana* implies that the Crusaders are responsible for the situations in which they find themselves. Actual reasons for the difficult route through the Balkans, such as the famine from which these Crusaders left<sup>173</sup> or the difficulties of infrastructure of a frontier arrangement being unable to cope with a vast amount of armed pilgrims,<sup>174</sup> are absent from the text. The geography that is travelled is a means in which the text can make points concerning the crusaders themselves.

Having established the issues of dialogues with rulers, group unity, dedication to purpose, and the issue of licences for food, Albert's account of the passage of Walter's army provides a proto-narrative of the crusade movement which will be employed to assess elements of the crusades. The passage on Hungary, when placed in context of its contrast with the land of the Bulgars and parallelism to the Byzantine Emperor, is the textual space that the *Historia Ierosolimitana* employs to engage in this discourse.

### 2. 1. 2. Peter the Hermit

After depicting the journey of Walter's force, Albert's *Historia Ierosolimitana* proceeds with an account of the passage of Peter the Hermit to Nicaea. More than double the length of the previous small narrative of Walter Sansavoir, Albert's depiction of Peter's movements is an important part of the first book of the *Historia*. In the passage, Albert reasserts the lessons of the previous voyage (dedication to purpose, dialogue with rulers, group unity, and food) while expanding the discourse of how a crusader should act on a crusade.

Peter's importance in the *Historia* is immediately asserted. The text opens with a biblical simile of comparing the amount of soldiers to that of the sand of the sea, an allusion that connects the army following the Hermit with that of the army of the Israelites following

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*resistere ualerent. Quod et actum est, et a domno imperatore Alexi nomine benigne de omnibus petenti responsum et concessum est.*

<sup>173</sup> Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 28.

<sup>174</sup> Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900-1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 177-179.



Absalom,<sup>175</sup> and the army of Philistines that threaten Saul.<sup>176</sup> This linkage is somewhat ambiguous in meaning: on one hand, Albert connects Peter with forces that end with defeat, on the other, by giving the event a biblical dimension, the *Historia* elevates the event to a level higher than that of the account of Walter.<sup>177</sup> After this opening, Albert depicts Peter as a decisive leader, successfully reaching Sopron, situated on the north-west border of Hungary.

Not long after all this the aforementioned Peter with his great army, as innumerable as the sand of the sea, which had assembled and joined him from the different kingdoms, that is to say Franks, Swabians, Bavarians, Lotharingians, was carrying on in the same way the journey to Jerusalem. He marched down into the kingdom of Hungary on his journey and pitched his tents in front of the gate of Sopron with all the army of Christians which he had led.<sup>178</sup>

The account of Peter's journey through Hungary in the *Historia* is notably different to the version in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos*. In contrast to the violence described by Guibert, Albert states that the movement of Peter's army was peaceful. The reason is simple: Peter is depicted as successfully dealing with King Coloman in obtaining passage and supplies.

When their tents were in place he sent messages right away to the ruler of Hungary, asking him to open the way into and through the middle of his kingdom to Peter and his comrades. This was granted to him, but on one condition, that he would keep peacefully on his journey while, indeed, all the things the army needed might be procured at a price, without brawling and dispute. Therefore Peter rejoiced when he heard the king's kindness towards him and his men, and travelled through the kingdom of Hungary peacefully, giving and obtaining everything necessary for their use in quantity, justice and fair measure, and thus he and all his troops proceeded without disturbance as far as Zemun.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> 2 Samuel 17:11: *sed hoc mihi videtur rectum esse consilium congregetur ad te universus Israhel a Dan usque Bersabee quasi harena maris innumerabilis et tu eris in medio eorum.*

<sup>176</sup> 1 Samuel 13:5: *et Philisthim congregati sunt ad proeliandum contra Israhel triginta milia curuum et sex milia equitum et reliquum vulgus sicut harena quae est in litore maris plurima et ascendentes castrametati sunt in Machmas ad orientem Bethaven.*

<sup>177</sup> A pragmatic reading, and one which should not be overlooked, is the possibility Albert included the biblical quotation for colour; if this is so, the raising of the account of Peter's journey above that of Walter's passage would still be present.

<sup>178</sup> *H. I. 12-13. Post hec non longi temporis interuallo, Petrus predictus et exercitus illius copiosus, ut harena maris innumerabilis qui a diuersis regnis illi coniunctus conuenerat, scilicet Francigene, Sueui, Bawarii, Lotharingii, continuabat pariter uiam in Ierusalem, qui itinere suo in Vngarie descendens regnum, ante portam Cyperon tabernacula sua fixit, cum omni exercitu Christianorum quem eduxerat.*

<sup>179</sup> *H. I. 12-13. Hiis locatis, protinus regnatori Vngarie nuncia direxit, quatenus sibi suisque consociis pateret aditus et transitus per medium regni eius. Quod illi concessum est, ea conditione interposita, ne in terra regis predam contingeret, sed pacifice uiam teneret, omnia uero quibus indigeret exercitus sine iurgio et lite precio mutuarent. Petrus ergo audita erga se suosque regis beniuolentia gauisus est, et pacifice regnum Vngarie transiuit, dans et accipiens omnia usui necessaria in numero, iusticia et mensura, et sic sine turbine usque ad Maleuillam cum omni legione sua profectus est.*

Once again, the kingdom of Hungary is depicted as a Christian country assisting those who aim for Jerusalem without being sidetracked into disorder.

Peter's peaceful passage through Hungary however is interrupted at Zemun, the last Hungarian town on the pilgrimage route through the kingdom.<sup>180</sup> As with Walter's forces, violent conflict occurs on the border. The *Historia* presents this incident in a manner that illuminates Albert's technique. Modern English-language historical narratives of the crusades and Hungarian historiography presents the incident as evidence of the rabid nature of the mob;<sup>181</sup> with the account in the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, such an interpretation does not feature. This is because in Albert's telling of the journey, an explanation is provided to justify their actions. The narrative claims that a rumour spread among Peter's army, claiming that a noble of the Hungarian king called Guz has entered into a deal with Nichita, prince of the Bulgars and ruler of the city of Belgrade.<sup>182</sup> Continuing with the motif of unity, the rumour that the *Historia* mentions is one where Guz attacks the rear, while Nichita attacks the front of Peter's pilgrim army.<sup>183</sup> The audience is therefore manipulated into being in a position to sympathise with Peter and his armed pilgrims rather than one in which they are condemned.

The approach to the violence, and the violence itself, is presented in a manner that repeats the lessons presented previously in the account concerning Walter and his army. Peter is presented as a man of faith and dedication to his religious purpose who is distracted from his goal.

Hearing this [the rumour concerning Guz and Nichita], because the Hungarians and the Bulgars were fellow Christians, Peter refused altogether to believe them capable of so great a crime, until, as they approached Zemun, his companions caught sight of the weapons and spoils hanging on the ramparts and walls which had belonged to Walter's sixteen associates whom the Hungarians had delayed a little while before and had dared to rob by a trick.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Richard, 41.

<sup>181</sup> Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 124; Richard, 41. For a Hungarian reading, see Z. J. Kosztołnyik, *From Coloman the Learned to Béla III (1095-1196): Hungarian Domestic Policies and Their Impact upon Foreign Affairs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 26-29. Kosztołnyik's reading blends Albert's increasing disdain of the crusaders with a stirring defence of Coloman, as seen in the comment: "These troops were not disciplined at all, and the king had no choice but to attack and destroy them" when discussing the troops of Gottschalk. For the briefest of accounts, though similar to Kosztołnyik, see Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2001), 35. Curiously, the discussion of the event is omitted in Márta Font, *Koloman the Learned, King of Hungary*, trans. Monika Miklán (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2001).

<sup>182</sup> *H. I.*, 12-15.

<sup>183</sup> *H. I.*, 14-15.

<sup>184</sup> *H. I.*, 14-15. *Petrus hec audiens, quia conchristiani erant Vngarii et Bulgari, omnino de illis tantum facinus credere noluit, quousque ad Maleuillam uenientes consocii illius arma et spolia sedecim sociorum Walteri in menibus et muris pendentia aspexerunt, quos paulo ante retardatos, Vngarii in dolo spoliare presumpserunt.*

With this detail made visible to both Peter in his narrative, and the audience by repetition, a pivot in the text is reached.

Then Peter, when he learnt of the outrage against his fellow countrymen, and saw their weapons and spoils, urged his companions to vengeance.<sup>185</sup>

The account then turns into a battle register: among descriptions of battle (of trumpets sounding, of arrows flying) are two brief panegyrics of notable crusaders, Godfrey Burel and Reinold of Broyes, who were the first to cross the Hungarian ramparts.<sup>186</sup> This naming of soldiers is important for it shows Albert is commending to posterity<sup>187</sup> actions he considers praiseworthy. Despite this extolling, the incident ends with a criticism. Peter, like Walter before him, has digressed from his original purpose (Jerusalem), and ended up with material spoils.

After achieving this victory Peter stayed five days with all his men in the same fortress of Zemun because of the abundance of food which he found there in grain and flocks of sheep and herds of cattle and a plentiful supply of drink, and an infinite supply of horses.<sup>188</sup>

While the actions are celebrated in the telling, within the context, the action is criticised.

This is apparent when considering the immediate aftermath in which the text repeats earlier lessons. Though Albert describes it as a “victory” for the crusaders, he then describes the event as a “bloody massacre” and dwells upon a description of the hacked corpses being carried by the current of the Danube.<sup>189</sup> As with Walter, this digression from the linear route to Jerusalem due to a minor detail leads to a greater problem. This is expressed in the narrative by an inserted speech from a messenger from an unknown town.

The king of Hungary has assembled an army from all his realm to avenge his men and is about to go into battle against you, and not even one of your men is sure to escape his weapons. For grief and lamentation for the dead have roused the king and all their kinsmen and friends. Therefore cross the river Sava as quickly as possible, and hasten your journey away from here.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> *H. I.*, 14-15. *Petrus autem tunc confratrum iniuria cognita, uisque illorum armis et spoliis, socios ad uindictam admonet.*

<sup>186</sup> *H. I.*, 14-15. Note the expressions *fortis uiribus* and *eques insignis*.

<sup>187</sup> I am deliberately referring back to Albert’s expressed intent in *H. I.*, 2-3.

<sup>188</sup> *H. I.*, 16-17. *Hac Petrus adeptus uictoria, cum uniuersis suis in eodem castello Maleuille, diebus mansit quinque, propter habundantiam alimentorum, quam ibi reperit in frumento et gregibus ouium, et armentis, et poculorum plenitudine, et equorum numero infinito.*

<sup>189</sup> *H. I.*, 16-17. *Comperta autem illius uictoria et Vngariorum cede cruenta et uisis ferro cesis corporibus illorum, que plurima extincta atroci uulnere Danubius suis procellis aduexerat Belegraue, ubi reflexo alueo iter et cursum continuat a Maleuilla distans miliario, dux prefaratus Nichita suos conuocat.*

<sup>190</sup> *H. I.*, 16-17. *Rex Vngarie collecto exercitu uniuersi regni sui in ultione suorum ad uos descensus est, de quibus nec unum quidem certum est ab armis illius euadere. Nam dolor occisorum et lamenta regem et uniuersos parentes et amicos illorum commouerunt. Quapropter quantocius fluium Maroam superantes, uiam uestram hinc maturate.* Albert has the river Morava for the river Sava.

Though the lesson being taught is different, Albert's depiction of Peter in Hungary in the *Historia Ierosolimitana* is equivalent to Guibert of Nogent's use of the same character in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos*: he is used as an exempla. The hermit's loss of focus in Hungary is mirrored by the weighing down of his followers with plunder.

Peter realized the anger of the king and the great seriousness of the alliance against him, so he left Zemun with all his companions (taking with them, however, all their spoils and herds and booty of horses) and set out to cross the Sava.<sup>191</sup>

This geographical location provides the text with the possibility to restate the author's impression of how crusaders should act. The description does this by first showing how they should not act: distracted by worldly goods, disorganised, and fragmenting.

But he found few ships – only a hundred and fifty in number on the whole riverbank – in which such a great number could immediately cross and escape through fear of the king who was in hot pursuit. Because of this, as many as possible of those for whom there were no ships tried their best to cross using timbers joined together and fastened with osiers. But while they were tossing about on that same raft of joined timbers and oisers, with no way of steering and meanwhile separated from their companions, most of them perished, shot by the arrows of the Pechenegs, who inhabited Bulgaria.<sup>192</sup>

This is immediately followed by exemplary behaviour on behalf of Peter and the Germans: leadership, obedience, unity, and focus. The repeated use of the number seven, a typological symbol in biblical literature, aids the audience in remembering the event and, by memory, digesting the message within the scene.

Now Peter, seeing that his men were dying and drowning, ordered the Bavarians, Swabians, and the rest of the Germans to help their Frankish brothers in accordance with their promise of obedience. They immediately brought in seven rafts and sank the seven little boats of the Pechenegs along with those who were on them, taking only seven people alive, whom they brought into Peter's presence and slaughtered on his orders.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>191</sup> H. I., 16-19. *Petrus uero intelligens iram regis, et illius grauissimam adunationem, cum uniuersis sociis Maleuillam deserens, sed cuncta spolia, gregesque ac predam equorum abducens, Maroam transire disposuit.*

<sup>192</sup> H. I., 18-19. *Sed paucas naues, numero tantum centum quinquaginta, in toto litore reperit, quibus tanta multitudo subito posset transire et euadere, propter timorem regis in fortitudine graui superuenientis. Vnde quamplurimi quibus naues defecerant, iunctura lignorum et copulatione uiminum transire certabant, sed a Pincenariis qui Bulgariam inhabitabant, plurimi in ipsa lignorum et uiminum copulatione fluctuantes, sine gubernaculo, a societate interdum diuisi, sagittis confixi interierunt.*

<sup>193</sup> H. I., 18-19. *Videns autem Petrus interitum et submersionem suorum que fiebat Bawariis, Alemannis, ceterisque Theutonicis, ex promissione obedientie imperauit ut Francigenis fratibus subuenirent. Qui ilico septem ratibus inuecti, septem nauiculas Pincenariorum submerserunt cum inhabitantibus, septem tantum uiuos captiuantes in presentiam Petri adductos ex precepto illius trucidauerunt.*

This success is swiftly connected to another success: Peter and his forces send a representative to Duke Nichita, who consents to letting them buy food on the condition that hostages be taken by the duke for security.<sup>194</sup> The lessons of Walter are repeated with new examples to reinforce the values that Albert wants his audience to accept.

This constant repetition of values is not merely intended to inform the audience of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of values they should have, but also, at the same time, to pass judgment on those who took part in the crusade and departed from such values. As noted earlier, the detail of Albert's account of the passage through Hungary is potentially in part due to having to correct the fabrications of those who fled and created their own narratives to cover their behaviour. This act of teaching and condemnation reverberates throughout the text like an echo. The sixteen men of Walter who stay behind in Hungary to buy arms and consequently cause trouble are paralleled by the Swabians who loiter behind Peter's army to torch houses after a business disagreement with a Bulgar.<sup>195</sup> Judgment for the Swabians however is delayed until later in the narrative, when their fortification near Nicaea is torched by Turks.<sup>196</sup> This doubling implies that the passage through Hungary and its border with the land of the Bulgars is a microcosm of later events. For example, the idleness that leads to disunity at the fortress of Zemun is mirrored by the inactivity at Civitot that leads to hubris as the mob reject the restraint of Alexios and Peter,<sup>197</sup> in the same manner the issues of rumour and vengeance that appeared when Peter's forces were at the Hungarian border reappears when they are engaged in a drawn out conflict with Suleyman's forces near Nicaea.<sup>198</sup> In repeating similar episodes with the same morals, Albert is asserting to his audience that the lessons learnt in Hungary are lessons that are suitable for the entire crusade.

### 2. 1. 3. Gottschalk

In Albert's version of the desecration of the army of Gottschalk in the kingdom of Hungary, we see further evidence of the narrative of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* being shaped to serve a pedagogical purpose. At the same time, however, we see Albert taking into account his

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<sup>194</sup> *H. I.*, 18-19.

<sup>195</sup> *H. I.*, 20-21.

<sup>196</sup> *H. I.*, 34-37.

<sup>197</sup> *H. I.*, 30-33.

<sup>198</sup> *H. I.*, 36-41.

probable audience. Unlike the previously discussed accounts of the movements of Walter's and Peter's forces, the army of Gottschalk never reached the border of the land of the Bulgars. As a consequence, the *Historia* presents us with the clearest example of Albert's narrative manipulating the geographical space of Hungary to promote his interpretation of how a crusade should work.

For Albert's lessons on crusading to be learnt, the *Historia* presents the attempted passage through Hungary as a narrative that has as a rise and a fall; therefore Gottschalk is depicted in a good light as an inspiring speaker. The text asserts the source of his inspiration as Peter the Hermit, whom the *Historia* presents as the originator of the crusading idea. In stressing the relationship between Gottschalk and Peter, the text aligns Gottschalk to the original source of the crusade. Albert's account which follows is in stark contrast to the presentation of Gottschalk the figure as a false servant of God in the previously discussed account written by Ekkehard.

Not long after Peter's crossing a certain priest called Gottschalk, German by birth and an inhabitant of the Rhineland was inspired by love and desire for the same journey to Jerusalem because of a sermon of Peter's. With his oratory he aroused the hearts of many from different nations to press forward on the road together, and he drew together over fifteen thousand from different regions of Lotharingia, eastern France, Bavaria, and Swabia, a crowd with as many knights as common foot soldiers who, as they had collected an indescribable quantity of money and other necessary supplies, were allowed to continue their peaceful journey into the kingdom of Hungary.<sup>199</sup>

Lotharingia, eastern France, Bavaria, and Swabia are all areas close to where Albert is likely to have existed. It is therefore not surprising that the *Historia* does not condemn Gottschalk's forces as one historian has claimed;<sup>200</sup> rather, it praises them. Firstly, as noted above, Gottschalk is shown to be from the same source as Peter, thereby implying that his followers originally had the same intention. Secondly, Albert expresses admiration at the number of fighting men Gottschalk has roused.<sup>201</sup> Thirdly, King Coloman, described in the earlier part

<sup>199</sup> H. I., 44-45. *Non multo temporis interuallo post Petri transitum, quidam presbiter Godescalcus nomine, Theutonicus natione, incola fluminis Rheni, eiusdem uie in Ierusalem amore et desiderio succensus ex Petri ammonitione plurimorum corda ex diuersis nationibus ad instandam partier uiam suo excitauit sermone, et ex diuersis regionibus Lotharingie, Francie orientalis, Bawarii, Alemannie, supra quindecim contraxit milia, tam militaris quam pedestris uulgi, qui pecunia ineffabili cum ceteris rebus necessariis collecta iter suum pacifice usque in regnum Vngarie continuasse perhibentur.*

<sup>200</sup> "Albert of Aix blamed the whole rabble of Christians who followed Peter the Hermit and Gottschalk," Michael Foss, *People of the First Crusade* (New York: Arcade, 1997), 58.

<sup>201</sup> For this, including a discussion of the term *pedestre vulgus*, see Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 90.

of the *Historia* concerning Walter's journey as a Christian king, is again employed to show the audience of Albert the religious nature of the travellers intending to liberate Jerusalem.

Indeed they were brought with honour to the gate of Mosony, and by King Coloman's favour to his fortress. They were even granted a licence to buy and sell necessary supplies, and peace was proclaimed on both sides according to the king's instructions, lest a dispute might arise from such a large army.<sup>202</sup>

In deliberate contrast to the previous accounts in the *Historia* regarding Walter and Peter, Coloman's attitude to Gottschalk is immediately positive.

This praising of Gottschalk and the details of the reception of his army is closely followed by their descent into chaos. The structure of the narrative makes this action inevitable. The mentioning of at the possibility that a large army might trigger a dispute is an medieval example of what is now known as the Law of Chekhov's gun: if a detail is mentioned in the narrative, it must, to fulfil the audience's expectations, be of importance later in the telling.<sup>203</sup> The *Historia* rises to the challenge in its depiction of the descent.

But when they were delayed there for some days, they began to wander, and the Bavarians and Swabians, a bold race, and the rest of the soldiers foolishly drank too much; they violated the proclaimed peace, little by little stealing wine, barley, and other necessities from the Hungarians, finally seizing sheep and cattle in the fields and killing them; they destroyed those who stood up to them and wanted to drive them out.<sup>204</sup>

The text adopts an position that is of interest for the modern reader. On one side, the text praises the armed pilgrims (the "bold race"), on the other, it condemns ("foolishly drank to much"). This duality I assert arises from the nature of the text and its relationship to its probable audience. Albert has to praise his neighbours – among which it is likely were veterans - so they are sympathetic to the reading of the text, so that they can respond to his condemnation at the actions of the failed crusaders in order to draw a moral from the event.

The others committed several crimes, all of which we cannot report, like a people foolish in their boorish habits, unruly and wild. For, as those say who were present, they stabbed a certain young Hungarian in the market street with

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<sup>202</sup> *H. I.*, 44-45. *Ad portam uero Meseburch, et eius presidium gratia regis Kalamanni uenientes, honorifice introducti sunt. Quibus etiam concessa est licentia emendi uite necessaria, et pax utrinque indicta ex precepto regis, ne qua seditio a tanto oriretur exercitu.*

<sup>203</sup> Chekhov, to Shcukin, "if in the first chapter you say that a gun hung on the wall, in the second or third chapter it must without fail be discharged". I have adopted the modern translation of the name; for the citation, see Anton Pavolich Tchekov, *Literary and Theatrical Reminiscences*, trans. Samuil Solomonovitch Koteliensky (London: Routledge, 1927), 23.

<sup>204</sup> *H. I.*, 44-47. *Sed dum per aliquot dies moram illic facerent, et uagari cepissent, Bawarii uero et Sueui gens animosa et ceteri fatui modum potandi excederent, pacem indictam uiolant, Vngaris uinum, ordeum, et cetera necessaria paulatim auferentes, ad ultimum oues et boues per agros rapientes occiderunt, resistentes quoque et excutere uolentes peremerunt.*

a stake through his private parts, because of a most contemptible dispute. A complaint about this affair and the other outrages were carried to the ears of the king and his princes.<sup>205</sup>

As the opening suggested, the audience's expectation is fulfilled as the king is outraged and demands vengeance. The same message of the narratives of the progress of the armies of Walter and Peter is re-iterated, that staying stationary leads to distraction from the goal and an increasing likelihood of trouble, is reasserted.

The narrative concerned with Gottschalk ends dramatically. Albert's text continues to both praise the armed rabble of pilgrims while condemning them by positioning them as an *exemplum*. In a description of a battle with the Hungarians at Pannonhalma,<sup>206</sup> the fighting ability of the Germans is praised.<sup>207</sup> To continue in this vein, the *Historia* repositions its characterisation of Hungary and the Hungarians. In place of foregrounding the troublesome behaviour of the pilgrims (in the manner that Ekkehard's text presents the events), Albert places into the mouths of the Hungarians a deliberate act of treachery. In a reported speech, the Hungarians are presented by Albert as making the false claim that King Coloman will not punish them if all their arms and money is handed over.<sup>208</sup> As a consequence of this probable narrative fabrication, the *Historia* is able to continue to present Gottschalk as an honest man.

Gottschalk, therefore, and other sensible men, who heard this and believed the words were spoken in good faith, and because the Hungarians were professed Christians, gave their advice to the whole assembly that in accordance with the speech they should give up their weapons to make amends to the king, and thus all things would return to a state of peace and goodwill.<sup>209</sup>

As such, the text continues with the dual presentation of Gottschalk and his forces as both praiseworthy and condemnable. This is apparent when Albert praises the unity of their agreement, but notes in disdain the giving up of the money that would have enabled them to reach Jerusalem.

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<sup>205</sup> *H. I.*, 46-47. *Cetera plurima flagitia que omnia referre nequimus perpetrarunt, sicut gens rusticano more insula, indisciplinata et indomita. Iuuenem enim quendam Vngarum, ut aiunt qui presentes fuerunt, pro uilissima contentione palo per secreta nature transfixerunt in fori platea. Cuius rei et ceterarum iniuriarum querimonia usque ad aures regis suorumque principum perlata est.*

<sup>206</sup> For a discussion of where the battle took place, see Edgington's comments in *H. I.*, 46-47.

<sup>207</sup> *H. I.*, 46-47. *Nec mora, regia uirtus totius regni Vngarie in armis affuit, ut populum conglobatum disturbarat. Sed fortiter resistentes sicut anxios, et uite sollicitos, in lanceis, gladiis et sagittis Theutonicos repperunt, quapropter et ipsi minus eos aggredi ausi sunt.*

<sup>208</sup> *H. I.*, 46-49.

<sup>209</sup> *H. I.*, 48-49. *Godescalus igitur et ceteri uiri sensati hoc audientes, et fidem puram ex hiis credentes uerbis, et quia Vngari Christiane erant professionis, uniuerso cetui consilium dederunt, quatenus iuxta hunc sermonem ad satisfaciendum regi arma redderent, et sic omnia in pacem et concordiam redirent.*



Everyone agreed to this advice and gave up hauberks, helmets, all their weapons, and the whole of the money (that is, their means of support on the journey to Jerusalem) into the hands of the king's officials, and, humble and shaking with fear, they bowed their heads before the king, certain of gaining the king's complete mercy and kindness.<sup>210</sup>

As a historian has noted, "presumably only a cohesive group would have actually surrendered in this way;"<sup>211</sup> Gottschalk's men, as stated earlier in the *Historia*, were unruly and wild. The scene therefore gives the modern reader the impression of being invented. This sensation is strengthened by the change in character of the Hungarians. Coloman's court being depicted as unchristian, owing to their stashing away of the weapons and the money.<sup>212</sup> These anomalous details show Albert spinning the text to suit both his audience and his views on Crusading. With their giving up of their funds that would have financed their journey to Jerusalem, they are shown as losing their direction; with their act of unilateral giving up of arms in the belief of making amends, they are shown as being of good faith. As a consequence, in spite of their reckless behaviour, their subsequent defeat at the hands of the Hungarians permits the *Historia* to label their deaths as martyrdom.<sup>213</sup>

The account of the attempt of the army following Gottschalk to pass through the kingdom of Hungary in the *Historia Ierosolimitana* shows the nature of Albert's text. On one side, it reveals its biases; on the other, it shows its adherence to propagating its impression of how people on a crusade should act. This balancing act is shown aptly in one detail. It is not what the text includes, but what the text omits. Of the character of Gottschalk, presented by Albert as an honest, trusting priest who follows the inspiration of Peter the Hermit, his end is not mentioned; the audience presumes he is dead. In the account of Ekkehard, he flees. In omitting this detail, Albert's *Historia* reveals itself to be selective in its details to promote Gottschalk as a sympathetic *exemplum* from whom the same lessons of crusading can be learnt.

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<sup>210</sup> *H. I.*, 48-49. *Adquieuerunt uniuersi huic consilio, ac loricas, galeas, omnia arma, totamque pecuniam, stipendium uie sue scilicet in Ierusalem, in manus magistratus regis reddiderunt, ac humiles et tremefacti colla sua regi subdiderunt, totius misericordie et humanitatis certi erga regem consequende.*

<sup>211</sup> France, *Victory in the East*, 92.

<sup>212</sup> *H. I.*, 48-49. *Ministri uero regis et milites uniuersa arma palatio regis in conclauis intulerunt, pecuniam et cetera preciosa, que tantus congesserat exercitus, in erarium regis intulerunt.*

<sup>213</sup> *H. I.*, 48-49: *et pauci ab hoc martyrio liberarentur.*

### 2. 1. 4. Emicho

In Albert's depiction of the attempted passing through Hungary of Emicho and his followers, we see further evolution in the *Historia Ierosolimitana*'s presentation of the narrative to assert a view on how crusaders should behave. As with the presentation of Gottschalk, Albert's depiction of the failure of Emicho and his followers notably differs in the account of the same event in the previously discussed *Hierosolymita* by Ekkehard.<sup>214</sup> In the *Historia* version, divine judgment is stated to be the response to the massacre of Jews.

After the sympathetic portrayal of Gottschalk, the text of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* delays dealing with the attempted journey of Emicho and his followers. Instead, the narrative draws back from dealing with individual leaders, and presents a more general picture. A negative tone is established as Albert lists a litany of sins to which the new batch of crusaders are prey.

Crowds of them had been gathered into one from the different kingdoms and states, but as they did not in any way turn from fornication and unlawful relationships there was excessive revelling, continual delight with women and girls who had set out for the very purpose of frivolity, and boasting most rashly about the opportunity offered by this journey.<sup>215</sup>

The distraction from crusading caused by fornication is an occurring theme in the *Historia*, and it is repeated at later points to reassert the necessity of avoiding such behaviour.<sup>216</sup> In this segment of Albert's *Historia*, the theme is introduced into the narrative in part to introduce the motif, and in part to pass moral judgment into the minds of the audience about the behaviour of this group of supposed crusaders, setting out not for Jerusalem, but for carnal opportunity.

This is promptly followed by one of the most discussed sections of Albert of Aachen's text: the pogroms of 1096.

<sup>214</sup> I have retained Edgington's spelling of Emicho, in order to make a clear separation between the figure in Ekkehard's text, and the figure in Albert's text. This rationale for this choice was made in "Brief Note on Some Minor Points".

<sup>215</sup> *H. I.*, 48-49. *Hiis itaque per turmas ex diuersis regnis et ciuitatibus in unum collectis, sed nequaquam ab illicitis et fornicariis commixtionibus auersis, immoderata erat commessatio cum mulieribus et puellis, sub eiusdem leuitatis intentione egressis, assidua delectatio, et in omni temeritate sub huius uie occasione gloriatio.*

<sup>216</sup> For this, see the subchapter "The Vision of Ambrose."

I do not know if it was because of a judgement of God or because of some delusion in their minds, but the pilgrims rose in a spirit of cruelty against the Jews who were scattered throughout the cities, and they inflicted a most cruel slaughter on them, especially in the kingdom of Lotharingia, claiming that this was the beginning of their crusade and service against the enemies or Christianity.<sup>217</sup>

The historian Benjamin Z. Kedar described the opening as Albert's "first, vacillating statement."<sup>218</sup> In his article on the historiography concerned with the event, Kedar notes the reading of many crusader historians, such as Runicman and Riley-Smith, in portraying Albert as sympathetic to the plight of the Jews. His argument however is too focused on the words and not the context in which it is included. It is more likely that Albert's comment regarding a "judgment of God" is merely a rhetorical trapping, used to express his bewilderment at the massacres. I however assert that Albert's treatment is condemning in tone for the reason that it follows a passage concerned with attacking fornication and opportunism. Consequently, when the text states "especially in the kingdom of Lotharingia," Albert is passing judgment on those in his audience who took part in such actions, using his narrative to isolate the participants for moral questioning. My interpretation is supported by the final point regarding "beginning of their crusade;" since by this point in the narrative, the audience has not only seen the start of multiple movements and learnt lessons from them, but also seen that this movement began in the previous passage concerned with sex. In this part where Kedar sees a "vacillating statement," Albert's original audience would have seen a clear critique of the pogroms and a re-assertion of a Jerusalem-orientated crusade.<sup>219</sup>

Within this narrative of widespread barbarity presented with a condemning narrative voice, the hero of the passage appears. At Mainz, he is waiting.

Here Count Emicho, a noble man and very powerful in this region, was waiting with a very great band of Germans for the arrival of pilgrims who were coming together there by the royal road from different parts.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> *H. I.*, 50-51. *Vnde nescio si uel Dei iudicio aut aliquo animi errore spiritu crudelitatis aduersus Iudeorum surrexerunt populum, per quascumque ciuitates dispersos, et crudelissimam in eos exercuerunt necem, et precipue in regno Lotharingie, asserentes id esse principium expeditionis sue, et obsequii contra hostes fidei Christiane.*

<sup>218</sup> Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Crusade Historians and the Massacres of 1096," *Jewish History* 12, no. 2 (1998): 20.

<sup>219</sup> One should, however, note the linguistic irony of the passage concerning the pogrom at Cologne. Albert's *Historia* is the earliest surviving text in which the term *crucesignati* appears in some form, alongside the typical use of *peregrini*. The pilgrims, to distinguish themselves from the Jews, mark themselves with a cross: *Quos peregrini et cruce signati comperientes, nec unum quidem reliquerunt uiuum, sed simili multatos strage rebus omnibus spoliauerunt. H. I.*, 50-51. For a discussion of the term *crucesignati*, see Michael Markowski, "Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage," *Journal of Medieval History* 10, no. 3 (1984): 157-165.

<sup>220</sup> *H. I.*, 50-51. *Vbi comes Emecho uir nobilis et in hac regione potentissimus, cum nimia Theutonicorum manu prestolabatur aduentum peregrinorum de diuersis locis regia uia illuc confluentium.*

Albert's sentence structure makes a visible separation between the pilgrims, and the Germans led by Emicho. Consequently, though not stated as overtly as in the *Hierosolymita*, Emicho is the *exemplum* of the false leader, the usurper. This is shown by his actions. With the Jews of the area in hiding, aided by the assistance of the ecclesiastical authority in the figure of Bishop Ruthard,<sup>221</sup> Albert's text makes mention of the money that the Bishop has been given and which has been hidden. With this detail included in the narrative, Albert's text suggests that Emicho is motivated for financial purposes, rather than for religious reasons. With this in the mind of the audience, the account of Emicho and his peers (with no mention of the pilgrims) coming to a decision to attack the Jews is framed not in terms of religious motivation, but in terms of greed and cruelty.

But Emicho and the rest of his troop consulted together, and at daybreak they attacked the Jews in the palace with arrows and spear, broke bolts and doors, and overcame and killed about seven hundred of the Jews as they tried in vain to withstand the strength and attack of so many thousands. They slaughtered the women in just the same way, and cut down with their swords the young children, whatever their age and sex.<sup>222</sup>

The repeated focus in the text on the suffering of women and children, continuing past the extract quoted to feature an account of mothers and their offspring committing ritual suicide,<sup>223</sup> gives the modern reader the impression that Albert is deliberately using them to make his audience critical to Emicho and his followers. This impression is supported by the structure of the text, which provides a greater amount of text for the Jews than for Emicho and his followers.

With this structure established, and the *exemplum* nature of Emicho and his followers clearly apparent, all that is required for the text to do is to proceed in presenting their inevitable downfall. The *Historia*'s portrayal of their intended desire to reach Jerusalem is mocked in the narration by the mentioning of the massacre, the booty, and uncommonly closed road through Hungary. With such a backdrop mentioned, the outcome is expected.

After this very cruel massacre of the Jews had taken place, and a few had escaped, and a few had been baptised rather through fear of death than for love of the Christian religion, Count Emicho, Clarembald, Thomas, and all that irresistible association of men and women continued the journey to Jerusalem

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<sup>221</sup> *H. I.*, 50-53.

<sup>222</sup> *H. I.* 52-53. *Veru, Emecho et ceterea manus habito consilio, orto sole diei, in sagittis et lanceis Iudeos in solio assiliunt, quos fractis seris et ianuis, expugnatos ad /septingentos peremerunt, frustra resistentes contra tot milium et assultus. Mulieres pariter trucidauerunt, pueros teneros cuiusque etatis et sexus in ore gladii percusserunt.*

<sup>223</sup> *H. I.*, 52-53.

with a large amount of booty, going in the direction of the kingdom of Hungary, where the royal highway was normally open to all pilgrims.<sup>224</sup>

Edgington's translation of "irresistible," while being one definition of the original Latin, appears somewhat out of place in my reading of the text. It has a positive connotation. Rather, the Latin *intolerabilis* should be translated as "intolerable", "unacceptable," "troublesome," or "hard to bear." All of these suggestions feature in the original, giving the followers of Emicho the connotation that they are bound to be punished by God.

The correction comes, as in the previous accounts of passages through the kingdom of Hungary, with the Hungarians. Unlike the earlier attempts, Emicho's men are presented as never actually stepping foot into the country itself. The reputation of the crusaders has preceded them.

But when they came to the king's fortress at Mosony, which is defended by the river Danube and the Leitha with its marshes, they found the bridge and gate of the fortress closed on orders of the king of Hungary, because a great fear had possessed all Hungarians on account of the slaughter which they had inflicted on their brothers.<sup>225</sup>

Consequently, Albert presents Emicho and his men as trying to follow the lessons of earlier attempts through the country by attempting to open a dialogue with King Coloman. However, with the depiction of this group originating with a description of fornication, revelry, and bloodshed, the audience is well primed to expect a negative outcome.

Since, therefore, the gate was closed, and the passage through the kingdom was denied to them all, they set up camp all over the level ground of the plains, and when they sent envoys to the king and asked for peace their prayers and promises were not heard.<sup>226</sup>

In response, the *Historia* presents the leaders of the group – the same men who were depicted as agreeing to massacre the Jews – deciding to build a bridge across the Leitha, then to lay waste to the king's land, and then to attack the fortress.<sup>227</sup> Albert's naming of the protagonists

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<sup>224</sup> H. I., 52-53. *Hac Iudeorum cede tam crudeliter peracta, paucisque elapsis, et pacis timore potius mortis quam amore Christiane professionis baptizatis, cum plurimis illorum spoliis, comes Emecho, Clareboldus, Thomas, et omnis illa intolerabilis societas uirorum ac mulierum, uiam Ierusalem continuauerunt, tendentes uersos regum Vngarie ubi transitus regis uia uniuersis peregrinis minime negari solebat.*

<sup>225</sup> H. I., 52-53. *Sed hiis ad presidium regis Meseburch uenientibus quod fluuius Danubii et Lintax paludibus firmat, pons et porta presidii clausa reperitur ex precepto regis Vngarie, quia timor magnus inuaserat uniuersos Vngaros pro cede quam exercuerant in confratres eorum.*

<sup>226</sup> H. I., 52-55. *Clausam itaque ianuam, et uniuersis transitu per regnum negato, locauerunt castra per camporum planiciem, et nuncios regi dirigentes, et pacem querentes, minime in prece sua et promissione auditi sunt.*

<sup>227</sup> H. I., 54-55. *Hinc Emecho, Thomas, Clareboldus, uiri militari actione illustres, cum cautioribus ineunt consilium ut regis terras ex hac parte adiacentes uastarent, nec hinc recederent, donec trans paludem et fluuium Lintax pons locaretur, per quem muro presidii aliqua arte propinquantes transforarent, ut uel sic transitus in uirtute suorum pateret.*

Emicho, Thomas, and Clarembald is contrasted with the positive presentation of the anonymous Hungarian defenders of the castle who are depicted as fighting back bravely.<sup>228</sup> After many such engagements, including one in which a member of Coloman's council is beheaded, the *Historia* subsequently describes Emicho's army as being wearied and weakened.<sup>229</sup> With these details established, Albert is in a position to turn the chronology of events into a moral lesson concerned with crusading.

The moral of the history is in the presentation. The details in the *Historia* make it apparent that the Hungarians were close to being defeated. Albert includes the detail that King Coloman had rebuilt several bridges in his country in case he had to flee east in the direction of Russia.<sup>230</sup> This snippet of information is unlikely to have appeared in an oral source from the crusader (how could they have known the workings of the opponent's court?), and is therefore likely an invention used by the author to stress that victory was achievable. The battle, however, is inexplicably lost by Emicho's army. The only possible reason that is suggested by the text is in the subtle biblical allusion within the sentence.

But though almost everything had turned out favourably for the Christians and they had broken through the walls causing a great breach, I do not know by what chance or misfortune, a great fear took possession of the entire army so that they were put to flight in the same way, and they were scattered and alarmed like sheep when attacked by wolves, seeking refuge this way and that way and forgetting their comrades.<sup>231</sup>

The biblical allusion depicts Emicho in the same manner that Ekkehard depicted Gottschalk: as a false leader. The text from John reads in full: "But a hireling, he who is not the shepherd, one who does not own the sheep, sees the wolf coming and leaves the sheep and flees; and the wolf catches the sheep and scatters them."<sup>232</sup> As a result of following Emicho, his army is destroyed.

The Hungarians, seeing the bold champions deserting so suddenly and making haste to flee, sallied forth in great strength from the gates with their king; without wasting any time they pursued the fleeing Gauls hotly, inflicting very

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<sup>228</sup> *H. I.*, 54-55. *Defensores uero presidii fortiter resistebant, hinc et hinc iacula intorquentes, et plurimam stragem utringue facientes.*

<sup>229</sup> *H. I.*, 54-57. *Post huiusmodi plurimas congressiones et cotidianas strages per longum temporis spacium, exercitus tedio uictus, et escarum.*

<sup>230</sup> *H. I.*, 56-57.

<sup>231</sup> *H. I.*, 56-57. *Sed dum fere omnia prospere successissent Christianis, et muros grandi foramine penetrassent, nescio quo casu aut infortunio tantus timor uniuersum inuasit exercitum, ut in fugam pariter redderentur, et quasi oves a lupis irruentibus dispersi et concussi hac et illac diffugium querentes, sociorum obliuiscerentur.*

<sup>232</sup> I have used the *New King James Version*, on the reasoning that, while not as familiar as the *King James Version*, it is more accessible to most readers. For the Latin: *mercennarius et qui non est pastor cuius non sunt oves propriae videt lupum venientem et dimittit oves et fugit et lupus rapit et dispergit oves.*

many deaths and capturing very many, and spending most of the night in revenge.<sup>233</sup>

More deaths ensue in the narrative, with many of Emicho's forces drowning in the Danube. The text makes it clear that the majority of those dying are foot soldiers, the commoners.<sup>234</sup> The *Historia* also makes it clear to the audience about the cowardice of the leaders.

Emicho, however, Thomas, Clarembald, William, and a few of the others whose horses were fit to run the distance had escaped unharmed, along with some who had hidden in the grass and bushes of the marshes, or who had been able to flee in the darkness of night.<sup>235</sup>

With this point successfully transmitted to the audience, Albert proceeds to pass comment on their original supposed ambition to reach Jerusalem with the following description of opposite direction that the fleeing leaders take.

Emicho and certain of his men made for the return road to escape by the same way they had come; Thomas, Clarembald, and several of their men slipped away in flight towards Carinthia and Italy.<sup>236</sup>

The geographical space of the kingdom of Hungary had once more provided a narrative of the First Crusade with an event in which was possible to narrativize to fit a moral framework.

Albert's judgment conclusion on their actions is included at the end of section on Emicho. The reasons for the defeat of his army are made clear and unambiguous: their collective focus on fornication and greed.

In this the hand of God is believed to have been against the pilgrims, who had sinned in his eyes by excessive impurities and fornicating unions, and had punished exiled Jews (who are admittedly hostile to Christ) with a great massacre, rather from greed for their money than for divine justice, since God is a just judge and commands no one to come to the yoke of the Catholic faith against his will or under compulsion.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> *H. I., 56-57. Vngari uidentes tam subito fortes athletas deficere et fugam maturare in uirtute magna e portis cum rege exiliunt, sine tardatione fugientes persequuntur, plurimam cedem exercentes, et plurimos captiuantes, et plerumque noctis in persecutione consumentes.*

<sup>234</sup> *H. I., 56-57.*

<sup>235</sup> *H. I., 56-57. Emecho autem, Thomas, Clareboldus, Willelmus et ceteri pauci quorum equi cursu adhuc ualebant, incolumes euaserunt, et aliqui qui in palustri herba et frutectis latuerunt, aut in opaca nocte fugere potuerunt.*

<sup>236</sup> *H. I., 56-57. Emecho et aliqui suorum uia qua uenerant reditum fugiendo tenuerunt, Thomas, Clareboldus et plures suorum uersus Carinthiam et Italiam fuga elapsi sunt.*

<sup>237</sup> *H. I., 57-59. Hic manus Domini contra peregrinos esse creditur, qui nimiis inmundiciis et fornicario concubitu in conspectu eius peccauerunt, et exules Iudeos licet Christo contrarios, pecunie auaricia magis quam pro iusticia Dei graui cede mactauerant, cum iustus iudex Deus sit, et neminem inuitum aut coactum ad iugum fidei Catholice iubeat uenire.*

The final part, concerning conversion of the Jews, is an important one. It shows the *Historia Ierosolimitana* restating the purpose of the crusade as one of liberation, not one of brutal occupation.

In addition to this statement concerning Emicho's force, the closing of this failed attempt to pass through Hungary is also the conclusion of the first book of the *Historia*, bringing to a close the "popular movements" that set out eastwards before the date of the Feast of the Assumption (15<sup>th</sup> August) that Pope Urban had deigned the start of his intended crusade.<sup>238</sup> As such, it provides the *Historia* with a space in which to make a closing point, a summation, about these popular movements. Albert is clear in his message.

There was also another abominable wickedness in this gathering of people on foot, who were stupid and insanely irresponsible, which, it cannot be doubted, is hateful to God and unbelievable to all the faithful. They claimed a certain goose was inspired by the Holy Ghost, and a she-goat filled no less the same, and they had made these their leaders for this holy journey to Jerusalem; they even worshipped them excessively, and as the beasts directed their courses for them in their animal way many of the troops believed whole-heartedly, claiming it was the truth.<sup>239</sup>

The story of the woman following the goose believing it would lead her to Jerusalem is repeated alongside other animals inspiring bestial acts. As previously noted in the introduction to this thesis, some historians have quoted this at face value,<sup>240</sup> seeing in the text a neat summation of the "popular" crusade. It is more probable that the comment is allegorical, inserted to be memorised as a fitting description of the early crusader attempts to reach Jerusalem. It depicts them, to differing degrees, as inspired, naïve, misdirected, and at times bestial. Though it is not mentioned in the final lines of the first book of the *Historia*, it is the kingdom of Hungary that acts as a sieve, permitting those capable of fulfilling the aims of a crusade through, and preventing all those who were ill-disposed, unable to proceed. This demarcation in the *Historia* caused by the kingdom will become further emphasised in the account of Godfrey of Bouillon which starts the second book.

<sup>238</sup> Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 49.

<sup>239</sup> *H. I.*, 58-59. *Fuit et aliud scelus detestabile in hac congregatione pedestris populi stulti ut et uesane leuitatis quod Deo odibile et omnibus fidelibus incredibile esse non dubitatur. Anserem quandam diuino asserebant spiritu afflatam, et capellam non minus eodem repletam, et has sibi duces huius uie sancte fecerant in Ierusalem, quas et nimium uenerabantur, ac bestiali more hiis intendentes plurime copie ex tota animi intentione uerum id esse credebant affirmantes.*

<sup>240</sup> See footnote 27.



### 2. 1. 5. Godfrey of Bouillon

The second book of Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* opens with an account of Godfrey of Bouillon's journey eastwards via the kingdom of Hungary towards Jerusalem. Unlike the attempted journeys through the kingdom that were depicted in the first book of the *Historia*, Albert's presentation of Godfrey and his army focuses on the positive rather than the negative in order to present to an audience receiving the text how such crusaders should behave while on a crusade.

In addition to the split in the narrative caused by the beginning of a new book after the conclusion of the first, the opening text of the account concerned with Godfrey visibly demarks the differences between the future ruler of Jerusalem with those of his crusading predecessors. The second book begins with a lengthy recollection of those leaders who failed (including some not mentioned in the first book), before listing the followers of Godfrey.

Therefore after Peter the Hermit's departure and the very great disaster which befell his army; and then a short while after the cruel massacre of the army led by Gottschalk the priest; indeed, after the misfortune of Hartmann a count from Swabia, of Emicho and the other brave men from the land of Gaul, namely Drogo of Nesle, Clarembald of Vendeuil; after the obliteration of his army which was cruelly carried out in the kingdom of Hungary at the gate of Mosony; after all this, Godfrey duke of the realm of Lotharingia, a most noble man, and his brother Baldwin, who shared the same mother, Warner of Grez a relative of that same duke, Baldwin of Bourcq likewise, Rainald count of Toul, Peter his brother also, Dodo of Cons, Henry of Esch and his brother Godfrey, very brave knights and very illustrious princes, were making the journey by the direct route to Jerusalem in the middle of August of the same year.<sup>241</sup>

This army is immediately presented as behaving differently to their listed predecessors. In the original Latin, the sentence containing litany of names continues with an account of Godfrey and his forces first action in dealing with potential local difficulty.

<sup>241</sup> *H. I.*, 60-61. *Ignitur post discessum Petri Heremite eiusque exercitus grauissimum casum, dehinc modico interuallo post crudelem stragem exercitus Godescalci presbyteri, post infortunium uero Hartmanni comitis Alemannie, Emechonis ceterorumque fortium uirorum et principum de terra Gallie, scilicet Drogonis de Nahella, Clareboldi de Vinduul, post contritionem sui exercitus crudeliter factam in regno Vngarie ad portam Meseburch: Godefridus dux regni Lotharingie uir nobilissimus fraterque eius uterinus Baldwinus, Warnerus de Greis cognatus ipsius ducis, Baldwinus pariter de Burg, Reinardus comes de Tul, Petrus quoque frater eius, Dodo de Cons, Henricus de Asca, ac frater ilius Godefridus, fortissimi milites, ac principes clarissimi eodem anno medio mensis Augusti, uiam recto itinere Ierusalem facientes.*

They stayed in quarters near the city of Tulln in the land of Austria, where the river Leitha marks the boundary and divides the kingdom of Gaul. They stayed for three weeks of September, so that they might listen and find out for what reason or how the insurrection had arisen in which, a little while before, the army of pilgrims had been destroyed and was turned aside from its plan of going to Jerusalem with its princes and leaders, and was now coming back towards them in despair.<sup>242</sup>

In contrast to the army of Emicho, which Albert depicts as attempting to bridge the river Leitha in order to attack the Hungarians, the *Historia* presents Godfrey's forces as restrained and focused on their long term goal of reaching Jerusalem.

The action that they take is the process that was lauded and shown to be successful in the first book of the *Historia*: diplomacy. Godfrey's utilisation of Godfrey of Esch, who had previously been on diplomatic missions to Hungary on behalf of the count of Bouillon,<sup>243</sup> not only provides the narrative with a means to safely transfer Godfrey of Bouillon and his men through Hungary, it also provides Albert with the opportunity to reassess the previous events and to assert a methodology for future crusaders to follow. Between two letters from either side, both classified as 'fictum' (literary and non-historical) in the Hungarian Academy of Science edition of early documents relating to Hungary,<sup>244</sup> is a speech by Coloman which is also probably 'fictum.'<sup>245</sup> There exists a possibility that the letters were based on a recollection of actual diplomatic letters, whereas Coloman's speech is likely to have been a completely fabricated insertion. Since it has been overlooked in criticism, I shall focus on the spoken response of the king. Albert places in his mouth a justification for Christians killing fellow Christians.

We are not persecutors of Christians, but whatever cruelty we have displayed towards them, or death we have inflicted on them, we carried out because we were compelled by an overwhelming necessity.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> *H. I.*, 62-63. Continuing from the previous footnote: *in terram Hosterrich ad ciuitatem Tollenburch, ubi fluuius Lintax regnum Gallie terminat et diuidit hospitio resederunt, curriculo trium ebdomadatum mensis Septembris, ut audirent et intelligerent, qua occasione uel exorta seditione peregrinorum exercitus paulo ante hos dies perierit, et a proposito eundi in Ierusalem cum suis principibus et ductoribus auersus fuerit, et iam eis in obuiam desperatus redierit.*

<sup>243</sup> *H. I.*, 62-63. The group rejects sending others, *preter Godefridum de Asca, eo quod notus esset Kalamanno regi terre, ante multum tempus huius uie in legationem ducis Godefridi missus ad eundem regem Vngarorum.*

<sup>244</sup> Georgius Györffy, *Diplomata Hungariae antiquissima* (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1992) vol. 1, 319-321. The correspondence is also questioned in László Veszprémy, *Lovagvilág Magyarországon*, 83.

<sup>245</sup> On the issue of authenticity, note the questionable setting of the scene: *H. I.*, 62-62. *Respondit rex uniuerso cetu suorum audiente.*

<sup>246</sup> *H. I.*, 62-65. *Non Christianorum persecutors sumus, sed quicquid illis crudelitatis ostendimus, aut in illorum interitu commisimus, nimia necessitate compulsi fecimus.*

Coloman's speech continues by recounting the previous crusaders desiring to pass through Hungary. The followers of Peter the Hermit are criticised for their repeated theft and violence.

For in the first place when we prepared all good things for your army which Peter the Hermit assembled, a licence was granted to buy goods in fair weight and measure, and we organized a peaceful passage for them through the land of Hungary. They returned evil to us for good; not only stealing gold and silver, horses and mules and herds from our territory, but even destroying our cities and castles and killing about four thousand of our men; they plundered possessions and clothes.<sup>247</sup>

This speech inserted by Albert censures the first waves of crusaders for their obsession with material goods, which leads them to dishonesty, crime, and soured relations with fellow Christians, especially Hungarians. The speech then mentions the forces of Gottschalk and Emico; the latter army, while not referred to by name, is singled out for their overwhelming pride and tyranny.

After Peter's company unjustly committed these quite intolerable outrages against us, Gottschalk's army followed, and the one that was destroyed, which was put to flight and which you met, laid siege to the castle and fortification of our realm at Mosony, wanting in their pride and in the tyranny of their strength to enter our domain to punish and drive us out, from whom with God's help we were only just protected.<sup>248</sup>

Coloman's speech is highly likely to be Albert seizing the opportunity to restate his criticisms of the earlier crusade. This interpretation is supported by the final statement of divine intervention at the battle at Mosony; it seems unlikely that a king would admit to being close to being defeated in battle in front of foreign dignitaries. The speech therefore is the *Historia Ierosolimitana* supporting its own conclusions.

The account of the diplomacy which follows presents both the crusaders and the Hungarians in a good light. In the details of the diplomatic meeting at the castle of Sopron, the text repeatedly mentions goodwill, trust, and good faith.<sup>249</sup> Both sides are presented as exemplary in their attempt to resolve and define the difficult issue of how a large foreign

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<sup>247</sup> *H. I.*, 64-65. *Cum enim primo exercitui uestro quem Petrus Heremita conduxit omnia bona accommodaremus, emendi licentia concessa in mensura et pondere equitatis, et pacifice illis per terram Vngarie transitum constitueremus, malum pro bono nobis reddiderunt, non solum in auro et argento, equis et mulis, et pecore regionis nostre auferentes, sed et ciuitates et castella nostra euertentes, hominesque nostros ad quatuor milia mortificantes, rebus et uestibus expoliauerunt.*

<sup>248</sup> *H. I.*, 64-65. *Post has a comitatu Petri nobis tam intolerabiles et iniuste illatas iniurias, subsequens exercitus Godescalci, et nunc recenter adtritrus, quem in fugam conuersum obuiam habuistis, castellum ac munitionem regni nostri Meseburch obsederunt, in | superbia et potentia uirtutis sue ad nos intrare uolentes, ut nos punirent et exterminarent, de quibus Deo auxiliante uix defensi sumus.*

<sup>249</sup> *H. I.*, 67-68.

army can cross another country peacefully; Godfrey's reputation is even depicted by Albert as inspiring Hungarians to travel to watch him discuss the issue.<sup>250</sup> To the audience of the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Godfrey is presented as thinking about crusading as a whole entity when he chooses to submit to giving hostages to ensure a safe passage on one key condition.

When he heard this the duke acceded to the wishes of the king in all things, and did not refuse to give the hostages he sought, making the condition, however, that after this the army of pilgrims – in [the] future as well as now – might pass through his land without any hindrance and obtain peacefully the necessities of life.<sup>251</sup>

Godfrey's adherence to crusading values is, by this wish, depicted by Albert as being, in stark contrast to his predecessors' behaviour, exemplary. In his response, Coloman too is depicted as an equally good exemplar, with the text reasserting his position as a Christian king.

Without delay, the king sealed a treaty with the duke, all the nobles of his kingdom sealed it also with a sworn oath not to harm the pilgrims further as they passed through.<sup>252</sup>

These two characters act as mirrors for each other. Godfrey's qualities of leadership are presented to the audience when Baldwin accepts his role as a hostage after Godfrey had threatened to take his place.<sup>253</sup> The text then returns to highlight the respective goodness and common sense of Godfrey and Coloman.

When then the camp had been established, and everyone settled down in their quarters, Duke Godfrey appointed heralds to announce throughout each and every household and tent that no one, under pain of death, should touch anything, or carry off anything by violence in the kingdom of Hungary, or cause any insurrection, but should purchase everything at a fair price. In the same way the king also ordered it to be announced throughout the whole kingdom that the army might procure a plentiful supply of necessities: bread, wine, corn and barley, beasts of the field, birds of the sky. And it was ordained, on pain of death, that the Hungarians should not burden the army by selling at an unjust price, or upset them, but rather they should offer all things for sale to them on lenient terms.<sup>254</sup>

<sup>250</sup> *H. I.*, 66-67. *Dehinc rex per octo plurimum conuentum suorum habens, qui etiam ad uidendum tam nominatissimum principem confluerant, querebat consilium | qua fide et fi et fiducia saluo regno suo et rebus suorum tam copiosus exercitus fortiter armatus intrmitteretur.*

<sup>251</sup> *H. I.*, 66-67. *Hiis auditis dux uoluntati regis in omnibus cessit, et obsides quos petebat dare non abnuat, hac tamen conditione, ut ultra peregrinorum exercitus, tam presens quam futurus per terram eius transiret sine aliquo obstaculo, et pacifice mutualet uite necessaria.*

<sup>252</sup> *H. I.*, 66-67. *Nec mora percussit rex foedus cum duce, percusserunt et uniuersi primores regni sui in iureiurando, non ultra peregrinis nocere transituris.*

<sup>253</sup> *H. I.*, 68-69.

<sup>254</sup> *H. I.*, 68-69. *Castris uero positis, et uniuersis hospitio sedatis, Godefridus dux precones per singulas domos et tentoria acclamare constituit, sub iudicio mortis, ne quicquam contingerent, aut uiolenter in regno Vngarie raperent, et nullam seditionem commouerent, sed omnia equo precio mutuaerentur. Similiter et rex per uniuersum regnum acclamare precepit, ut omnem copiam rerum necessariarum reperiret exercitus, in pane,*

In vivid contrast to the various leaders of the crusades in the first book of the *Historia Ierosolomitania*, who were successful only in upsetting the Hungarians while in their country, Godfrey is depicted by Albert as securing Hungary for the transit of crusades and pilgrimages in the foreseeable future. As such, in his movement through Hungary, Godfrey is presented as the epitome of a leader of a crusade, and his army evidence of a successful law-abiding military force.

Godfrey's actions in Hungary are presented as evidence of his later success. As with the earlier accounts of Walter and Peter, Hungary is a microcosm of a crusade which reflects how the crusaders will succeed. In regards to Godfrey, in comparison with Walter, the entrance of his army to Niš is peaceful and bountiful in supplies and gifts.<sup>255</sup> As such, the passage by Godfrey's army through the kingdom of Hungary at the opening of the second book of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* can be seen as Albert offering a correction for the various criticised attempts that populated the first book.

## 2. 2. Later Mentionings of Hungary in Albert's Text

In addition to the detail and length of the account of the crusaders' passage through Hungary, Albert's *Historia Iesolimitana* is notable for the text mentioning Hungary at later stages of the narrative. The first is a reference back to the early episode in the *Historia* that reinforces the earlier ideological interpretation of the previous event, and the second is a brief episode concerned with the 1101 crusade passing through Hungary that can possibly be intended to compare with the earlier described passages.

Examining these passages, it becomes apparent that Albert's stupendously huge text is as shaped and manipulated as the previously discussed texts, if not more so. A different image from the popular image of Albert as a dubious historian is reached: one which presents

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*uino, frumento et ordeo, in bestiis agri, in uolatilibus celi. Ac iussum est sub iudicio uite, ne iniusta uenditione Vngari grauarent exercitum, aut conturbarent sed potius omnia uenalia illis alleuiarent.*  
<sup>255</sup> H. I., 72-73. Sic uero pacifice ex rogatu imperatoris pertranseuntes peruenerunt Nizh presidium ipsius, ubi mira affluentia cibariorum in frumento, ordeo, uino et oleo et plurima uenatione ex imperatoris dono duci oblata est, ceteris licentia uendendi et emendi concessa.

him alongside his peers as a conscious manipulator of his chronicle, engaged in the contemporary debate about the values and meanings of a crusade.<sup>256</sup>

### 2. 2. 1. The Vision of St. Ambrose

By far the most telling segment showing the characteristics of Albert's text is the reported conversation at the siege of Nicaea in 1097. Within the conversation, the narrator makes reference back to the troublesome passage through Hungary in order to explain the present situation. In the conversation, a priest says to a pilgrim who turns out to be St. Ambrose (339-97) that different people have different perspectives on the journey. Jonathan Riley-Smith has argued that the "story [of the vision of St. Ambrose] demonstrates that contemporaries were divided in their views about the motives of the earliest crusaders."<sup>257</sup> I wish to argue that Albert's depiction of this story is more than a mere presentation of the divisive views concerning the crusades; rather, he uses the reported speech of St. Ambrose as a means to articulate and reinforce his earlier stated understanding of the crusade movement.

Before quoting the segment at length (albeit with the revelation of St. Ambrose omitted for focus), it is worth elucidating on some elements of the scene. Firstly, the choice of a saint in the vision is significant: Ambrose, dressed in the garb of a pilgrim, is thus connected symbolically with the plight of the crusaders,<sup>258</sup> thereby showing the sympathetic bias of the narrative towards those who made the journey. This is not surprising considering the opening of the *Historia Ierosolimitana*, where the composer of the narrative Albert admitted to his desire to join the crusade.<sup>259</sup>

More interesting for the structure of the work is the curious reference to Hungary. The structuralist theorist Gérard Genette in his work *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*

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<sup>256</sup> In this, I follow the argument of Siberry's *Criticism of Crusading*, in that criticism directed towards the crusades (albeit, in my view, in textual form) was intended to clarify the ideals of crusading by criticising abuses.

<sup>257</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100," *English Historical Review* 98, no. 389 (1983): 721.

<sup>258</sup> For this, see Alphonse Dupront, "La Spiritualité des croisés et des pèlerins d'après les sources de la première croisade," *Pellegrinaggi e culto santi in Europa fino alla la crociata. Convegno del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievale* 4 (1963), 461.

<sup>259</sup> *H. I.*, 2-3. *Sepius accensus desiderio eiusdem expeditionis et faciende orationis illic dum feruerem, sed minime ob diuersa impedimenta intentioni mee effectus daretur, temerario ausu decreui saltem ex hiis aliqua memorie commendare que auditu et relatione nota fierent ab hiis qui presentes affuissent; ut uel sic non n otio, sed quasi in uia si non corpore, tota mente et anima consocius esse elaborarem.*

used the term *analepsis* for “any evocation after the fact of an event that took place earlier than the point in the story where we are at any given moment.”<sup>260</sup> The dialogue in the narrative between the priest and the saint contains a clear example of such an *analepsis*. The reference to Hungary is telling, since it is known that conditions on the crusade worsened and became more harsh and more extreme.<sup>261</sup> Therefore the referring back to the events in Hungary is clearly a deliberate choice made by the author. Given the probable context in which Albert wrote (and which he described in the opening of his work), it is likely then the text is intended to engage with criticism of the crusades so that the audience is made more aware of the atrocities committed in the Kingdom in Hungary (and with potential association with the culprits) than the success in Jerusalem. This inserted speech, like in the comparable non-historic incident of Kerbogha’s mother<sup>262</sup> or the repeated instances of pre-battle orations,<sup>263</sup> while completely non-historical in the event it describes, has a historical value in that it permits us to examine contemporary discourse.

At this point a certain most faithful brother, a Lombard by race, a cleric by rank and profession, who was positioned next to the aforesaid new fortress, held out great comfort to all the desolate soldiers of Christ who were in that place, clerics, laypeople, nobles and lesser men; he lifted everyone’s hearts which were hesitating and wavering with fear, saying ‘All of you, my brothers, who are oppressed by famine and pestilence, who expect to meet death in this world surrounded by the hordes of Turks and gentiles, do not believe you are undergoing this hardship for nothing, but hear and think of the reward which Lord Jesus will give back to all of those who will die for his love and favour on this journey. For at the outset of this journey a certain priest, a man of good repute and excellent manner of life lived in Italian parts, known to me from boyhood, one day, according to his custom, took the road alone across a certain little field to the parish church which was his responsibility, where he would celebrate mass. A certain pilgrim approached him in courteous respect and asked him earnestly about this journey: what he had heard about it, or what seemed to him most important about it, since so many kingdoms, so many princes and every kind of Christian were flocking to the sepulchre of Lord Jesus Christ and the holy city of Jerusalem with one purpose and desire. The priest replied: “Different people think different things about this journey. Some say this desire has been aroused in all the pilgrims by God and Lord Jesus

<sup>260</sup> Genette’s *Narrative Discourse*, 40.

<sup>261</sup> Emily Albu, “Probing the Passions of a Norman on Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*,” in *Anglo-Norman Studies XXVII. Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2004*, ed. J. Gillingham (Woodbridge: Ashgate, 2005), 14.

<sup>262</sup> See Natasha Hodgson, “The Role of Kerbogha’s Mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade,” in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2002), 163-176, or the later version printed in Hodgson, *Women, Crusading, and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, 190-196.

<sup>263</sup> For these, see John R. E. Bleise, “Rhetoric and Morale: A Study of Battle Orations from the Central Middle Ages,” *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989): 201-226, and “The Courage of the Normans – A Comparative Study of Battle Rhetoric,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 35 (1991): 1-26.

Christ, others that the Frankish leaders and the very great common crowd are going on the journey for reasons of frivolity, and on this account so many pilgrims have met obstacles in the kingdom of Hungary and in other kingdoms, and so cannot manage to carry out their intention. And so my mind is still wavering, through for a long time affected by desire for this journey and taken up wholly by that same intention.” The aforesaid pilgrim said to him immediately: “You should not believe that the commencement of this journey was frivolous or for nothing, but that it was ordered by God, to whom nothing is impossible, and you should know that any who shall be taken by death on this journey, who became exiles in Jesus’ name and preserved with pure and blameless heart in God’s love, and abstained from avarice, theft, adultery, and fornication, shall beyond doubt be numbered, written down, and joyfully crowned among Christ’s martyrs in the court of heaven.”<sup>264</sup>

The assertions of Ambrose are clearly the assertions of the author, placing his interpretation and ideological spin on the crusader movement. The mentioning of fornication is important, for it reminds the audience of the comeuppance of the armies who were accused in the narrative of such a crime.<sup>265</sup> With reminding his audience of the behaviour of the “bad” crusaders by praising those who stayed on route to Jerusalem, Albert rewrites the First Crusade as a deliberately linear progression from Europe to Jerusalem. The issue of whether Albert is the origin of this story, or whether he took the words an oral or written source, is unimportant; the structure of the text gives the impression of integrity and agreement to the

<sup>264</sup> *HI*, 306-9. *Ad hec quidam frater fidelissimus, genere Longobardus, uita et ordine clericus, iuxta prefatum nouum presidium consistens, desolatis Christi militibus omnibus qui illic aderant, clericis, laicis, nobilibus et ignobilibus magnum exhibuit solatium, quo dubia corda cunctorum et metu fluxa releuauit dicens: ‘Fratres uniuersi qui laboratis fame et pestilentia, qui Turcorum et gentilium turbis uallati mortem temporalem speratis incurrere, non hunc gratis sufferer credatis laborem, sed audite et pensate premium quod Dominus Iesus omnibus hiis redditurus est qui est eius amore et gratia hac in uia morituri sunt. In initio namque huius uie quidam sacerdos, uir boni testimony et eximie conuersationis in Italie partibus manens, mihi a puerica notus, quadam die solito more missam celebraturus ad diocesim sibi commissam solus carpebat uiam tran spacium cuiusdam agelli. Cui in affabilitatis obsequium peregrinus quidam affuit, de uie huius instantia requirens, quid super hac audierit, aut quid primum sibi de hac uideatur, cum tot regna, tot principes et uniuersum genus Christianorum sub una intentione et desiderio ad sepulchrum Domini Iesu Christi et sanctam confluerint ciuitatem Ierusalem. Qui repondit: “Diuersi diuersa super hac sentiunt uia. Alii dicunt a Deo et Domino Iesu Christo hanc in omnibus peregrinis suscitatum uoluntatem, alii pro leuitate animi hanc Francigenas Francigenas | primores et plurimum uulgas insistere, et ob hoc in regno Vngarie et aliis in regnis tot peregrinis occurrisse impedimenta, nec ideo intentionem illorum ad effectum posse pertingere. Vnde et meus adhuc hesitat animus, diu huius uie desiderio tactus, et tota in ipsa intentione occupatus.” Cui protinus predictus peregrinus inquit: “Non leuitate aut gratis huius uie credas fuisse exordium, sed a Deo cui nihil impossibile est dispositum, et procul dubio inter martyres Christi in celi aula noueris eos computatos, ascriptos et feliciter coronatos quicumque in hac uia morte preoccupati fuerint, qui in nomine Iesu exules facti, puro et integro corde in dilectione Dei perseuerauerint, et se ab auaricia, furto, adulterio, fornicatione continuerint.”*

<sup>265</sup> *H. I.*, 48; *Hiis itaque per turmas ex diuersis regnis et ciuitatibus in unum collectis, sed namquaquam ab illicitis et fornicariis commixtionibus auersis, immoderata erat commessatio cum mulieribus et puellis, sub eiusdem leuitatis intentione egressis, assidua delectatio, et in omni temeritate sub huius uie occasione gloriatio.*



argument being put forward. With St. Ambrose being the mouthpiece, Albert is able to repeat his earlier image of crusading to his audience under the image of authority.

### 2. 2. 2. The Account of the 1101 Crusade

The *Historia Ierosolimitana* includes another mention of Hungary, albeit one that is subtler than the St. Ambrose example discussed above. In the passage nearing the close of the text, Albert describes the 1101 crusade. In contrast to the length of text used to describe the original passage through Hungary, this passage through the kingdom is deliberately brief. This is in contrast to the only other important chronicler of the 1101 crusade, the previously discussed Ekkehard of Aura, who participated in the event. Ekkehart, due to his eyewitness status, is prone to coming “across as a very opinionated writer and frequently takes sides.”<sup>266</sup> Albert, by contrast, is restrained “sober presentation”.<sup>267</sup>

At the same time as this battle took place in September, and King Baldwin had a bloody victory, in the first year of his reign, a host of Lombards from the kingdom of Italy, countless in number, who had heard of the Christians’ remarkable victory after Antioch and Jerusalem had been taken, gathered from different regions of Italy and travelled through the kingdom of Hungary, making good progress, then set out for the kingdom of the Bulgars, wanting to add reinforcements and to be of use to their Christians brothers.<sup>268</sup>

The “good progress” of the reinforcements from Lombardy through the kingdom shows, by the lack of incident, their adherence to the crusader goal. As such, the passage implies that those who adhere to the original aims can pass through the kingdom of Hungary without any difficulty. The brief paragraph, whether intended by the author or not, reinforces the points made concerning the crusade with Hungary as a textual space for discourse.

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<sup>266</sup> Alec Mulinder, “Albert of Aachen and the Crusade of 1101,” in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepolis, 1998), 70.

<sup>267</sup> Mulinder, 77. Mulinder uses the expression to refer to Albert’s use of numbers in the 1101, though I argue the expression can be used in reference to Albert’s account as a whole.

<sup>268</sup> *H. I.*, 586-587; *Eodem tempore quo bellum hoc mense Septembri actum est, et cruenta uictoria a rege Baldwinno habita, anno regni ipsius primo, gens Longobardorum numero incomputabilis de regno Italie, post captionem Antiochie et Ierusalem, audita Christianorum insigni uictoria, e diuersis regionibus Italie collecta per regnum Vngarie prospero itinere transeuntes, profecti sunt usque in regnum Bulgarorum, uolentes confratribus Christianis auxilio augeri et prodesse.*

### 2. 3. Considerations Regarding the Text of Albert of Aachen

After examining the *Historia Ierosolimitana* closely, it is worthwhile contemplating and regarding the work as a whole in order to comprehend the structure of the work. The large amount of text that Albert employs dealing with the “popular” movements of the First Crusade that entered Hungary prior to the date set by Pope Urban is unique in the historiography of the time. While this amount detail makes the *Historia* appear anomalous alongside other crusading texts of the period, analysis of its structure and content reveal that the work shares the same aim as its peers: to rewrite the events of the First Crusade in a coherent narrative form, to articulate the emerging concept of crusading, and to praise and condemn those elements that did not fit this concept. Though the size of the *Historia Ierosolimitana* may be a deterrent to a modern scholar, focusing on such a small and seemingly insignificant detail such as the utilisation of the kingdom of Hungary in the narrative provides the modern reader with an insight both into Albert’s conception and interpretation of the First Crusade, and his methodology in presenting it to his audience.

As I have demonstrated, in the first book of the *Historia*, Albert manipulates the actual conflict between the Hungarians and the first groups of crusaders as a means to present his readers with examples of how armed pilgrims should not behave. The army led by Walter provides Albert with a narrative framework in which themes can be introduced, and where the characteristics of unity, leadership, purpose, and faith can be clearly asserted. After showing the testing of Walter’s followers in Hungary, and illustrating similar tests in later geographical areas, the *Historia* establishes Hungary as the testing ground for crusaders. The army led by Peter allows the text to confirm this structure, and to reinforce the qualities praised in the earlier account. The final two versions of the “attempted journey through Hungary” framework, that of Gottschalk and Emicho, provide opposing ends of the spectrum: the first being a sympathetic exemplum of what went wrong, the latter being an outright condemnation. Therefore, in addition to countering fabrications and narratives originating from participants of these movements who fled back home, the first book of the *Historia*, therefore, can be considered as a training manual for those embarking on future crusades.

With the first book as the manual, the second book is the exemplar walk through. The presentation of Godfrey in the *Historia* is one of a highly sympathetic exemplum.

Furthermore, Albert uses the agreement reached by Godfrey and Coloman as a means to reassure his audience (some of whom might well have been survivors of such failed attempts) that the route through Hungary to the Holy Land is assessable and safe.

Regarding the later references to Hungary in the *Historia*, it becomes visible when these are placed in context that these act as reminders to the audience of the text of the original lessons established in the early stages of the crusade. The speech of St. Ambrose during difficulties experienced at Nicaea act to remind the audience that Hungary separated the real crusaders and crusade leaders from the false ones, thereby reasserting the value of those crusaders who eventually reached Jerusalem. In a less overt manner, the reference of the quick and uneventful passage of the Lombards through Hungary is a reminder that the road through Hungary is – as agreed upon by Coloman and Godfrey – open, safe, and accessible for those who follow the goals of crusading.

In this examination of the role of the kingdom of Hungary in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, it has become clear that the intricate structure that the author creates for his narrative expresses both a chronology of the events and a clear conception of what a crusade should be. As such, the *Historia*, though different in its sources and its context, belongs alongside all other twelfth century attempts to define the nature of crusading, albeit as one not unique in its argument, but unique in its depth and detail.

## Conclusion

The kingdom of Hungary appears in the western Latin accounts of the First Crusade for reasons other than simple chronology. From the earliest crusader text that discussed Hungary, the *Gesta Francorum*, the description of the route through the country is used to assert the role of the Franks in the crusade by the mentioning of the myth that Charlemagne had constructed the road. In every version in which it was discussed, the kingdom is used in the accounts to suit the intent of the author.

This thesis has charted the changing role of the kingdom of Hungary in the literature of the First Crusade. It is worthwhile to re-emphasise these differences. The expansion of the *Gesta Francorum* version by Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* is due to the author turning the event into an *exemplum* heavily influenced by the Rule of St. Benedict. This placing of interpretation over factual recollection becomes apparent when noting that the actual detail of the speed that Godfrey travelled to Constantinople appears in a later passage of the text. This utilisation of the events in Hungary to serve as an argument continues in the *Gesta Dei Per Francos* by Guibert of Nogent. In that text, Guibert separates Peter the Hermit and Godfrey of Bouillon – who, with the lack of any clear partition, are presented as travelling together in the previous accounts – and provided his audience with two accounts of the passage through the kingdom of Hungary. The first, led by Peter, is depicted as being defeated at Moson; the second, led by Godfrey, successfully travels across the kingdom. This juxtaposition permits Guibert the opportunity to use his narrative to make assertions explaining the different outcomes of the two attempts. In Guibert's account, the kingdom of Hungary is employed in the text to serve as the narrative function of a judge of which crusader army can continue to Jerusalem, and which cannot. This utilization of the kingdom for an explanation of both the narrative and for interpretative purposes appears also in Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymita*. Here, the moral and religious failings of various men and their followers are shown as being corrected by their failure to pass through Hungary with their armies. As such, I have shown that the actual history of the First Crusade regarding the battle at Moson, the attribution of the conflict – if it appears in the account at all – depends on the point that the respective author is intending to make.

This thesis has demonstrated that Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, a long neglected text recently undergone a scholarly re-evaluation, manipulated history in the same manner as the other accounts of the First Crusade that were discussed, albeit one that is more complex and, at times, more subtle. The separation of the "popular" crusade and the "knightly" crusade into two distinct books shows a similar manipulation to Guibert's *Gesta Dei Per Francos*. In Albert's text, the investigation into the failings of the various armies preceding Godfrey of Bouillon's force is similar to that contained in Ekkehard's *Hierosolymita*; both connect the failures to the motivations and actions of the respective crusader groups. However, with the *Historia*, the role of Hungary in the text is more complex and nuanced. In Albert's account of the attempt of the army led by Walter 'Sansavoir,' the kingdom is used to provide a framework for how a crusade functions. With the comparative attempt led by Peter the Hermit, Hungary becomes a means in which to assess and compare different groups of crusaders. With Albert's presentation of the characters and followers of Gottschalk and Emicho, the kingdom is given the position of carrying out the divine judgement of God; this presentation of Hungary as country closely connected to God is given a positive appreciation in Albert's account of Godfrey of Bouillon's journey, the kingdom is shown as sympathetic to the crusader cause. Albert's depiction of the kingdom of Hungary is heavily connected to the point he is intending to make.

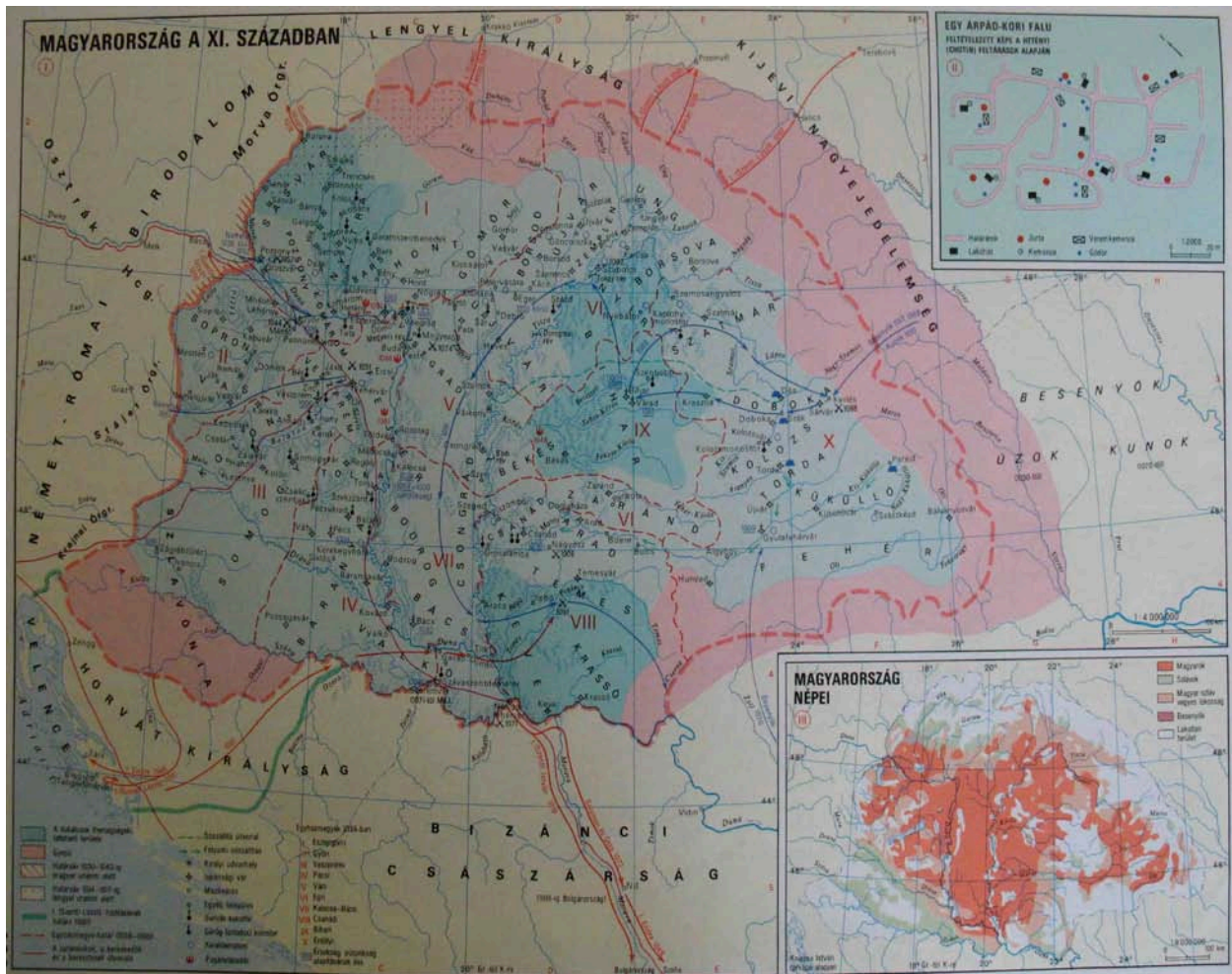
In the later accounts, the events in the land of King Coloman become a means in which the respective authors can assert which qualities are required for crusaders to be successful. In Guibert's *Gesta*, Ekkehard's *Hierosolymita*, Albert's *Historia*, the flaws of recklessness, lapses in dedication, and the following of false leaders is presented as leading to ruin when travelling to and through Hungary. This presentation, when compared to the depiction of successful transients, asserts what is required of crusaders. In Guibert's *Gesta*, this is in unambiguous terms: black and white. In the *Historia* of Albert, the role of an *exemplum* for future crusaders is more nuanced, with events in Hungary directly paralleling later events in the text, leading to the suggestion that Albert's *Historia*, in addition to collecting the history of the First Crusade, was designed to teach its audience how a crusade should work. As such, the texts can be seen as providing a discourse on the nature of crusading, and, at the same time looking backwards at what has occurred (as in the criticism of those engaged in violence against both Jews and Hungarians). Hence the failure of these transgressing groups to reach the Holy Land, is used in these texts to assert that the liberation of Jerusalem in 1099 was part of the original plan. In recounting history in this manner, the texts also look forwards by providing an *exemplum* which gives a clearer definition of what a

crusade means to the audience. This is most visible in Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, where an incident of *analepsis* in an inserted speech of St. Ambrose during difficulties at Nicaea and a later depiction of easy movement through Hungary by Lombards during the crusade of 1101, is used to reassert the earlier points made in the depiction of the First Crusade in Hungary, and, perhaps, to inspire his audience to undertake the same.

This thesis has shown that chronicles manipulate narrative like any other form of literature. It has demonstrated that modern theories and a framework that is literary can illuminate underappreciated aspects of medieval texts. Most importantly, it has shown that a greater understanding of the interpretation of historical phenomena in contemporaneous discourse appears when texts are examined individually and as a whole, rather than extracted and collated. With these tantalizing advances and the surprise at the achievement of the conclusion – as with the conquest of Jerusalem – the immediate desire is to rush more into the fray. Stepping back to be methodical, the best route forward to build on this advance is to either ground the research by examining the geographical context of the respective authors, or to continue with the investigation of the literary aspects by examining the different genres that each of the accounts of the First Crusade chose to utilise (pilgrimage narrative, *Gesta*, *Historia*, et cetera). Either option, I believe, will reach conclusions that will aid us in comprehending the curious and complex issue of how the historic events of the 1096-1099 were received, recognised, rearticulated, repackaged, and reasserted by those moved by the outcome of an movement as controversial and as widely debated then as it is now.

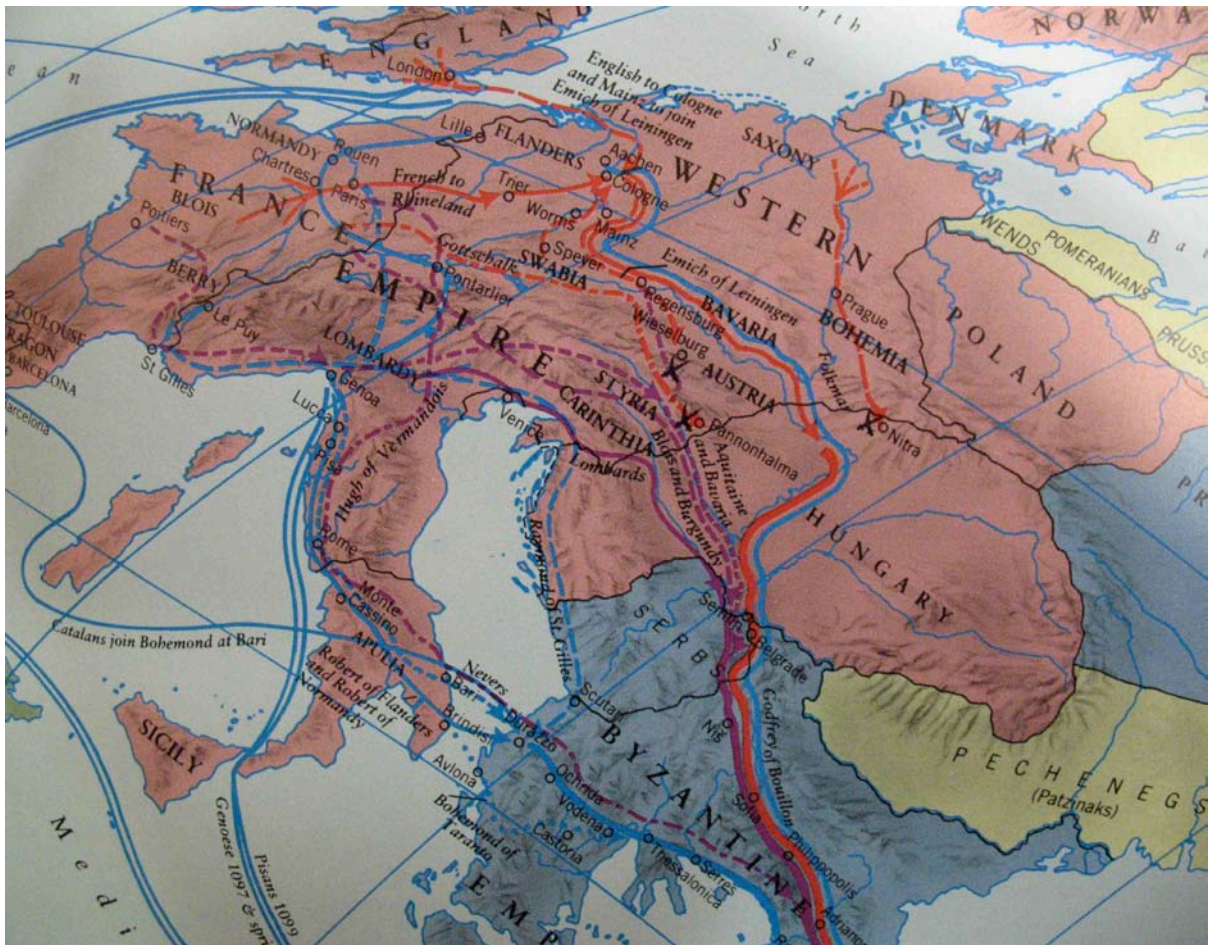
**Appendix**

**Maps of the Kingdom of Hungary and the First Crusade**



A: Map of the Kingdom of Hungary at the Time of the First Crusade from Tibor Dudar, ed, *Történelmi világtalasz* [Historical World Atlas] (Budapest: Cartographia, 1991), 109.





**B:** Map Showing the Route of the First Crusade through Europe from Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed, *The Atlas of the Crusades* (New York: Facts on File, 1991), 31 (detail).

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