



3 1761 07969735 5

THE PAPACY AND THE CRUSADERS IN
THE EAST, 1100-1160

by

John Gordon Rowe

Volume I

University of Toronto

March, 1955

7
U
1

THE PAPACY AND THE CRUSADERS IN

THE EAST, 1100-1160

by

John Gordon Rowe.

Volume I

A
thesis
submitted in conformity with the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the
University of Toronto.

March, 1955.

- - / - -

$$\frac{24.855}{24.855}$$

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

PROGRAMME OF THE FINAL ORAL EXAMINATION
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

of

JOHN GORDON ROWE

11:00 A.M., TUESDAY, MAY 10th, 1955
AT 44 HOSKIN AVENUE

THE PAPACY AND THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST, 1100-1160

COMMITTEE IN CHARGE

Professor V. W. Bladen, Chairman
Professor D. G. Creighton
Professor G. B. Flahiff
Professor B. Wilkinson
Professor M. R. Powicke
Professor F. H. Underhill
Professor G. W. Brown
Professor R. M. Saunders
Professor G. B. Phelan
Professor J. R. O'Donnell
Professor J. B. Conacher
Professor K. F. M. Helleiner
Professor E. Gilson

BIOGRAPHICAL

1925 --Born, Vancouver, Washington
1945 --S. B., Harvard University
1951 --M. A., University of Toronto
1950-53)--School of Graduate Studies, University of Toronto
1954-55)

THESIS

The Papacy and the Crusaders in the East, 1100-1160

(ABSTRACT)

This dissertation attempts to illuminate papal policy towards the Crusaders in the East by an analysis of the relationships of: 1) the Byzantine Empire to the Papacy and the Crusaders; 2) the Papacy to the spiritual and temporal powers of the Latin Orient; 3) the Papacy to the crusade movement in Europe and to Christendom as a whole.

Urban II at Clermont summoned an expedition for the liberation of Jerusalem and the offence of the Eastern Churches through the erection of Latin temporal power and the introduction of the Latin Church into Syria-Palestine. The papal attitude towards the Byzantine Empire was one of friendly cooperation while preserving independence of action. Although Urban did not wish the Crusade to estrange further the Greek and Latin Churches, he did not have church union as a principal aim of the Crusade. The papal attitude is illustrated by the oath taken by the Crusaders to Alexius (which, however, did not make them mere tools of imperial policy), in the friendly relations of Adhemar with Simeon of Jerusalem and in the restoration of the Greek Patriarch John at Antioch. This last is balanced by the fact that Raymond of Toulouse, friend of Urban and intimate of Adhemar, took the first step in the introduction of the Latin episcopate into the East. The friendly papal policy towards the Greek Church was frustrated by the intensification of animosity between Greeks and Latins during the Crusade and by the ambition of Bohemund to possess Antioch.

It was not Urban's intention to make the Kingdom of Jerusalem a church state. The vassalage of the temporal power to the Holy Sepulchre, shown by Godfrey's title, illustrated the piety of the Crusaders, not the Church's desire to be supreme. From the beginning, the temporal power was superior to the spiritual power in the establishment and organization of the Latin principalities in the East.

While this pattern proved in the long run to be dominant, it was disturbed for several years by Daimbert of Pisa. Although commissioned by Urban to lead a fleet to the East, Daimbert was no papal legate. Once in the East, this ambitious churchman combined with Bohemund to capture the Jerusalem patriarchate for himself. He then invested Godfrey and Bohemund with their lands, establishing his spiritual suzerainty over the Latin East as well as giving Bohemund support in his illegal possession of Antioch. However, he was still not satisfied: from Godfrey he extorted full sovereignty over Jerusalem and Jaffa and even ceased to have regard for the primacy of Rome.

Daimbert's ambition was checked from two sides. Baldwin I refused to allow him any suzerainty whatsoever over the kingdom. The papal legate Mauritius refused to sanction Daimbert's theocratic notions and, realizing the dangers to which Daimbert's ambitions had exposed the Latin Orient, eventually deposed him. With Daimbert and his successors, despite the difficulties in communication and in the administration of papal authority, Paschal II laboured to restore the original pattern in which the balance of power lay with the temporal authority as long as the canonical rights of the Church were respected. Hence, Baldwin took the initiative in the erection of the see of Bethlehem, as vassal of the Sepulchre, not of the Papacy. The papal objective was the harmony of the two powers for the sake of the Crusade and the exaltation, under a papal aegis, of the Jerusalem Church as a "model of Latin purity" in the East.

Over the Crusade movement proper, the Papacy's influence declined. The Crusade of 1101 arose spontaneously, and although Paschal gave it his full support,

little papal influence was exercised upon it. In regard to the Greeks, Paschal did not have Urban's sensitive concern. Mauritius did not protest the expulsion of John from Antioch, and Paschal probably did not give the leaders of the Crusade of 1101 any detailed instructions concerning the Greeks. Latin hate for the Greeks increased despite Alexius' attempts to win Latin favour. When Bohemund was forced to seek assistance for his war against Alexius, Paschal gave him his blessing. However, when Bohemund returned from France, the Pope refused to be drawn further into the Norman's plan for the conquest of the Byzantine Empire. Paschal had realized that this "third Crusade" was only a cloak for Bohemund's ambition.

Bohemund, by the treaty of Devol in September 1108, recognized the Greek claim to Antioch and its patriarchal throne. The mutual suspicion existing between the heads of Latin and Greek Christendom was illustrated when in 1111 Alexius sought the imperial crown of the West. Alexius wished to unify the imperial crowns, detach the Papacy from the Normans, and prevent future papal approval of expeditions similar to Bohemund's in 1107-1108. In reply, the Papacy insisted on a Greek alliance with the Normans and the submission of the Greek hierarchy to Rome. The two conceptions, Byzantine and papal, of the proper ordering of human society, which underlay these demands and counterdemands, helped to bring these negotiations to nothing.

A serious controversy arose under Paschal, involving the patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch. Following the lead of the King of Jerusalem, Paschal awarded to the Jerusalem Church the control of certain cities which the King of Jerusalem had reconquered from the infidel. Since these cities had once belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch, that see protested the action. Although he rejected Antioch's protests, Paschal sought to reconcile the two sees, not wishing to sacrifice any ecclesiastical dignity to the power of a prince or vice-versa. This ambiguous policy was abandoned by his successors since it would have divided spiritual and temporal loyalties in the East. Further, Antioch's future as a Latin principality was in doubt, and the exaltation of Jerusalem spiritually and temporally was only a logical development of the original purpose of the Crusade. The controversy became more acute with the capture of Tyre. Antioch's claims to the see of Tyre were set aside by the Papacy. However, despite years of command and exhortation, the see of Tyre remained divided. The northern sees of the County of Tripoli remained obedient to the Patriarch of Antioch while Tyre and its southern suffragan sees remained obedient to Jerusalem. In their disobedience to the papal command that they obey the Archbishop of Tyre and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the bishops of Tripoli were probably motivated by a desire for independence, assisted in this by the restiveness of the Counts of Tripoli under their bond of vassalage to Jerusalem. Antioch responded to Roman policy with hostility and defiance. The Patriarch Ralph of Antioch refused to acknowledge the Roman primacy. Although the combined power of Rome, Jerusalem and the Prince of Antioch eventually effected his deposition, Antioch remained hostile to Rome.

During these years, relations between the Greek and Latin Churches continued to deteriorate. John II Comnenus thwarted papal attempts to achieve reunion. Greek hostility to Rome was made plain in the virulent criticism of the Papacy made by a member of a Greek legation to Lothair of Germany. Despite her difficulties with the patriarchate of Antioch, Rome acted to save the principality for the Latins when John Comnenus descended upon Antioch in 1137. Innocent II threatened with excommunication any Latin who served in the Greek armies. The Bishop of Jabala ordered John away from Antioch in the name of the Pope and the Western Emperor. John, realizing that the Greek occupation of Antioch would have serious consequences for his relations with both the Papacy and Conrad of Germany, contented himself with a mere formal suzerainty over the principality.

Through these years, the Papacy attempted to further the cause of the Crusade among the Latin faithful. Especially noteworthy was the rise to power and strength, under papal guidance, of the great religio-military Orders of the Hospital and the Temple. When the fall of Edessa aroused great feeling in Europe, Eugene III took the initiative in summoning a new Crusade. However, papal influence in this Crusade was not as direct as in the days of Adhemar and Urban. St. Bernard, at papal request, assumed the burden of preaching. The two *bona fide* papal legates exercised little influence over the armies. Although Eugene hoped that the Crusade might prove to be an occasion for the reunion of the churches, his desire was frustrated by circumstances.

After the Second Crusade, Bernard and Suger sought to raise a new expedition to relieve the Latin Orient. Their efforts were supported by Peter the Venerable, who wished to punish the Greeks for their "treachery", and by Roger, who wished to turn the expedition against the Byzantine Empire. Relations between the Greeks and Latins were complicated by the rival ambitions of Manuel Comnenus and Roger of Sicily. Eugene feared Roger for his ambition and Manuel for his desire to re-establish Greek power in Italy. The Pope also feared the consequences of the re-affirmation of the East-West alliance by Manuel and Conrad after the latter's ignominious defeat in Asia Minor. The papal power in Italy was weak due not only to Roger but also the power of the Roman commune. Despite these dangers, Eugene refused to sanction a perversion of the Crusade idea. His policy was assisted by Conrad's fidelity to the Greek alliance and by French indifference to the exhortations of Suger and Bernard. Those who cried for revenge on the Greeks were ignored and Roger was robbed of a weapon in his war against Manuel.

Manuel's ambitions were kept in check at first by the collapse of the East-West alliance, by the agreement of the Papacy and the Western Emperor to prevent the establishment of Greek power in Italy, and by the continuing war with Roger. In the East, Raymond of Antioch had been forced to acknowledge Byzantine suzerainty over Antioch. With great reluctance the Latin princes of the East looked more and more to Manuel as a possible source of strength. Baldwin's marriage to the Greek Theodora was followed by Manuel's descent upon Antioch. Renaud of Chatillon humbled himself in the most abject fashion before the Emperor, and Antioch's place in the Empire was triumphantly re-affirmed.

To this ascendancy of the Greeks over the Latin Orient, the Papacy lent tacit approval. Increasingly estranged from Barbarossa, and forced to make peace with William of Sicily, Hadrian in his closing years laboured to reconcile the Greeks and the Normans. He also opened negotiations for reunion between the Latin and Greek Churches. Hence the papal acceptance of Manuel's position in the Latin Orient. For the first time since Urban II, co-operation between Pope and Emperor for the sake of the Crusade became a genuine possibility.

The recognition of the strength which the Greeks might bring to the Crusaders in the East was strengthened by the papal realization that Europe was largely indifferent to the need of the Latin Orient. For this reason the Papacy encouraged all the more the support of the faithful for the military Orders. Further, sensing the loss in prestige which the Second Crusade had cost the Apostolic See, Hadrian exercised caution when approached by Louis of France in regard to a new crusade in Spain.

In the East, the papal prestige declined somewhat after the debacle of the Second Crusade. The Patriarch of Antioch remained in control of the sees of Tripoli. In Jerusalem, many clergy blamed the Papacy for the continuing disunity in the see of Tyre. Many resented also the power and prestige of the Orders, and their resentment against Rome was increased when the Pope refused to heed Fulcher of Jerusalem's remonstrances. The drift of the Latin Orient away from papal influence is evident in the discussions surrounding the admission of the representative of Alexander III into the country and in the indifference of the kings of Jerusalem to the papal command that they honour their treaties with Genoa.

GRADUATE STUDIES

Major Subject:

Europe in the Twelfth Century - Professor G. B. Flahiff

Minor Subjects:

Europe, 1350-1500 - Professor M. R. Powicke

Europe, 1648-1789 - Professor R. M. Saunders

Mediaeval Philosophy - Professor E. Gilson

C O N T E N T S

Volume I

Preface	page	i
List of Abbreviations		v
The Sources		vii
Bibliography		
Collections		xxxix
Sources		xlii
Secondary Works		lvii
Part One	The Reign of Paschal II	page 1

Volume II

Part Two	Pope, Greek and Crusader	225
Part Three	The Second Crusade	334
Part Four	Hedrian IV	473
Conclusion		540

PREFACE.

PREFACE

It should be stated at once that this thesis is not a new history of the crusade.¹ Rather it is our purpose to attempt an analysis of the relationship between the Papacy and the crusaders in the East from 1100 to 1160.

The importance of the crusades in the history of Europe has long been recognized.² Accordingly, a voluminous bibliography has developed during the past hundred years, notably by French and German scholars, and then recently by the American school of crusading historiography which owed its origin to the activity and inspiration of Dana C. Munro.³

Despite the interest accorded by scholars to the crusade, there still remains the need for the study which we propose. The divisions of the thesis illustrate our intentions. There is a chronological division which is not only necessary in order to keep control over the material in question but also for the illumination of the developments in papal policy from 1100 to 1160. Further, each chronological section is divided into three parts. The first is devoted to an analysis of the part played by the Byzantine Empire. Here the question revolves around the problem of the reunion between the churches and the influence which the crusade and the Latin establishments in the Holy Land exercised on the relations between Rome and Constantinople and, conversely, with the effects which the Byzantine Empire had upon the relationship between the Papacy and the crusade movement to the East.

The second section of each chronological division is devoted to an analysis of the Papacy in its relation to the Latin establishments in Syria-Palestine. Here the questions are to what extent did

the Popes attempt to regulate the relationship between the regnum and the sacerdotium in the East? In short, what were the fundamental concerns and aims in the papal dealings with Jerusalem and Antioch from 1100 to 1187?

Finally, there is a third section which attempts to draw the threads of the previous two sections together and further to relate these, if possible, to the papal direction of the crusade in Europe and to the general development of papal policy in Europe. In this way, we shall attempt to illuminate the papal policy towards the crusade, in regard to the Latins in the East, in connection with the Byzantine Empire and the Greek Church, and, finally, in regard to Europe, to the preaching and organization of the crusade. The results of the investigation will be set within the context of the ever-developing role which the Papacy played in the affairs of Christendom as a whole.

Therefore it is seen that this thesis is not only a work of investigation into original sources but also to some extent a work of synthesis. Although every effort has been made to reduce this latter aspect to the barest essentials, it was found necessary, in order to accomplish the plan of the thesis, to set the results of the investigation of the pertinent sources within the context of the general history of the Church in Europe, of the Byzantine Empire in the twelfth century and of the Latin States in the East in order that the results of the investigation might be seen in their fullest perspective.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my teachers, Professor B. Wilkinson of the University of Toronto, who has never ceased to encourage me in my work, and the Reverend Father George B. Flahiff, C.S.B., of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies

in Toronto, whose charity and scholarship have guided me unfailingly through the composition of this thesis.

".....honor to whom honor is due....."

1. The reader's attention is drawn to the bibliography and especially to the pages listing abbreviations used throughout this thesis.
2. It is to the French that credit is due for having realized the great importance of the crusades. In 1806, the French Academy and the then National Institute offered a prize for the best historical work dealing with the effect of the Crusades upon the peoples of Europe. In 1808, the French Academy crowned the work of A. Heeren and Choiseul Daillecourt. Together with the work of the German, Wilken, these may be taken as the beginning of modern study of the Crusades.
3. For two general surveys dealing with the state of historical studies of the Crusades, see John La Monte, "Some Problems in Crusading Historiography", (Speculum, XV, 1940), pp. 57-75 and T.S.R. Boase, "Recent Developments in Crusading Historiography", (History, XXII, 1937), pp. 110-125.

ABBREVIATIONS

(For full citations, see "Collections" in Bibliography).

<u>AASS</u>	<u>Acta Sanctorum</u>
<u>AOL</u>	<u>Archives de l'Orient Latin,</u> edited by Paul Riant.
<u>CSHB</u>	<u>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae.</u>
<u>Dölger</u>	<u>Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des</u> <u>Ostromischen Reiches,</u> edited by F. Dölger.
<u>FSI</u>	<u>Fonti per la Storia d'Italia.</u>
<u>Grumel</u>	<u>Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarchat</u> <u>de Constantinople,</u> edited by V.Grumel.
<u>Hag. Epistulae</u>	H.Hagenmeyer, <u>Die Kreuzzugsbriefe.</u>
<u>JGR</u>	<u>Jus graeco-romanum,</u> edited by C.A. Zacharia von Lingenthal.
<u>JL</u>	<u>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum,</u> Ph. Jaffé, re-edited by W.Waittenbach, S. Löwenfeld and others.
<u>Mansi</u>	J.D.Mansi, <u>Sacrorum Conciliorum Amplis-</u> <u>sima Collectio.</u>
<u>Miklosich-Müller</u>	<u>Acta et Diplomata Graeca,</u> edited by F.Miklosich and J.Müller.
<u>MGSS</u>	<u>Monumenta Germaniae Historica (MGH).</u> <u>Scriptores.</u>
<u>Müller</u>	<u>Documenti sulle relazioni della città</u> <u>Toscane coll'Orienti Cristiano e col</u> <u>Turchi,</u> edited by G.Müller.

<u>PG</u>	<u>Patrologia Graeco-Latina</u> , edited by J.P.Migne.
<u>PL</u>	<u>Patrologia Latina</u> , edited by J.P.Migne.
<u>RHCarmen</u>	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents Armeniens.</u>
<u>RHCGr</u>	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Grecs.</u>
<u>RHCLois</u>	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Lois.</u>
<u>RHCOcc</u>	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux.</u>
<u>RHCOri</u>	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Orientaux.</u>
<u>RHGF</u>	<u>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</u> , edited by M. Bouquet and others.
<u>RISS</u>	L.A.Muratori, <u>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</u>
<u>RISS</u> (new)	L.A.Muratori, <u>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</u> , new edition edited by G.Cerducci and others.
<u>RR</u>	R.Röhricht, <u>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani.</u>
<u>RS</u>	<u>Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores.</u>
<u>Tafel-Thomas</u>	G.L.F. <u>Tafel</u> and G.M.Thomas, <u>Urkunden --- der Republik Venedig.</u>

THE SOURCES

I. Greek, Syriac, Armenian and Arabic Sources.

The student of twelfth century Byzantine history is comparatively fortunate in the possession of several long historical works produced, for the most part, under the house of the Comneni. The first in importance is the prose epic poem of Anna Comnena celebrating the achievements of her father, the Emperor Alexius I. Comnenus.¹

The Alexiad has at first glance many limitations. It is a work which the Princess Anna began in her old age. While the date of composition remains obscure, it is most likely that Anna, using material collected over many years, did the major portion of her historical writing during the last years of the reign of John Comnenus (1118-1143) and the opening years of the reign of Manuel Comnenus (1143-1180). It is probable that she was still writing in the year 1148.² Being a work of her old age, we should not be surprised to find her chronology at times hopelessly confusing and even inaccurate.³ Other faults are plain. The Alexiad is a panegyric on the life and labours of her father whose memory was terra sacra to his daughter.⁴ Hating her brother, John, and presumably his son, Manuel, her nephew, Anna undoubtedly painted the glories of Alexius all the brighter to confound the achievements of his successors. Her history is also marked occasionally by self-pity⁵ and often by affectation, being written in a style and language, archaic and artificial.⁶ Her prejudices, e.g., her hatred of Gregory VII and her scorn for the barbarians, among whom she places the Latins, are clearly marked and thus easy to avoid.

Nonetheless, despite these rather obvious faults, the Alexiad remains invaluable. The work of a highly educated woman,⁷

who devoted care to the verification of her sources,⁸ the Alexiad, based on personal recollection, official documents and conversations with those intimate with Alexius, is a faithful record of political and military history in the reign of Alexius I.

Anna is not reliable in her reporting of events which occurred outside the history of the Empire. Further, her work tells us little of the social and economic developments within the realm.⁹ However, the Alexiad remains a true and vivid monument to the great brilliance and zeal of Anna's father.¹⁰

We should mention the work of Michael Attaliates which tells us a little concerning the early life of Alexius Comnenus, embracing as it does the years 1034-1079.¹¹ The next work is the history of Nicephorus Bryennius who undertook, at the command of the Empress Irene, to write a biography of the Emperor Alexius.¹² He did not live to finish his work, the history being more a prologomenon to the reign of Alexius, dealing with the fortunes of the imperial throne from the reigns of Isaac Comnenus to the reign of the Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates.¹³ In many ways the work of Anna Comnena continues the history begun by her husband, the Caesar Nicephorus.¹⁴ His writing, although simple in style, indicates undue partiality for the members of the house of the Comneni.¹⁵

Many of the omissions from the history of Anna Comnena are supplied by the work of John Zonaras,¹⁶ whose work was composed between 1143 and 1155.¹⁷ To his work we may couple the chronicle of Glycas, written towards the end of the twelfth century.¹⁸ Glycas composed a universal chronicle which ends with the death of Alexius. It has little value for our topic.¹⁹ Finally, we mention the anonymous work known as the Synopsis Sathas.²⁰ It also contains little of pertinent value to our investigation.

A Greek historian of interest is John Skylitzes, who wrote towards the close of the eleventh century. He is of particular value to us in that he furnishes us with useful information concerning the Normans of South Italy and their relations with Constantinople.²¹

Special mention should be made of the writings of Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople,²² John IV. the Oxite, Patriarch of Antioch,²³ and especially of Theophylact, Archbishop of Achrida in Bulgaria.²⁴ All these writers furnish us with details as to matters ecclesiastical. Further, the Archbishop of Bulgaria gives us some details as to the progress of the crusades across the Balkan peninsula. Beyond this there is little pertinent evidence surviving by way of imperial archives. The letters of Alexius to the West exist only in Latin translation. For these letters, I have relied on Franz Dölger's register of the Emperors of Constantinople. Another valuable register utilized is that of V. Grumel for the Patriarchate of Constantinople. For the pertinent imperial legislation of this period, we have used the standard collection of C.A. Zacharia von Lingenthal.²⁵

As for the Greek sources for the reign of John and Manuel Comnenus, we find the work of Kinnamos²⁶ which was intended to form a continuation to the history of the house of the Comneni initiated by Nicephorus Bryennius and continued so magnificently by Anna Comnena. John Kinnamos himself was born c. 1145, and as we might expect, his opening book, which is devoted to the reign of John Comnenus, is a trifle perfunctory. However, John, who lived into the reign of the Emperor Andronicus,²⁷ in his maturity held a position well calculated to serve his interests as a historian. He

was Manuel's secretary, accompanying him on many campaigns, with full access to diplomatic archives.²⁸ His history therefore has something of an official flavour, and John excels particularly in his accounts of Manuel's military operations. Kinnamos, although a sober observer, who relied mostly on his own observation and the carefully sifted reports of others, began his work after Manuel's death. Perhaps influenced by the rejection of Manuel's pro-Latin policy and repelled by the hideous cruelties of the Emperor Andronicus, John tended to idealize his master. This attitude was influenced by the fact that Kinnamos shared with Manuel the dream of the restoration of the Empire to its status as in the days of Justinian. Thus he was, to some degree, blind to the disastrous consequences to which Manuel's dreams had led the Empire. Further, his work is marred by an occasional jingoism which is revealed most clearly in his account of the Second Crusade. Whatever we may think of his anti-Latin prejudices,²⁹ they are nonetheless most precious to us as an indication of that Greek revulsion of feeling which was to find expression in the violent outbreaks against the Latins after Manuel's death.³⁰

Although a scrupulous writer, with a clear sense of the responsibility of reporting accurately, it should be pointed out that his chronology is most confusing. John had a disconcerting method of procedure whereby he would group together all events relating to one particular line of imperial policy without indicating their chronological relation.³¹ Secondly, it should be remarked that his long quotations from imperial letters reveal that he has exercised his talents more towards a literary re-creation rather than a faithful summary of their contents.³¹ Beyond this, Kinnamos is a

most reliable writer.

Nicetas Akominafos Choniates is an excellent contrast to Kinnamos.³² Raised at the imperial court to be a civil servant, brother to the distinguished ecclesiastic Michael Akominafos who was Metropolitan of Athens, Nicetas survived the sack of Constantinople in 1204, taking refuge at the court of Theodore Lascaris, dying there between 1210 and 1220. An educated and cultivated man, skilled in rhetoric, a moralist, a trifle credulous, Nicetas' work, which was composed independent of Kinnamos, is an excellent and reliable source for the latter half of the reign of Manuel. Unlike Kinnamos he reveals a discreetly critical attitude towards Manuel. This may well be because he lived to see the dreadful consequences of Manuel's work.³⁵ Survivor of the catastrophe of 1204, it is natural that his history is marked by anti-Latin sentiment. Not only this, Nicetas is valuable in that we often hear echoes of ecclesiastical discontent over Manuel's policies which approached so often the point of reunion with Rome.³⁴ In general, Nicetas' chronology is more reliable than Kinnamos. However, for the early portions of his work, we must exercise considerable care, particularly in regard to his account of the Second Crusade. For the events within his lifetime, however, Nicetas used his own personal observation and also the reports of eyewitnesses. His writing is distinguished by a genuine sense of history and real feeling for the diplomatic complexities of the Empire's existence in the latter half of the twelfth century.³⁵

In closing off this section, we mention in passing the name of Theodore Prodromus who shall be cited in the notes of this thesis.

Occasional use has been made of several important Syriac,

Armenian and Arabic sources although their material is usually not germane to our investigation. Of special note are the following: Matthew of Edessa and his continuator, Gregory the Priest.³⁶ Of the greatest historical value is the work of Michael the Syrian, Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch.³⁷ Another leading Syriac historian is Bar Hebraeus.³⁸ Two useful Arabic sources are Ibn al-Qalanisi³⁹ and Usama ibn Munquidh.⁴⁰

II. Papal Documents.

The pertinent papal documents have been collected in register form by Jaffé, re-edited and enlarged by W. Wattenbach, S. Löwenfeld and others. This great collection was continued by A. Potthast. Through these registers we find our way into the collection of papal letters edited by Löwenfeld and Pflugk-Harttung and also into the great collection of sources for the history of Europe in the Middle Ages. The results of new research in papal documents may be found in the collections made by Brackmann and Kehr, and also in the many scholarly journals of Europe, notably in the Neues Archiv. Finally, we should cite the great edition of Louis Duchesne of the Liber Pontificalis.⁴¹

III. Latin Crusade Documents.

The modern student of the crusades is fortunate in that he has at his disposal the great French collection Recueil des Historiens des Croisades with its edition of Latin documents and narrative sources, in addition to selections from Armenian, Greek, Arabic and Syriac writers. Also much valuable work on letters and other sources relating to the crusades has been preserved for us in Paul Riant's Archives de l'Orient Latin and by Hagenmeyer in his special collection of letters relating to the First Crusade.⁴²

In regard to the individual Latin crusade sources,⁴³ our attention should first of all be directed towards the Anonymi Gesta Francorum et Aliorum Hierosolimitorum.⁴⁴ This short work, composed as a kind of diary, does not reveal the name of its author nor has any attempt to identify the author succeeded.⁴⁵ Perhaps a knight who held a small fief in south Italy, the author went to the East in the armies of Bohemund and Tancred and later served in the army of Raymond of Toulouse. A work, written in the simple and plain language of a soldier, revealing the author's religious naivete, his curiosity, his primitive ethical perception and his enthusiasm for the deliverance of the Holy Land, the Gesta remains one of the most precious single documents relating to the First Crusade, a veritable mine of precise and reliable information.

The work ends with the account of the battle of Ascalon and seems to have been published at once. It became widely popular, producing a group of accounts of the First Crusade which may be mentioned together since they have the Gesta as their common parent and basis.⁴⁶

With some useful interpolations into the original text,⁴⁷ Bohemund took the Gesta with him to Western Europe in 1104-1105, where he used it as an apologia for his ambitious design against Alexius I. Comnenus, a procedure possible since it is clear, even without the later interpolations, that to the author of the Gesta, Bohemund was the hero of the First Crusade.

Somewhere between 1102 and 1111, a Poitevin priest named Tudebodus re-published the Gesta, remaining almost completely faithful to the text of the Gesta before him.⁴⁸ A crusader himself, Tudebodus added some personal memories and anecdotes.

The new editions of the Gesta continued. The Archbishop of Dol, Baldric of Bourgueil, c. 1108-1110, sought to set the expedition in a more suitable light by re-writing the Gesta in what he considered to be a more cultivated literary style. His work also contains personal reminiscences.⁴⁹ So also the work of Guibert of Nogent who adopted not only a more elaborate style but also a more exalted moral tone. To these additions of dubious value, Guibert drew in places upon certain letters and also upon the work of Fulcher. His work is dated c. 1109, i.e., contemporaneous to the efforts of Baldric.⁵⁰

However, the most popular of these later editions of the Gesta is the work of Robert the Monk, deposed Abbot of Senae, who composed his history at Saint-Remi. A kind of romanticised version of the Gesta. Robert's work appeared around 1122.⁵¹ It adds to the Gesta, beyond extravagance of style, a little original information and a little crusade poetry. It should be said that these new editions of the Gesta, with all their literary pretensions, obscure the precise reporting of their original with verbiage, ridiculous and redundant grammatical constructions and other literary affectations.

The adventures of the Gesta were by no means over. It was used by the excellent Norman historian Orderic Vitalis.⁵² by Hugh of Fleury,⁵³ Henry of Huntingdon⁵⁴ and by the Chronique de France of Fleury-sur-Loire.⁵⁵ Not only this, between 1130 and 1140, a monk of Monte Cassino combined the Gesta with the work of Ralph of Caen, adding in clumsy fashion a few original bits of evidence and several legends, part of the growing crusade hagiography.⁵⁶ Other derivations from the Gesta would include the Expositio contra Turcos⁵⁷

and the Historia Nicaena⁵⁸ and the Breviarium passagii in Terram Sanctam,⁵⁹ the second being composed for Baldwin III of Jerusalem and, along with the Breviarium, derived from the Gesta via the work of Robert the Monk. The Gesta also influenced through Robert the crusade poetry of the twelfth century.

A history of the crusade of the Provençal army is supplied by the priest, Raymond of Aguilers, who was chaplain to Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, and then to Raymond of Toulouse.⁶⁰ Begun during the siege of Antioch and ending with the year 1099, Raymond's work is marked by sincerity, precision in reporting and, especially significant, lack of sympathy for Raymond's pro-Byzantine policies.⁶¹ A work, whose popularity is indicated by the many interpolations into the existing text, Raymond's account remains a precious eye-witness narrative. Curiously enough, despite its popularity, his work was never re-edited.

The history of Fulcher of Chartres is also the work of an eye-witness.⁶² Present at Clermont, Fulcher went to the East with the army of his overlord, Stephen of Blois. In June 1097, he became chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne, the conqueror of Edessa, in whose company he remained, thus providing us with precious details concerning the life of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in its early years. His history, written in three, or possibly, four stages, to 1101, to 1106, and to 1124-1127, is of such a high standard as to make him, all in all, the most reliable of the Latin chroniclers of the First Crusade. A sober and intelligent man, whose objectivity in judgment appears most noticeably in his general impartiality towards the Greeks, his writing was used by later writers, especially the great chroniclers of the early twelfth century, William of Malmesbury,

Richard of Poitiers⁶⁴ and Siccard of Cremona.⁶⁵ We have already alluded to Fulcher's influence upon the Historia Nicaeana (after 1100), and the work of Guibert. His work was utilized by Bartolf of Nangis who composed in Syria, 1108-1109, a summary of the earlier portions of Fulcher, adding considerable topographical information as well as pious legends.⁶⁶ Another brief summary of the later chapters of Fulcher is attributed to Lisiard of Tours.⁶⁷

We now consider three important Latin sources for the crusade who did not go to the East in the original expedition. A former monk of Corbie who became Abbot of St. Lawrence of Aura, Ekkehard went to the East with the crusaders of 1101. Sometime about 1115 he returned to Germany and wrote the work Hierosolymita⁶⁸ which he intended to be part of a greater historical undertaking, a world chronicle. Ekkehard was familiar with the Gesta, the original redaction of which perhaps he saw in Jerusalem in 1101.⁶⁹ To his original Ekkehard added what he could glean from members of the original expedition still in the Holy Land and what he himself had seen and experienced on the crusade of 1101, the chief value of the work. It cannot be said that Ekkehard possessed a critical spirit. He faithfully reported without any criticism all rumours, especially those which were useful in expressing his profound hatred of Alexius I

Another author of interest is Ralph of Caen.⁷⁰ Born some time in the last quarter of the eleventh century, Ralph joined the armies of Bohemund which invaded the Byzantine Empire in 1107. He was one of those who, after the defeat of the Latins, elected to continue on to the East. There he joined Tancred, and upon the latter's death, proceeded to compose a history celebrating the deeds of his deceased master in the First Crusade and in the East until his death.⁷¹ The work follows other predecessors in crusade

chronicles⁷² although what new information he gives is sober and precise. Ralph is particularly useful for his portrayal of the relations between the crusaders and the Greeks, and especially between Alexius and Tancred. It is unfortunate that he was a man of great ignorance who persisted in composing his history in a style pretentious to the point of absurdity. No doubt he considered it appropriate for the delineation of the glories of his hero, Tancred.

A final history, which also has its origins in the East, is the history of Walter, chancellor to Roger of Antioch. Although this work only covers the years 1115-1122, it is of great value to us. Primarily a record of the struggle against the heathen, the history of Walter gives us information concerning the institutions of Latin Syria as well as political and ecclesiastical events.⁷³

With Albert of Aachen we reach what might be called the second generation of medieval chroniclers of the First Crusade.⁷⁴ Until the middle of the last century, the work of Albert was considered to be the most authoritative of the medieval chroniclers of the First Crusade. However, the work of the canon of Aachen⁷⁵ was attacked by von Sybel, whose destructive criticism was to provoke a long debate concerning the reliability of Albert's work. At first glance Albert presents difficulties. Side by side we find reports manifestly legendary and accounts which must have been provided by eye witnesses.⁷⁶ The only explanation is that Albert for a long time made it his practice to note down the reports of travellers, soldiers and pilgrims, merchants and jongleurs, who passed through Aachen.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, he did not cite his sources, and it is likely that we shall never be certain of his reliance on previous writers, such as the author of Gesta. As for the legends, they

might may well have arisen from the stories told him by his informants, from the piety of his own mind and from the growing hagiography surrounding the First Crusade. While we may regret that Albert seems to have possessed little critical sense, and that he failed to cite his sources, it remains fairly easy to discern legend from sober and reliable information.⁷⁸ As for the date of composition, we must place it between 1119 and 1150.⁷⁹

IV. Documents relating to the Latin Orient and to the Italian Maritimes.

The violent character of life in the Holy Land prevented the survival of the local archives. However, we do possess the records of some of the religious communities which are occasionally useful to our purpose.⁸⁰

Indispensable is the Regesta of R. Rohricht for the collation of these various collections.⁸¹ Further, we should mention the archives of the maritime city-states of Italy which preserve to our use records of official treaties and other transactions between these cities and the Latins in the Orient.⁸²

In this connection, we may mention the work of the Genoese historian of the Crusade, Caffaro. The family of Caffaro had been constant visitors to the Holy Land since 1100. Author of the Annales of Genoa which extend from 1100 to 1163, Caffaro wrote his history c. 1155. In many ways he impresses us with his reliability although his devotion to all things Genoese makes us quite properly suspect many of his reports. Caffaro's history was only discovered among old papers a century after its composition, and it may have been altered slightly prior to its publication.⁸³ Mention should be made here of the Historia Ducum Veneticorum, the Annales Venetices Breves, the Chronicon of Dandolo and the Annales Pisani.⁸⁴

V. William of Tyre.

We come now to one of the most remarkable historians of the Middle Ages.⁸⁵ Born in the East about the year 1130, William of Tyre was soon noticed by prominent ecclesiastics of Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and sent across the sea to pursue his legal studies in Italy. He returned sometime towards the year 1163 to pursue the career of an ecclesiastic in the church of Tyre. In the year 1167, Amaury won his greatest triumph over the heathen in Egypt. Requiring a historian to celebrate his military achievements, he chose William who became Archdeacon of Tyre with a stipend quite ample enough to support his historical work. The Archdeacon was well qualified as a royal historiographer, being acquainted with Arabic and Greek since an early age, the language of the court, French, and perhaps some Hebrew and Persian, not to mention his superior gifts of intelligence and insight enhanced by his European training. William seems to have won increased royal favour. He was used on diplomatic missions. In 1170, Amaury entrusted to William's care his son and heir, the tragic Baldwin IV. Under this favouring star, William's ambitions as a historian increased. He knew the works of previous writers on the Crusade, especially Fulcher who had chronicled the fortunes of the Kingdom of Jerusalem until the year 1127. Not only this, to the Jerusalem of the reign of Amaury, the earlier Latin chroniclers of the crusading movement must have looked inadequate indeed. Accordingly, William extended the scope of his original intention which had been limited to the achievements of Amaury.⁸⁶ Thus his monumental history was born.⁸⁷ In 1174, William was named Chancellor of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and in 1175, he was confirmed in his possession of the archiepiscopal

see of Tyre. Encouraged by royal patronage and his success in the church, William continued to work on his histories. However, he soon lost his great position⁸⁸ in court due to intrigue. As a result the patriarchate of Jerusalem passed to Heraclius in 1180.⁸⁹ He continued writing, if not for the pleasure of the royal court, dying sometime about 1185.⁹⁰ He was spared the tragedy of 1187.

The results of William's work, his history, remain almost the sole Latin source of our knowledge of the crusaders in the Holy Land after 1127. William, for the earlier portions of his work, relied on Albert, Raymond, Baldric, Fulcher and Walter the Chancellor. He also used oral sources and oral tradition, especially significant since there were no written sources beyond 1127.⁹¹ His work is on the largest scale and, although unfinished, it has great artistic symmetry of execution, being remarkable for the purity of its language and dignity of presentation. His sifting of original sources,⁹² his estimate and use of information imparted orally are combined with a high degree of tolerance, a breadth of spirit which freed him from prejudice, and a remarkable political acumen enabled him to form profound and mature judgments as to the course of the political history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.⁹³

It occasions no surprise when we say that his work had great influence. William had many continuations.⁹⁴ He supplied the basis for Ernæowul, and his work also found its way into the writings of the great medieval historians and chroniclers of Western Europe.⁹⁵ All in all, it is doubtful if the medieval period produced a historical work which surpasses William's.

VI. Latin Sources for the History of Europe in the Twelfth Century and especially for the Second Crusade.

Throughout this dissertation we shall make constant use of the many annalists upon which so much of our knowledge of European history in the twelfth century depends. Some of these Annales are especially useful for our understanding of the Second Crusade. Valuable material may also be found in individual writers, such as Suger, Abbot of Saint Denis.⁹⁶

Little needs to be said concerning the great German historian of the twelfth century, Otto of Freising, whose Chronicon and Gesta Friderici Imperatoris remain in the front rank of medieval historiography.⁹⁷ Otto participated in the Second Crusade, and the Gesta is not only valuable for its many details based on personal observation but also for the fact that it preserves letters and correspondence between Conrad III, Frederick Barbarossa and the Eastern emperors. Unfortunately, Otto does not give us a complete account of the Crusade.⁹⁸

For a complete and connected narrative account of the Second Crusade, we have the work of Odo of Deuil,⁹⁹ monk of St. Denis and St. Cornelius in Compiègne. He ended his career as Abbot of St. Denis,¹⁰⁰ the successor to Suger. As secretary and chaplain, he accompanied Louis VII on the crusade.¹⁰¹ As we might expect, his work presents Louis in a most favourable light although Odo himself disapproved strongly of the conciliatory policy which Louis adopted towards the Greeks, being thus, in Odo's eyes, duped by his own charity and generosity.¹⁰²

Odo's work is marked by great lucidity. He reported accurately the clash of opinion within the royal entourage.¹⁰³

He had a feeling for the importance of geography, for the decisive factors in military strategy.¹⁰⁴ Good Latin that he was, he despised the Greeks, but he was not blind to the wonders of Constantinople and records with amazement the beauty of the palace of the Blachernae.¹⁰⁵ As an eyewitness who composed his history en route,¹⁰⁶ Odo was well placed to describe his master's pilgrimage. Thanks to him we are informed as to the course of Louis' diplomatic negotiations with Manuel. Here, as in all things pertaining to the Greeks, Odo is clearly hostile, intending to show his readers how much of the misfortune which overtook the Crusade could be attributed to the malice and craft of the Greek emperor.¹⁰⁷ However, the virtues of his work are such as to make us regret that it stops with the arrival of Louis at Antioch.

Additional material for the Crusade can be found in the Annales, referred to above and in the chroniclers of the period. Especially noteworthy is the work of John of Salisbury.¹⁰⁸ Useful also are the various Vitae of St. Bernard,¹⁰⁹ and the correspondence, not only of Bernard,¹¹⁰ but also of Peter the Venerable.¹¹¹ Indispensable for the relations between the Normans, the Papacy, the Germans and the Greeks is the collection of letters bearing the name of Wibald of Stavelot.¹¹²

VII. Sources for the Normans in Southern Italy.

Throughout this thesis we have relied heavily on the reports of the historical sources written under the Normans of Southern Italy. It seems proper then to include these in a group in this survey of our sources.¹¹³

The Annales Barenses Anonymi¹¹⁴ is especially useful for the earliest period of the Norman conquest. More important is the work

assigned to Lupus Protospatarius¹¹⁵ and the anonymous author of the Bari Chronicle.¹¹⁶

All these sources are related to one another and to the Annales Beneventani.¹¹⁷ More important than these is the historical writing issuing from the great Benedictine Abbey at Monte Cassino, long a centre of historical studies in the early Middle Ages. The Annales Casinenses,¹¹⁸ and the Chronica monasterii Casinensis¹¹⁹ are the products of this interest, the latter being the work of Leo of Ostia, archivist and librarian of the monastery and Cardinal of Ostia under Paschal II, and of Peter the Deacon who succeeded Leo in his position within the monastery and who continued his work, although without the same careful accuracy that marked the work of his predecessor.

Mention should be made of the Annales Cavenses,¹²⁰ whose notations are usually contemporaneous with the events they describe, and the Annales Ceccanenses,¹²¹ which after 1156 becomes more detailed in its reports. Prior to this, it relies heavily on the Annales Casinenses and Annales Cavenses.

Indispensable is the work of Amatus of Monte Cassino, Ystoire de li Normant.¹²² Known only to us by a French translation, made at some time in the thirteenth century, Amatus, who was bishop and monk at Cassino, wrote his history c. 1080. Cassino was an admirable location for his history of the Norman conquests in Italy, and it remains our principal source for this period in Norman history. His work, together with other annals, official documents and oral reports, forms the materials out of which Leo of Ostia fashioned his section of the Chronica Monasterii Casinensis.

The Historia Sicula of Gaufredus Malaterra was written at the demand of Count Roger of Sicily and is, properly speaking, a panegyric in prose and poetry of the count and, indeed, of all the Normans. It is most useful to us for the years 1058 to 1099.¹²³ As a useful addition to Malaterra may be cited the work of the Anonymi Vaticani Historia Sicula.¹²⁴ Also essential for the life of Robert Guiscard is the excellent Latin poem of William of Apulia, Gesta Roberti Wiscardi,¹²⁵ written at the request of Urban II and dedicated to Duke Roger.

Advancing into the twelfth century we find the work of Fulco of Benevento whose Chronicon de rebus aetate sua gestis¹²⁶ remains one of our most important sources for the history of the Normans. A historian of considerable narrative power, Fulco was in possession of material culled from his own actual observation and from a careful examination of oral reports and written sources.

Equally important is the work of Romuald, Archbishop of Salerno from 1153-1181 whose universal chronicle extends from the creation of the world to 1178.¹²⁷ His work should be studied carefully alongside that of Fulco. While they agree fundamentally in fact, their diverse political opinions force them to contrasting interpretations of the facts.

A final name is that of Hugh Falcandus whose work remains one of the most remarkable pieces of historical writing produced in the Middle Ages.¹²⁸

1. Two editions of the Alexiad have been used. B. Leib has provided a modern edition of the text, together with a French translation. B. Leib, Alexiade, (three volumes, Paris, 1937-1945, in Collection Byzantine de l'Association Guillaume Budé.) Dr. Elizabeth A.S. Dawes has provided us with an English translation of the original without an edition of the text. E.A.S. Dawes, The Alexiad, (London, 1928). Hereafter and throughout this dissertation, all references to the Alexiad will cite the pertinent book and chapter, then to be followed by citation of the Dawes translation with the pertinent pages, abbreviated Dawes, and also by the edition of Leib with the pertinent volume and pages, abbreviated Leib.

For critical works on Anna, see the short notice in Steven Runciman, A History of the Crusades (three volumes, Cambridge, 1935-1954) I, pp. 327-328. For a more extended critical study, F. Chalandon, Essai sur le Règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène (1081-1118), (Paris, 1900), pp. vii-xxii; E. Oster, Anna Komnena (3 Progr., Rastatt, 1868-1871); F.J. Foakes-Jackson, "Anna Komnena" (The Hibbert Journal, XXXIII, 1934-1935), pp. 430-432; Ch. Diehl, Figures Byzantines, (second series, Paris, 1906), pp. 26-52; the introduction to Leib's edition of the Alexiad is invaluable for Anna, her life and thought, I, pp. ix-clxiii: useful for the writers of this period, in addition to Anna Komnena, are the standard works of C. Neumann, Geschichte Geschichtschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im Zwölften Jahrhundert, (Leipzig, 1888) and K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur, (second edition, Munich, 1897). Finally there is the fascinating study of Anna and her civilisation, Georgina Buckler, Anna Komnena, (Oxford, 1929).

2. Alexiad, XIV, 7, Dawes, pp. 382-383, Leib, III, p. 175. Here we are told she collected most of her material during the reign of Manuel Komnenus and that thirty years has passed since her seclusion, i.e., after the abortive attempt by Anna and her mother to secure the imperial throne for herself.
3. For detailed comments on her chronology see the opinions of Chalandon, Essai, op.cit., pp. xiv-xviii, and the notes to the edition already cited of Bernard Leib.
4. In the mind of Anna, as in the mind of all Byzantines, Divinity did hedge the king in the literal sense of the word. For a sample of Anna's attitude towards her father, see XV, 11, Dawes, p. 427, Leib, III, p. 241. We might point out that Anna says nothing of her father's attempts to get control of Bohemund after his capture by the Danishmend Emirs, an indication that despite all protestation she perhaps omitted details which would have detracted from her father's memory. However it should be stated that Anna's veneration of her father was shared by other Greek historians. Even his enemies acknowledged his

- greatness. William of Apulia, MGSS, IX, p. 281, speaks of him in characteristically Norman terms of praise and commendation: brave, bold, cruel, ambitious and deceitful. Orderic Vitalis, who, as we shall see, hated the Greeks, recognized his abilities, see VII, 5, III, pp. 167-168 of the Historia Ecclesiastica.
5. For an example of Anna's self-pity, swathed in heavy rhetoric, see the preface to the Alexiad, Dawes, pp. 4-5; Leib, I, pp. 6-8.
 6. For a detailed discussion of her style, see Buckler, op.cit., pp. 481-516. Also, A.A.Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire, (Madison, Wisconsin, 1952) pp. 489-490.
 7. In the preface of the Alexiad, Anna tells us of her academic pursuits, Dawes, p. 1, Leib, I, p. 3.
 8. In Alexiad, XIV, 7, Anna indicates her methods of research and also her sense of the high calling of the historian Dawes, pp. 380-382, Leib, III, pp. 173-176, also see the Preface to the Alexiad, Dawes, p. 2, Leib, I, pp. 4-5.
 9. A point well made by Chalandon, op.cit., pp. xix-xx.
 10. See the opinions of Buckler, op.cit., pp. 516-522.
 11. The Historia of Michael Attaliates, edited by I.Bekker, CSHB, (Bonn, 1853).
 12. The Preface to the Alexiad, Dawes, pp. 2-3, Leib, I, pp. 5-6. The Historia of Nicephorus Bryennius is edited by A.Meineke in the CSHB, (Bonn, 1836). For a study of Bryennius see J.Seger, Byzantinische Historiker des 10. and 11. Jahrhunderts: I. Nikephorus Bryennios, (Munich, 1888).
 13. The period dealing with the Empire from Isaac Comnenus to the accession of Romanus IV. Diogenes is an abridgement from Attaliates; however the reign of Romanus is covered in great detail.
 14. Preface to the Alexiad, Dawes, p. 3, Leib, I, p. 6.
 15. A.A.Vasiliev, op.cit., p. 489.
 16. The Epitome Historiarum of Zonaras is edited by T.Büttner-Worst, CSHB, (Bonn, 1897).

17. K.Krumbacher, op.cit., pp. 370 ff.
18. The Chronicon of Michael Glycas is edited by I.Bekker, CSHB, (Bonn, 1836).
19. Chalandon, Essai, op.cit., p. xxiii.
20. This work is edited in K.W.Sathas, Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi, (7 volumes, Venice-Paris, 1872-1879), volume VII.
21. The portion of Sylitzes work which concerns us is edited by I.Bekker in the CSHB, Georgius Cedrenus Ioannis Scylitzae ope suppletus et et emendatus, (Bonn, 1839).
22. The letters of Michael Cerularius are to be found in PG, 120.
23. A small work by the Patriarch of Antioch is edited by Bernard Leib in his Deux Inédits Byzantins sur les Azymites au debut du XIIème siècle, Rome, 1924. See Chalandon, Essai, op.cit., pp. xxviii-xxix. Other writings of John are printed in PG, 132.
24. The works of Theophylact are in PG, 126. A pupil of Michael Psellus, Theophylact spent his maturity at his see, far from Constantinople. His letters and the treatise On the Errors of the Latins remain of interest to us. For information on Theophylact see Chalandon, Essai, op.cit., pp. xxiii-xxviii, Bernard Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIème siècle, (Paris, 1924), pp. 41-50; K.Krumbacher, op.cit., pp. 133-135, 463-465, and, finally, an attempt to bring about a critical edition of the letters of Theophylact which is badly needed, A Leroy-Mollingen, "Prolégomènes à une édition critique des lettres de Théophylacte de Bulgarie", (Byzantion, XII, 1938), pp. 253-262.
25. Dölger, Grumol and Zacharia von Lingenthal are listed under "Collections" in the Bibliography.
26. The Epitome Historiarum, is edited by A.Meineke, CSHB, (Bonn, 1836). In regard to John and Nicetas, who follows, see H. von Kap-Herr, Die Abendländische Politik Kaiser Manuels, (Strassbourg, 1881), Excursus I, pp. 119-131; F.Chalandon, Jean II Comnène (1118-1143) et Manuel I Comnène (1143-1180) (Paris, 1912, being volume two of his study of the Comneni); Krumbacher, op.cit., p. 279; Neumann, op.cit., pp. 79 ff. His work has survived only in abstract, the original redaction having been lost.

27. Nicetas describes him in theological discussion at the court of Andronicus, De Andronico Comneno, II, 5, CSHB, p. 431. His history ends in 1173 with the beginning of the campaign that was to end in the disaster of Myriocephalon. He expressly states he was not alive during the reign of John, I, 1, CSHB, p. 5.
28. I, 1, CSHB, p. 5.
29. We shall see these clearly when we utilize his history. However, because of this, he has been attacked by scholars but defended skilfully by the great authority on the Second Crusade, B.Kugler. See his Studien zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzugs, (Stuttgart, 1866), p. 36; Analecten zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzugs, (Tübingen, 1873) p. 60 and Neue Analecten zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzugs, (Tübingen, 1883) p. 29.
30. It is curious that while Kinnamos shared his master's ideas in politics, he could not see that a pro-Latin policy within the Empire was the necessary consequence. As it was, he resented the claims of the Papacy, on the one hand, and the Germans on the other, since those claims ran counter to the universal sovereignty of the Byzantine throne.
31. This, however, betrays his debt to classical historians.
32. The Historia is edited by I.Bekker, in the CSHB, Bonn, 1835.
33. For example, Manuel's expedition against Egypt is described as being motivated by personal ambition and dreams of past glories. Hence he neglected more urgent matters in pursuing this overly-ambitious expedition. De Manuele Comneno, V, 4, CSHB, p. 208. Or again, he criticises Manuel sharply for his careless waste of money in empty schemes, money obtained under duress from his subjects. He also is accused of having sold public offices, spending the money mostly on the Latins whom he feared. De Manuele Comneno, VII, 2, CSHB, pp. 265-266. These and many other policies alienated his subjects, Ibid, CSHB, pp. 267-268.
34. For these, the intrigues surrounding the patriarch Michael, De Manuele Comneno, II, 4, CSHB, p. 107; and his meddling in theological matters are castigated as inept and arrogant, Nicetas remarking that he behaved as if he understood Christ perfectly and was divinely inspired, Ibid, VII, 5, CSHB, pp. 275-278 and VII, 6, CSHB, pp. 278 where he is described as removing the anathemas against Mohammed from the catechism so as not to offend Islam.

35. See Vasiliev's short but excellent appreciation, op.cit., pp. 492-493.
36. The pertinent portions of their work may be found in the Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens, (two volumes, Paris, 1869-1906), I.
37. The Chronicle is edited and translated by J.B.Chabot, (four volumes, Paris, 1899-1910). All references to Michael the Syrian are in the third volume of this edition.
38. Bar Hebraeus, The Chronography of Gregory Abul Faraj, translation and photographic reproduction of the text, by G.A.Wallis Budge, (two volumes, Oxford, 1932). All references to Bar Hebraeus are to volume one of this edition.
39. Continuation of the Chronicle of the Crusades, excerpted and translated by H.A.R.Gibb, The Damascus Chronicle, (London, 1932).
40. Autobiography, translated by P.K.Hitti, An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades, (New York, 1929). All references to Us'mah are to this edition.
41. All these collections will be found listed under "Collections" in the Bibliography.
42. These also shall be found in that section of the Bibliography devoted to collections and registers.
43. Mention should be made of the work of Nicolas Iorga, Les Narrateurs de la Première Croisade, (Paris, 1928) and the older work of Ch. Thurot, "Études critiques sur les historiens de la Première Croisade", (Revue Historique, I, 1876), pp. 61-77, 372-386. Further, mention should be made of A.C.Krey's skilful translations and juxtaposition of sources, forming thus a coherent history of The First Crusade, (Princeton, 1921).
44. I have used two editions of the Gesta. L.Brehier, Histoire Anonyme de la Première Croisade, (Paris, 1924) and H.Hagenmeyer, Anonymi Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, (Heidelberg, 1890). The notes of Hagenmeyer are still useful if rather formidable. All references to the Gesta will cite the two editions given above and abbreviated as Bréhier, Hag. Gesta. For critical discussions of the Gesta, the introductions of Brehier and Hagenmeyer are sufficient. Of the greatest importance is the article by A.C.Krey. "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta". (The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, L.J.Paetow, editor, New York, 1928), pp. 57-58.
45. See Riant's attempt in the Archives de l'Orient Latin, I, p. 145.

46. On this particular point, the reader's attention is called to the introduction of Hagenmeyer's edition. It should be said, however, that Hagenmeyer was one of those scholars for whom the similarity of a phrase was sufficient to establish the direct dependence of one work upon another.
47. Such is the literary description of Antioch, a literary exercise, foreign to the style and mind of the author, and the passage, elucidated by Dr. Krey in his distinguished article "Neglected Passage", op.cit., dealing with Bohemund's transactions with Alexius in Constantinople.
48. Published under the title De Hierosolymitano itinere, RHCocc., III.
49. The Historia De Peregrinatione Jerosolimitana is published in RHCocc., IV. For Baldric's purpose and his comments on the Anonymi Gesta, see the preface, RHCocc., IV, pp. 9-10.
50. The Historia Quae Dicitur Gesta Dei Per Francos is printed in the RHCocc., IV. Guibert's literary purposes are also outlined in his preface, RHCocc., IV, pp. 117-118, being an epistle prefatory and dedicatory to Lisiard, Bishop of Soissons. For Guibert, see B.Monod, Le Moine Guibert et sons temps, (Paris, 1905), and the preface to G.Bourgin's edition of the Monodiae, (Paris, 1907), which is Guibert's autobiography.
51. The Historia Iherosolimitana is edited in the RHCocc., III. Here, as above, the preface is useful in determining the author's intentions.
52. The Historia Ecclesiastica was edited for the Société de l'Histoire de France by A.Le Prevost and L.Delisle, (five volumes, Paris, 1838-1855). The ninth book in volume III is an abridged edition of the Gesta, with an additional report of the council of Clermont and Urban's speech.
53. Itineris Hierosotymitani Compendium of Hugh of Fleury is found in RHCocc., V, II.
54. Henry of Huntingdon, De Captione Antiochiae, is printed in RHCocc., V, part two.
55. Narratio Floriacensis, RHCocc., V, II. It is probable that Hugh, Henry and the Narratio relied more upon Robert the Monk than upon the original Western redaction of the Gesta.

56. Historia Peregrinorum euntium Jerusolymam (sometimes known as the Historia belli sacri) is found in the RHCocc., III, as Tudebodus continuatus. The author knew of the death of Bohemund II, of Antioch in 1131. See c. 106.
57. Printed also in RHCocc., III, beneath Tudebodus.
58. Edited in the RHCocc., V, I.
59. Ibid.
60. The Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem may be found in RHCocc., III. While a critical edition with notes is badly needed, we have the study of C. Klein, Raimund von Aquilars: Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges, (Berlin, 1892).
61. It should be remarked that Raymond has received the most diversified appreciations. Critics have perhaps been distracted by the peculiar role Raymond played in the discovery of the Lance at Antioch. Not only this, Raymond's attitudes on the Greeks is a trifle ambivalent. Prior to the capture of Antioch, he loathed the Greeks, a reflection of the hostility existing between Alexius and his master. For an expression of his hatred, see RHCocc., III, p. 239. However, as his master and Alexius grew closer together, through the common hatred for Bohemund, Raymond becomes a bit more moderate in his judgments.
62. Historia Hierosolymitana Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium, RHCocc., III. I have used also the edition of H. Hagenmeyer, Historia Hierosolymitana (Heidelberg, 1913) with its critical apparatus and detailed notes. There is also the edition and translation of M. E. McGinty (Philadelphia, 1941). This last contains only the earlier portions of Fulcher's work. For a concise estimate of Fulcher, see D. C. Munro, "A Crusader", (Speculum, VII, 1932), pp. 321-335.
63. W. Stubbs, editor, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, RS, No. 90, (two volumes London, 1887-1889).
64. Chronicon, RHGF, XII.
65. A work now unhappily lost. However, a portion may be found printed in PL, 213, RISS, VII.
66. Edited in the RHCocc., III, under the title of Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Expugnatium.

67. Edited in the RHCOcc., III, as the Secunda Pars Historiae Iherosolimitanae.
68. This is printed in the RHCOcc., V, I, where the text is to be preferred to the edition with notes by H.Hagenmeyer, Ekkehard von Aura, (Leipzig, 1888). Since, however, the notes in the Hagenmeyer edition are useful, we shall have occasion to refer to this edition as Hag. Ekk.
69. Hierosolymita, XIII, RHCOcc., V, I, p. 21.
70. His work, Gesta Tancredi Siciliæ Regis in Expeditione Hierosolymita, is found in the RHCOcc., III.
71. See the preface to his work, RHCOcc., III, p. 603, and LVII, RHCOcc., pp. 648-649.
72. Be it said to his credit that while he had read the works of his predecessors, he did not copy them. Runcimen, op.cit., I, p. 331, says that Ralph had not read the Gesta. However, this seems unlikely. The work in general bears the mark of the Gesta. See Brehier's introduction to his edition of the Gesta, op. cit., p. xv.
73. The De Bello Antiocheno is published in the RHCOcc., V, I, and by H.Hagenmeyer in a critical edition, Galterii Cancellarii bella Antiochena, (Innsbruck, 1896).
74. Liber Christianæ Expeditionis pro Ereptione, Emundatione et Restitutione Sanctæ Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ, RHCOcc., IV.
75. His church seems to have been St. Mary's at Aachen. See VI, 36, RHCOcc., IV, p. 487. His position there remains uncertain. "Canonicus et custos" was the comment of one copyist of the MS. This seems to be supported by the evidence in book six cited above. However, there were two Alberts at that church at this time.
76. Notable in the discussion are H.Hagenmeyer, Peter der Eremit, (Leipzig, 1879), translated into French by Furcy Raynaud, Le Vrai et le Faux sur Pierre l'Hermite, (Paris, 1883); F.Krebs, Zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen, (Munster, 1881); B. Kugler, among whose writings in defence of Albert we may mention the following: Albert von Aachen, (Stuttgart, 1885); Analekten zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen, (Tubingen, 1888); F. Kühn, "Zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen", (Neues Archiv, XII, 1887), pp. 543-548 and E. Kühne's Zur Geschichte des Fürstentums

Antiochien, 1098-1130, (Berlin, 1897); A.A.Beaumont, "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa", (The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, edited by L.J. Paetow, New York, 1928), pp. 101-138. See also the preface to the fourth volume of the RHCOcc. However, the best summary of Albert's virtues and limitations is to be found in C.Chén, La Syrie du Nord, (Paris, 1940), pp. 12-16.

77. Piqued because he could not go to the East, Albert resolved "memoriae commendare quae auditu et relatione nota fierent ab his qui presentes effuissent". Albert, I, 1, RHCOcc., IV, p. 271.
78. If we compare his account of events in the East after 1100 with the Eastern sources we cannot but admire the extent and exactitude of Albert's information.
79. See the result of B.Kugler's investigations of dates at the close of Albert's work and also those on the earliest MSS. B.Kugler, Eine Neue Handschrift Alberts von Aachen, (Tübingen, 1893) and Die deutsche Handschriften Alberts von Aachen (Tübingen, 1894).
80. The most important of these collections is as follows: E. de Rozière, Cartulaire de l'Eglise du S.Sépulchre de Jérusalem, (Paris, 1849) and in PL, 155; H.F.Delaborde, Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat, (Paris, 1880); Ch.Kohler, "Chartes de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, VII, 1899, published separately, Paris, 1900); J.Delaville Le Roulx, Cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, (four volumes, Paris, 1894-1904); G.A.M.J.A. D'Albon, Cartulaire Générale de l'Ordre du Temple, (Paris, 1913); Henri de Curzon, La Règle du Temple, (Paris, 1886); E.G.Leonard, Introduction au Cartulaire Manuscrit du Temple, 1150-1317, (Paris, 1930).
81. Röhricht, Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, (two volumes in one, Innsbruck, 1893-1904).
82. G.Müller, Documenti sulle relazioni della celta Toscana coll' Oriente Cristiano e col Turchi, (Firenze, 1879); G.L.F.Tafel and G.M.Thomas, Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, printed in Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, Diplomata et Acta, XII, I, (Vienna, 1856); C.I. di Sant'Angelo, Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova, in the Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, (Rome, 1936); A.Sanguinetti and G.Bertolotto, "Nuova serie di Documenti sulle Relazioni de Genova coll' Impero Bizantino", (Atti della Società Figure di Storia Patria, xxVIII, Genova, 1896), pp. 339-573.



83. The Annales Ianuenses are edited in the FSI by L.T.Belgrano, Volume I, (Rome, 1890) also contains the Liberatio civitatum orientis.
84. These works may be found respectively in MGSS, XIV, MGSS, XIV, RISS (new), XII, I, RISS (new) VI, II.
85. William of Tyre, Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum, RHCOcc., I, translated with notes by A.C.Krey and E.A. Babcock, A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea, (two volumes, New York, 1943). A critical edition of the text of William is badly needed, our present text being edited more than a century ago by A.Beugnot and A.Le Prevost. P.Paris, Guillaume de Tyre et ses continuateurs, (two volumes, Paris, 1879) is to be avoided due to the author's ignorance of the work of modern scholars. It is to be regretted that Grousset's great work on the Crusades is marred by an uncritical reliance on Paris. See Krey-Babcock, I, p. 6, n. 5. It should be mentioned that the old French translation of Tyre appears in volume I of the RHCOcc., entitled L'Estoire de Eracles, Empereur, et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer. Much work has been done on William of Tyre since L.von Ranke submitted the sources of the Crusades to the inspection of his celebrated historical seminar. B.Kugler defended the originality of William's reports on the Second Crusade in his Studien, pp. 21-34 and in his Analekten zur Geschichte des zweiten Kreuzzuges. Notable too is the work of H.Prutz, "Studien uber Wilhelm von Tyrus" (Neues Archiv, VIII, 1882), pp. 93-132 and in his Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge, (Berlin, 1883). See also F.Lundgreen, Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden, (Berlin, 1911). The chronology of William has caused considerable difficulty. T.A.Archer, "On the Accession Dates of the Early Kings of Jerusalem", (English Historical Review, IV, 1889), pp. 89-105. See also the essay of W.B.Stevenson which forms a concluding appendix to his admirable, The Crusaders in the East, (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 361-371. The latest work on William of Tyre is the excellent article by A.C.Krey, "William of Tyre, The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages", (Speculum), XVI, 1941), pp. 149-166.
86. The lack of a continuing history of the fortunes of the Crusades seems to have called for the composition of the Historia Nicaeana which has already been mentioned. This attempt proved abortive.
87. As indicated, William set out first of all to write a Gesta Amalrici. However, he extended his vision not only to the composition of a Gesta Regum, a comprehensive crusade history, but also to a history of the rulers of the East, utilizing Arabic sources for this compilation in Latin. This last work is lost

although perhaps Matthew of Paris saw it at St. Albans in the next century. See F. Madden, editor, Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, historia Anglorum sive, ut vulgo dicitur, historia minor, RS, No. 44 (three volumes, London, 1866-1869) I, p. 163. What William did was to weld the two Gesta together with various expansions, notably the prologue, and material taken from the lost work on the Eastern rulers.

88. In the year 1176, Baldwin IV attained his fifteenth year and Raymond of Tripoli automatically relinquished the regency of the kingdom. The tutor of royalty, now Chancellor and Archbishop of Tyre, was left as perhaps the most influential advisor to the diseased young monarch.

89. In many ways William had every reason to look forward to the patriarchate. He buried the king's brother-in-law when the Patriarch Amaury was too sick to officiate himself, a natural procedure since Tyre was the leading suffragan see of the Jerusalem patriarchate. He was the head of the delegation to the Lateran council of 1178 and thus renewed many influential friendships with members of the curia and the hierarchy. After this, he visited Manuel in Constantinople on a diplomatic mission. However, when he returned he found the kingdom split into the court factions of the king's sister Sibylla, her mother, Agnes and Sibylla's husband, Guy of Lusignan. William was, naturally, ranged with the older nobility, centering around Raymond of Tripoli. Agnes and Heraclius were personal friends, and so the court party chose its favourite as patriarch, despite the support of the nobility, the clergy and the king for William.

90. The date of William's death has occasioned much discussion. See the full discussion in the introduction to Krey-Babcock, I, p. 25, n. 24. For a divergent opinion, see R. Röhricht, "Syria Sacra" (Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palaestinaversins, X, Leipzig, 1887) pp. 17-18, and his conclusions in his Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem, 1100-1291, (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 391-392, n. 5. Röhricht would set the date in October, 1186. However, here Krey's reasoning is correct.

91. The comprehensive character of William's work is indicated by his beginning his account with the loss of Jerusalem by the Christians in 614, continuing on until just before its capture by Saladin.

92. On this see especially Hag. Fulcher, pp. 85-91. William's attitudes towards his craft as a historian are admirably expressed by him in his preface.

93. William had his limitations. By modern standards, he had received no technical training for his task. As for his prejudices, he resented, good canonist that he was, any lay control over the church. Hence his hatred for the Patriarch Arnulf whom he regarded as the tool of the royal power. His judgment, however, was most perspicacious. He did not hesitate to criticize the Roman Church for its meddling in the life of the Church of Tyre, torn between the claims of Jerusalem and Antioch. He appreciated fully the threatening character of Saladin's activities which were directed towards the unification of the Moslem world against the Christians.

94. The most detailed attempt to classify and to inter-relate the various continuations of William has been made by L. de Mas Latrie, "Essai de Classification des Continuateurs de l'Histoire des Croisades de Guillaume de Tyr", (Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, fifth series, I, 1871), pp. 38-140. See also the work of Marianne Salloch, Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus, (Greifswald, 1934). The work of Ernoul and that ascribed to Bernard is found in L. de Mas Latrie, editor, Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, (Paris, 1871). See also Cahen's summary of the continuators of William of Tyre, op.cit., pp. 20-25. See also the edition of L'Estoire and other continuations in the second volume of RHC Occ.

95. It is likely that his work was speedily copied, and perhaps, as Krey-Babcock suggest, I, p. 39, the dissemination took place by reason of the number of Westerners present in Tyre during the Third Crusade.

96. For the sources of the Second Crusade, see B. Kugler, Studien, pp. 1-43.

97. MGSS, XX. Otto has been the subject of innumerable monographs. Especially useful has been J. Schmidlin, Die Geschichts philosophische und Kirchenpolitische Weltanschauung Ottos von Freising, (Fribourg, 1906).

98. In his Chronicon, Otto makes it plain that the failure of the Second Crusade kept him from writing an account of it.

99. The work of Odo, De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem is printed in PL, 185. I have used the edition of Virginia G. Berry, (New York, 1948). Mrs. Berry's introduction to her edition is the most complete work on Odo and his history.

100. As Abbot of St. Denis, he was resisted by some of the monks who accused him unsuccessfully of serious crimes. See John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificalis, XLIV, p. 90 (Poole edition), and St. Bernard's defence of Odo, Bernardi Ep., No. 285-287, PL, 182, cc. 492-493.

101. Odo, Berry, p. 4.
102. Odo says that he wished to show his appreciation of Louis' character and his favour to himself, p. 4: "Ego igitur, cum in via sancti sepulchri gloriosi regis Ludovici beneficia ubertim sensierim ----- referendarum gratiarum affectum quidem habeo -----". As Mrs. Berry notes, p. xvii, he hoped also to warn future pilgrims. This acquires a sinister note when set beside Odo's comment in Book V calling for the vengeance of the French and Germans against the Greeks' evil deeds, p. 98. The beginning of Book V, p. 86, has this succinct judgment on the Greeks: "Constantinopolis superbia divitiis, moribus subdola, fide corrupta".
103. In Book IV, Odo reports the clash of those who wished the king to adopt a more hostile attitude towards the Greeks and those who looked for harmony and reconciliation. See p. 78 ff.
104. See, for example, his estimate of possible land routes from Constantinople to Syria, Book V, Berry, pp. 88-90.
105. Berry, p. 64.
106. As the epistle dedicatory to Suger says, Otto was still en route during the writing of the history, Berry, p. 2: "nam detentus adhuc in agone itineris".
107. Berry, p. 13: "sed Graeco quomodo parreet iustus iudex, Deus vel homo, qui dolosa crudelitate tot Christianos occidit utriusque exercitus?"
108. John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificalis, edited by R. Lane Poole, (Oxford, 1927).
109. PL, 185.
110. PL, 182.
111. PL, 189.
112. Wibald of Stavelot, Epistolae, edited by Ph. Jaffé in Volume I of his Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum.

113. For a discussion of the sources relating to the Normans in Southern Italy, see F.Chalandon, Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicilie, (two volumes, Paris, 1907), I, pp. v-lxiv.
114. MGSS, V.
115. Lupus Protospatarius, Rerum in regno neapolitano restarum breve chronicon sive Annales, MGSS, V.
116. RISS, V.
117. MGSS, III.
118. MGSS, XIX.
119. MGSS, VII.
120. MGSS, III,
121. MGSS, XIX,
122. V. de Bartholomaeis, Storia de'Normanni di Amato di Montecassino, FSI, (Rome, 1935).
123. The Historia Sicula is printed in RISS, V and PL, 149.
124. RISS, VIII.
125. Printed in the MGSS, IX.
126. This may be found in RISS, V, and PL, 173.
127. Romuald, Chronicon, edited by C.A.Garuffi, RISS (new), VII, I.
128. The best edition of Hugh is by G.B.Siragusa, La historia o Liber de regno Sicilie e la epistola ad Petrum Panormitano ecclesie thesaurarium di Hugo Falcando, (Rome, 1897 in the Fonti per la Storia d'Italie).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

COLLECTIONS.

Acta Sanctorum (Bollandiana), (Antwerp-Paris-Rome-Brussels, 1643 --
in progress. This work is
abbreviated AASS).

Baronius, Annales Ecclesiasticæ, edited by A. Theiner, (thirty-seven
volumes, Barri-Ducis Guerin 1864-1883).

Bouquet, M., and others, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la
France, (forty volumes printed in forty two,
Paris, 1840-1940). This work is abbreviated
RHGF.

Brackmann, A. Germania Pontificia, (Berlin, 1911 -- in progress).

Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Byzantinæ, edited by I. Bekker and
others, (Bonn, 1828-1897). This work is
abbreviated CSHB.

Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova, edited by Cesare
Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, in the FSI,
(Rome, 1936).

de Curzon, Henri, La Règle du Temple, (Paris, 1886).

D'Albon, G.A.M.J.A., Cartulaire Générale de l'Ordre du Temple,
(Paris, 1913).

Delaborde, H.F., Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'Abbaye de
Notre-Dame de Josaphat, (Paris, 1880).

Delavièrre Le Roulx, J., Cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de
Jérusalem, (four volumes, Paris, 1894-1904).

Demetracopoulos, A.K., Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, (Leipzig, 1866).

Dölger, F., Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Östromischen Reiches,
(three volumes, Munich-Berlin, 1924-1932).
This work is abbreviated Dölger.

Duchesne, L.P., Liber Pontificalis, (two volumes, Paris, 1886-1892).

Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, published by the Istituto Storico Italiano, (Rome, 1887 -- in progress).
This work is abbreviated FSI.

Gallia Christiana, edited by Scevole de Sainte-Marthe, (sixteen volumes, second edition, Paris, 1865-1870).

Gams, P.B., Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, (second edition, Leipzig, 1931).

Grumel, V. Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les Actes des Patriarches, (Bucarest, 1947). This work is abbreviated Grumel.

Hagenmeyer, H., Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1085-1100. Epistulae et chartae ad Historiam primi belli sacri spectantes, (Innsbruck, 1901). This work is abbreviated Hag. Epistulae.

Halphen, L., Recueil d'Annales Angevines et Vendomoises (Paris, 1930).

Halphen, L. and Poupardin, R., Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, (Paris, 1913).

Hergenröther, J., Monumenta Graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentia, (Ratisbon, 1869).

Jaffé, Ph., Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum, (six volumes, Berlin, 1864-1873).

Jaffé, Ph., Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, edited by W. Wattenbach, S. Löwenfeld and others, (second edition, two volumes, Leipzig, 1885-1888). This work is abbreviated JL.

Kehr, P., "Papsturkunden in Malta", (Nachrichten von der König. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zur Göttingen, 1899, No. 3), pp. 367-409.

_____. Italia Pontificia, (eight volumes in ten, Berlin, 1906-1935).

Kohler, Charles, "Chartes de l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame de la Vallée de Josaphat", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, VII, 1899), pp. 108-222. This collection was published separately in Paris, 1900.

- Leas, B.A., Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century, (Volume IX, British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, London, 1935).
- LeQuien, M., Oriens Christianus, (three volumes, Paris, 1740).
- Löwenfeld, S., Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum ineditae, (Leipzig, 1883).
- Mansi, J.D., Sacrorum Conciliorum Amplissima Collectio, (thirty-one volumes, Florence-Venice, 1759-1798). This work is abbreviated Mansi.
- Marchegay P., and Mabille, E., Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou, (Paris, 1869).
- Migne, J.P., Patrologia Latina, (two hundred and twenty-one volumes Paris, 1844-1855). This work is abbreviated PL.
- _____, Patrologia Graeco-Latina, (one hundred sixty-one volumes printed in one hundred and sixty-six, Paris, 1857-1866). This work is abbreviated PG.
- Miklosich, F., and Müller, J., Acta et Diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana, (Vindobonae, 1860). This work is abbreviated Miklosich-Müller.
- Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, edited by G.H. Pertz, T. Mommsen and others, (Hanover, 1826 -- in progress). This work is abbreviated MGSS.
- Müller, G., Documenti sulle relazioni della città Toscana coll' Oriente Cristiano e col Turchi, (Firenze, 1879). This work is abbreviated Müller.
- Muratori, L.A., Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, (twenty-five volumes, Milan, 1723-1751). This work is abbreviated RISS.
- _____, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, a new edition, revised and with notes by G. Carducci, V. Fiorini, and others, (Rome, 1900 -- in progress), abbreviated RISS (new).

Pflugk-Harttung, J.A.G. von, Acta Pontificum Romanorum inedita,
(three volumes in two, Tübingen, 1881-1888).

Potthast, A., Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, (two volumes, Berlin,
1874-1875).

Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, published by the Académie des
Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, (Paris,
1841-1906).

_____, Lois, (two volumes, Paris, 1841-1843), abbreviated RHCLois.

_____, Documents Arméniens, (two volumes, Paris, 1869-1906),
abbreviated RHCArmen.

_____, Historiens Grecs, (two volumes, Paris, 1875-1881), abbrevi-
ated RHCGr.

_____, Historiens Occidentaux, (five volumes, Paris, 1844-1895),
abbreviated RHCOcc.

_____, Historiens Orientaux, (five volumes, Paris, 1872-1906),
abbreviated RHCOr.

Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores. Chronicles and memorials
of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle
Ages. Published by the authority of Her
Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of
the Master of the Rolls. (London, 1858-1891).
This abbreviated as RS.

Riant, Paul, Archives de l'Orient Latin, (two volumes, Paris, 1881-
1882). This work is abbreviated AOL.

Rohricht, R., Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, (two volumes in one,
Innsbruck, 1893-1904). This work is abbrevi-
ated as RR.

de Roziere, E., Cartulaire de l'Eglise du S. Sépulchre de Jerusalem,
(Paris, 1849). This collection may also be
found in PL, 155.

- Sanguinetti, A., and Bertolotto, G., "Nuova Serie di Documenti sulle Relazione da Genova coll'Impero Byzantino", (Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, XXVIII, Genova, 1896), pp. 339-573.
- Sathas, K.N., Bibliotheca Graeca medii aevi, (seven volumes, Paris-Venice, 1872-1879).
- Tafel, G.L.F. and Thomas, G.M., Urkunden zur Alteren Handelsund Staatesgeschichte der Republik Venedig, printed in FONTES Rerum Austriacarum, Diplomata et Acta, XII, I, (Vienna, 1856). This work is abbreviated Tafel-Thomas.
- Theiner, A., and Miklosich, F., Monumenta spectantia ad unionem Ecclesiarum Graecae et Romae, (Vindobonae, 1872).
- Ughelli, F., Italia Sacra, (nine volumes, Rome, 1644-1662).
- Will, C., Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae Saec. XI compositae extant, (Leipzig, 1861).
- Zachariae von Lingenthal, C.A., Jus graeco-romanum, (seven volumes, Leipzig, 1856-1864). This work abbreviated JGR.

GREEK, SYRIAC, ARMENIAN AND ARABIC SOURCES:

Anna Comnena, Alexiad, edited by B. Leib, text with French translation in the Collection Byzantine de l'Association Guillaume Budé, (three volumes, Paris, 1937-1945); translated into English by E.A.S. Dawes, The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena, (London, 1928). All references to the Alexiad cited in both Leib and Dawes.

Attaliates, Michael, Historia, edited by I. Bekker, in the CSHB, (Bonn, 1853).

Bar Hebraeus, The Chronography of Gregory Abul Farej, translation and photographic reproduction of the text, by G.A. Wallis Budge, (two volumes, Oxford, 1932).

Bryennius, Nicephorus, Historia, edited by A. Meineke in the CSHB, (Bonn, 1836).

Cerularius, Michael, Epistolae, PG, 120.

Chrysolanus, Peter, Archbishop of Milan, De Sancto Spiritu, PG, 127.

Gregory the Priest, Continuation of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, extracted and translated into French in the RHCarmen, I.

Ibn al-Qalanisi, Continuation of the Chronicle of the Crusades, excerpted and translated by H.A.R. Gibb, The Damascus Chronicle, (London, 1932).

John IV, the Oxite, Patriarch of Antioch, PG, 132 and B. Leib, Deux Inédits Byzantins sur les Azymites au début du XIIème Siècle, (Orientalia Christiana Analecta II, 3, No. 19, Rome, 1924), pp. 133-216.

Kinnamos, John, Epitome Historiarum, edited by A. Meineke, in the CSHB, (Bonn, 1836).

Matthew of Edessa, Chronicle, extracted and translated into French in RHCarmen, I.

Michael the Syrian, Chronicle, edited and translated by J.B.Chabot,
(four volumes, Paris, 1899-1910).

Nicetas Choniates, Historia, edited by I. Bekker in the CSHB,
(Bonn, 1835).

Prodromus, Theodore, Poemata, selections in RHCGr, II.

Scylitzes, John, Historia, printed in Volume II of I. Bekker's
edition of the Synopsis Historiarum of
Georgius Cedrenus, CSHB, (Bonn, 1839).

Theophylact of Bulgaria, Epistolae, printed in PG, 126.

Usama ibn Munquidh, Autobiography translated by P.K.Hitti, An Arab-
Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period
of the Crusades, (New York, 1929).

Zonaras, John, Epitome Historiarum, edited by T. Buttner-Worst, CSHB,
Volume III, (Bonn, 1897).

LATIN SOURCES:

Albert of Aachen, Liber Christianae Expeditionis pro Ereptione, Emendatione et Restitutione Sanctae Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae, RHCOcc., IV.

Amatus, Ystoire de li Normant, edited by V. de Bartholomaeis, FSI, (Rome, 1935).

Anastasius IV, Epistolae, PL, 188.

Annales Augustani, MGSS, III.

Annales Beneventani, MGSS, III.

Annales Besuenses, MGSS, II.

Annales Brunwilarenses, MGSS, XVI.

Annales Cameracenses, MGSS, XVI.

Annales Casinenses, MGSS, VII.

Annales Cavenses, MGSS, III.

Annales Ceccanenses, MGSS, XIX.

Annales Colonenses Maximi, MGSS, XVII.

Annales Corbeienses, MGSS, III.

Annales Egmundani, MGSS, XVI.

Annales Erphesfurdenses, MGSS, VI.

Annales Farfenses, MGSS, XI.

Annales Gemmeticensis, MGSS, XXVI.

Annales Hermannii Altahenses, MGSS, XVII.

Annales Hildesheimenses, MGSS, III.

Annales Hildesheimenses Cont. Paderbornensis, MGSS, III.

Annales Laubienses, MGSS, IV.

Annales Magdeburgenses, MGSS, XVI.

Annales Mediolanenses, MGSS, XVIII.

Annales Mellicensis, MGSS, IX.

Annales Palidenses, MGSS, XVII.

Annales Pegavenses, MGSS, XVI.

Annales Pisani, RISS (new), VI, II.

Annales Ratisbonenses, MGSS, XVII.

Annales Reicherspergenses, MGSS, XVII.

Annales Rosenveldenses, MGSS, XVI.

Annales Rodenses, MGSS, XVI.

Annales S. Benigni Divionensis, MGSS, V.

Annales S. Columbae Senonensis, MGSS, I.

Annales S. Disibodi, MGSS, XVII.

Annales S. Petri Erphesfurdenses, MGSS, XXI.

Annales S. Rudberti Salisburgensis, MGSS, IX.

Annales Scheftlarienses Maiores, MGSS, XVII.

Annales Stadenses, MGSS, XVI.

Annales Venetici Breves, MGSS, XIV.

Annalista Saxo, MGSS, VI.

Anonymi Barensis Chronicon, RISS, V.

Anonymi Gesta Francorum, edited by L. Bréhier, Histoire Anonyme de la Première Croisade, (Paris, 1924); edited also by H. Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg, 1890). All references to the Gesta cited from Bréhier and from Hagenmeyer.

Anonymi Gesta Ludovici VII, RHGF, XII.

Anonymi Historia Franciae, RHGF, XII.

Anonymi Rhenani Historia, RHCOcc., V, II.

Anonymi Vera Narratio foundationis prioratus S. Barbarae, RHGF, XIV.

Anonymi Vaticani Historia Sicula, RISS, VIII.

Anselm of Canterbury, Opera, PL, 158-159.

Anselm of Havelberg, Dialogi, printed in PL, 188.

Auctarium Martuimaris, MGSS, VI.

Auctarium Ursicampinum, MGSS, VI.

Baldric of Dol, Historia De Peregrinatione Jerosolimitana, RHCOcc., IV.

Bartolf of Mangis, Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Expugnantium, RHCOcc., III.

Benzo of Asti, Ad Heinricum IV Imperatorem Libri VII, MGSS, XI.

Bernard of Clairveaux, Epistolae, PL, 182.

_____, Vitae, PL, 185, RHGF, XIV.

_____, Opera Omnia, PL, 182-185.

Bernold of Constance, Chronicon, MGSS, V.

Breviarium passagii in Terram Sanctam, RHCOcc., V, I.

Bruno of Segni, Opera, PL, 165.

Caffaro, Annales Ianuenses, edited by L.T. Belgrano, FSI, volume I,
(Rome, 1890).

_____, Liberatio Orientis, edited by L.T. Belgrano, Annales
Ianuenses, FSI, volume I, (Rome, 1890).

Calixtus II, Epistolae, PL, 163.

Canonici Wissegradensis Cont. Cosmae, MGSS, IX.

Casus Monasterii Petrishusensis, MGSS, XX.

Celestine II, Epistolae, PL, 179.

Chronica Monasterii Casinensis, MGSS, VII.

Chronica Monasterii S. Bertini, MGSS, XXV.

Chronicon S. Andreae, MGSS, VII.

Chronicon Barensse, RISS, V.

Chronicon Montis Soreni, MGSS, XXIII.

Chronicon Mauriacensis, RHGF, XII.

Chronicon S. Columbae Senonensis, RHGF, XII.

Chronicon S. Maxentii Pictaviensis, in the Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou, edited by P. Marchegay and E. Mabille, (Paris, 1869). Portions of this are printed as the Chronicon Malleacense, in RHGF, XII.

Chronicon S. Petri Vivi Senonensis, RHGF, XII.

Chronicon Vindociensi, in L. Halphen, Recueil d'Annales Angevines et Vendomoises, (Paris, 1903).

Continuatio Zwetlensis Altera, MGSS, IX.

Continuatio Claustro-neoburgensis Secunda, MGSS, IX.

Dandolo, Chronicon, RISS (new), XII, I.

De expugnatione Lyxbonensi, edited by C.W. David, (New York, 1936).

De Reliquis Monachi Scaphusensis, RHCOcc., V, I.

De Translatione S. Nicolai, RHCOcc., V, I.

De Translationibus Reliquarum, RHGF, XIV.

Badmer, Historia Novorum, edited by Martin Ruge in the RS, No. 81, (London, 1884).

Ekkehard of Aura, Chronicon Universale, MGSS, VI.

_____, Hierosolymita, RHCOcc., V, I, and edited with notes by H. Hagenmeyer, (Leipzig, 1888). The text in the RHCOcc is to be preferred but the notes in Hagenmeyer are still valuable. This edition will be referred to as Hag. Ekk.

Ernoul, edited by L. de Mas Latrie, Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, (Paris, 1871).

Eugene III, Epistolae, PL, 180.

Expositio contra Turcos, RHCOcc., III.

Fragmentum Historiae Andegavenses, edited by P. Marchegay and E. Salmon in Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, (Paris, 1856).

Fragmentum De Tributo Floriacensibus imposito, RHGF, XII.

Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana, Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Peregrinantium, printed in RHCOcc., III, and edited with notes by H. Hagenmeyer, (Heidelberg, 1913). All references to Fulcher will refer to both editions. Hagenmeyer's edition will be referred to as Hag. Fulcher. The first portion of Fulcher has been translated by M.E. McGinty, (Philadelphia, 1941).

Fulco of Benevento, Chronicon, PL, 173.

Gelasius II, Epistolae, PL, 163.

Gesta abbattum Lobbiensium, MGSS, XXI.

Gesta Ambaziensem Dominorum, edited by L. Halphen and R. Poupardin in Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, (Paris, 1913).

Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensis, MGSS, VIII.

Gesta consulum Andegavorum, edited by L. Halphen and R. Poupardin, in Chroniques des Comtes d'Anjou, (Paris, 1913).

Gesta Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis, MGSS, VII.

Gesta Stephani, edited by R. Howlett, Chronicles for the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, RS, No. 82, (four volumes, London, 1884-1889).

Gesta Triumphalia per Pisanos facta, RISS (new), VI, II.

Gislebertus, Chronicon Hanoniensis, MGSS, XXI.

Godfrey of Viterbo, Pantheon, MGSS, XXII.

Gregory VII, Regesta, edited by E. Caspar in MGH Epistolae.

Guibert of Nogent, Historia Quae Dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos, RHCocc., IV.

Hadrian IV, Epistolae, PL, 188.

Hemold, Chronicon Slavorum, MGSS, XXI.

Henry of Huntingdon, De Captione Antiochiae, RHCocc., V, II.

Historia Belli Sacri, RHCocc., III. This work is also known as Tudebodus continuatus or Historia Peregrinorum sanctium Jerusalem.

Historia Ducum Veneticorum, MGSS, XIV.

Historia Monasterii Aquicinctini, MGSS, XIV.

Historia Nicaena, RHCocc., V, I.

Historia Welforum Weingartensis, MGSS, XX.

Historiae Tornacenses, MGSS, XIV.

Honorius, II, Epistolae, PL, 166.

Hugh Falcando, Libor de Regno Sicilie, edited by G.B. Siragusa, in FSI, (Rome, 1897.)

Hugh of Flavigny, Chronicon, MGSS, VIII.

Hugh of Fleury, Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum Compendium, RHCoc., V, II.

Ibelin, Le Livre de Jean d'Ibelin, RHCLois, I.

Innocent II, Epistolae, PL, 179.

John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificalis, edited by R. Lane Poole, (Oxford, 1927).

Lambert of Arles, Epistolae, PL, 162.

Landulph Junior, Historia Mediolanensis, RISS (new), V, III.

Liber de Restauratione S. Martini Tornacensis Continuatio, MGSS, XIV.

Liber Maiolichinus de Gestis Pisatorum Illustris, FSI, edited by C. Calisse, (Rome, 1904).

Lisiard of Tours, Secunda Pars Historiae Iherosolimitanae, RHCoc., III

Lucius II, Epistolae, PL, 201.

Lupus Protospatarius, Chronicon, MGSS, V.

Malaterra, Gaufredus, Historia Sicula, RISS (new), V, I.

Monachi Sazavensis Cont. Cosmae, MGSS, IX.

Narratio Floriacensis, RHCoc., V, II.

Notae Pisanae, MGSS, XIX.

Odo of Deuil, De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem, edited and translated by Virginia Berry, (New York, 1928).

Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, edited by A. Le Prevost and L. Delisle, for the Societe de l'Histoire de France, (five volumes, Paris 1838-1855).

Otto of Freising, Chronicon, MGSS, XX.

_____, _____, Continuatio Sanblasiana, MGSS, XX.

_____, Gesta Friderici Imperatoris, MGSS, XX.

_____, _____, Continuatio Ragewini, MGSS, XX.

Otto Morena, Historia, MGSS, XVIII.

Paschal II, Epistolae, PL, 163.

Passiones Sancti Thiemonis, RHCCcc., V, I.

Peter the Venerable, Epistolae, PL, 189.

Ralph of Caen, Gesta Tancredi Sicilae Regis in Expeditione Hierosolymitana, RHCCcc., III.

Raymond of Aguilers, Historia Francorum, RHCCcc., III.

Richard of Poitiers, Chronicon, RHGF, XII.

Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolymitana, RHCCcc., III.

Robert of Torigny (de Monte), Chronica, RHGF, XIII, MGSS, VI.

Romuald, Chronicon, RISS (new), VII, I.

Siccard, Chronicon, RISS, VII, PL, 213.

Sigebert of Gembloux, Chronicon, MGSS, VI.

_____, _____, Continuatio Gemblacensis, MGSS, VI.

_____, _____, Continuatio Praemonstratensis, MGSS, VI.

_____, _____, Continuatio Valcellensis, MGSS, VI.

_____, _____, Continuatio Zwetlensis prima, MGSS, IX.

Suger, Abbot of St. Denis, Vita Ludovici Grossi VI, RHGF, XII.

_____, Vita, PL, 186.

_____, Epistulae, PL, 186.

_____, Oeuvres Complètes, edited by A. Lecoy de la Marche, (Paris, 1887).

Tractatus de reliquiis S. Stephani, RHCOcc., V, I.

Translatio Godehardi Episcopi Hildesheimensis, MGSS, XII.

Translatio Mirifici Martyris Isidori, RHCOcc., V, I.

Tudebodus, De Hierosolymitano itinere, RHCOcc., III.

Urban II, Epistolae, PL, 151.

Vincent of Prague, Annales, MGSS, XVII.

Walter the Chancellor, De Bello Antiocheno, RHCOcc., V, I. This work has also been edited by H. Hagenmeyer, Galterii Cancellarii bella Antiochena, (Innsbruck, 1896).

Wibald of Stavelot, Epistolae, edited by Ph. Jaffé in Volume I of his Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum.

William of Apulia, Gesta Roberti Wiscardi, MGSS, IX.

William of Malmesbury, De Gestis Regum Anglorum, edited by W. Stubbs, in RS, No. 90, (two volumes, London, 1887-1889).

William of Tyre, Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum, RHCocc., I. Translated by A.C. Krey and E.A. Babcock, A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea, (two volumes, New York, 1943).

SECONDARY WORKS:

Allatius, Leo, De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis Perpetua Consensione, (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1648)

Amadutius, J. Ch., edited by B. Stephanopoulos, Epistulae tres Graecolatinae, (Rome, 1781)

Archer, T.A., "On the Accession Dates of the Early Kings of Jerusalem", (English Historical Review, IV, 1889), pp. 89-105.

Baldwin, M.W., "Ecclesiastical Developments in the Twelfth Century Crusaders' State of Tripoli", (Catholic Historical Review, XXII, 1936-1937), pp. 149-171.

_____, "Some Recent Interpretations of Pope Urban II's Eastern Policy", (Catholic Historical Review, XXV, 1940), pp. 459-466.

_____, "The Papacy and the Levant during the Twelfth Century", (Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, III, no. 2, January, 1945), pp. 277-287.

Ballesteros y Beretta, A., Historia de España, (eight volumes in nine, Barcelona, 1919-1936).

Beaumont, A.A., "Albert of Aachen and the County of Edessa", (The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, edited by L.J. Paetow, New York, 1928), pp. 101-138.

Benechewitch, V. Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum qui in Monasterio S. Catharinae in Monte Sinae asservantur, (St. Petersburg, 1911).

Bernhardi, Wilhelm, Lothar von Supplinburg, (Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte, Leipzig, 1879).

_____, Konrad III, (Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte, two volumes in one, Leipzig, 1883).

Bikélas, D., La Grèce Byzantine et Moderne, (Paris, 1893).

Boas, T.S.R., "Recent Developments in Crusading Historiography",
(History, XXII, 1937), pp. 110-125.

Boissonade, M.P., Du Nouveau sur La Chanson de Roland, (Paris, 1923).

_____, "Cluny, La Papauté et La Première Grande Croisade internationale contre Les Saracens en Espagne", (Revue des Questions Historiques, CXVII, 1932).

Bréhier, L., Le Schisme Oriental du XI^e Siècle, (Paris, 1889).

_____, L'Eglise et L'Orient au Moyen Age. Les Croisades,
(fourth edition, Paris, 1921).

Bridery, E., La Condition Juridique des Croises et La Privilege de Croix, (Paris, 1900).

Browne, L.E., The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia, (Cambridge, 1933).

Buckler, G., Anna Comnena, (Oxford, 1929).

Byrne, E.H., "Genoese Trade with Syria in the Twelfth Century"
(American Historical Review, XXV, 1919-1920),
pp. 191-219.

_____, "The Genoese Colonies in Syria", (The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro,
edited by L.J. Pastow, New York, 1928), pp.
139-182.

Cahen, C., "La Campagne de Manzikert d'Après les Sources Mussulmanes",
(Byzantion, IX, 1934), pp. 613-642.

_____, La Syrie du Nord à l'Epoque des Croisades, (Paris, 1940).

_____, "La Première Pénétration Turque en Asia Mineure,"
(Byzantion, XVIII, 1948), pp. 5-67.)

Cartellieri, A., Der Aufsteig des Papsttums im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte 1047-1095? (Munich, 1936).

- _____, Der Vorrang des Papsttums zur Zeit der Ersten Kreuzzüge 1095-1150, (Munich-Berlin, 1941).
- Caspar, E., Roger II. (1101-1154) und Die Gründung der Normannisch-Sicilischen Monarchie, (Innsbruck, 1904).
- _____, and Rassow, P., "Die Kreuzzugsbullen Eugens III", (Neues Archiv, XLV, Berlin, 1924), pp. 285-303.
- Chalandon, F., Les Comnènes. Études sur l'Empire Byzantin aux XI^e et XII^e Siècles. I. Essai sur le Règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081-1118), (Paris, 1900). II. Jean II Comnène et Manuel Comnène, (Paris, 1913).
- _____, Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile, (two volumes, Paris, 1907).
- _____, Histoire de la Première Croisade, (Paris, 1925).
- Charanis, P., "Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade", (Byzantion, XIX, 1949), pp. 17-37.
- _____, "A Greek Source and the First Crusade", (Speculum, XXIV, 1949), pp. 93-94.
- _____, "Aims of the Medieval Crusades and how they were viewed by Byzantium", (Church History, XXI, 1952), pp. 123-154.
- Constable, Giles, "The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries", (Traditio, IX, 1953), pp. 213-279.
- Cossack, H. "Konrads III Entschluss zum Kreuzzug", (Mitteilungen des für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXV, 1914).
- Cramer, Valmar, "Kreuzpredigt und Kreuzzugsgedanke von Bernhard von Clairveaux bis Humbert von Romans", (Das Heilige Land in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, XVII-XX, Köln, 1939).
- Crozet, R., "Le Voyage d'Urban II et ses Négociations avec le Clergé de France", (Revue Historique, CLXXIX-CLXXX, 1937), pp. 271-310.

- Curtis, E., Roger II and the Normans in Lower Italy 1016-1154, (New York-London, 1912).
- David, C.W., Robert Curthose, (Cambridge, Mass., 1920).
- Delarc, O., Les Normands en Italie depuis les premières invasions jusqu'à l'Avènement de S. Grégoire VII, (Paris, 1883).
- Delaville Le Roulx, J., De prima origine Hospitalariorum Hierosolymitanorum, (Paris, 1885).
- _____, Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, (Paris, 1904).
- _____, Mélanges sur l'Ordre de S. Jean de Jérusalem, (Paris, 1910).
- Delbruck, H., Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte, (three volumes, Berlin, 1900-1907).
- Diehl, Charles, Figures Byzantines, (second series, Paris, 1906).
- _____, Une République patricienne: Venise, (Paris, 1916).
- _____, and Marcais, G., Le Monde Oriental de 395 à 1081, (being Volume III of the Histoire Générale, edited by G. Glotz, Histoire du Moyen Age, Paris, 1936).
- _____, Guillard, G., Oeconomis L., and Grousset, R., L'Europe Orientale de 1081 à 1453, (being Volume IX of the Histoire Générale, Histoire du Moyen Age, edited by G. Glotz, Paris, 1945).
- Dodu, G., Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques dans le Royaume Latin de Jerusalem, (Paris, 1894).
- Draseke, J., "Bischof Anselm von Havelberg und seine Gesandtschaftsreisen nach Byzanz", (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXI, 1900), pp. 160-185.
- Ducange, C. du F., edited by E.G. Rey, Les Familles d'Outre-Mer, (Paris, 1869).

- Dvornik, F., The Photian Schism, History and Legend, (Cambridge, 1948).
- Duncalf, F., "The Peasants' Crusade", (American Historical Review, XXVI, 1920-1921), pp. 440-453.
- _____, "The Pope's Plan for the First Crusade", (The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, edited by L.J. Paetow, New York, 1928), pp. 44-56.
- Erdmann, C., Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens, (Stuttgart, 1935).
- Every, G., The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204, (London, 1947).
- Fliche, A., "Urban II et la Croisade", (Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France, XIII, 1927), pp. 289-366.
- _____, "Les Origines de l'Action de la Papauté en vue de la Croisade", (Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique, XXXIV, 1938), pp. 765-775.
- _____, L'Europe Occidentale de 888 à 1125, (being Volume II of the Histoire Générale. Histoire du Moyen Age, edited by G. Glotz, Paris, 1941).
- _____, La Réforme Grégorienne et la Reconquete Chrétienne (1057-1123), (being Volume VIII of the Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les Origines jusqu'à nos jours, edited by A.Fliche, V.Martin and E.Jarry, Paris, 1950).
- _____, Foreville, R., and Rousset de Pina, J., Du Premier Concile du Latran à l'Avènement d'Innocent III (1123-1198), (being Volume IX, part one, of the Histoire de l'Eglise depuis Les Origines jusqu'à nos jours, edited by A.Fliche, V. Martin and E.Jarry, Paris, 1948).
- Foakes-Jackson, F.J., "Anna Comnena", (The Hibbert Journal, XXXIII, 1934-1935), pp. 430-432.
- Foreville, R. and Rousset de Pina, J., Du Premier Concile du Latran à l'Avènement d'Innocent III (1123-1198), (being Volume IX, part two, of the Histoire de l'Eglise depuis Les Origines jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1953).

Gay, J., L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin, (Paris, 1904).

Gibbon, Edward, edited by J.B. Bury, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, (seven volumes, London, 1909-1914).

Gleber, H., Papst Eugen III, (Jena, 1936).

Grandclaude M., Étude Critique sur Les Livres des Assises de Jérusalem, (Paris, 1923).

Grousset, R., Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem, (three volumes, Paris, 1934-1936).

Grumel, V., "Les Patriarches d'Antioche du nom de Jean", (Echos d'Orient, XXXII, 1930), pp. 286-298.

_____, "Jérusalem entre Rome et Byzance: Une lettre inconnu du patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas III a son collègue de Jérusalem (vers 1089)", (Echos d'Orient, XXXVIII, 1939).

Hagenmeyer, H., Peter der Eremit, (Leipzig, 1879), translated into French by F. Renaud, Le Vrai et le Faux sur Pierre l'Hermite, (Paris, 1883).

_____, "Étude sur la Chronique de Zimmern", (Archives de l'Orient Latin, II).

_____, "Der Briefe des Kaisers Alexios I Komnenos an den Grafen Robert I von Flandern", (Byzantinisches Zeitschrift, VI, 1897), pp. 1-32;

_____, "Chronologie de la Première Croisade et du Royaume de Jérusalem", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, VI-XII, 1898-1911). The first part of these investigations was published separately at Paris in 1902.

Halphen, Louis, L'Essor de l'Europe, (Paris, 1940).

Hampel, E., Untersuchungen über das lateinische Patriarcat von Jerusalem, (Breslau, 1899).

- Hansen, J., Das Problem eines Kirchenstaates in Jerusalem, (Luxembourg, 1928).
- Hartmann, L.M., The Early Medieval State, (Historical Association Pamphlet, G 14, London, 1949).
- Hatem, A., Les Poèmes Epiques des Croisades, (Paris, 1932).
- Hayek, D., Le Droit Franc en Syrie, (Paris, 1925).
- Hefele, K.J. von, Histoire des conciles, translated from the German into French by Dom H. Leclercq, Paris, 1907--).
- Heinemann, L. von, Geschichte der Normannen in Unteritalien, (Leipzig, 1892).
- Heyd, W., Histoire de Commerce du Levant, (translated by the German by Furcy Renaud, two volumes, second impression, Leipzig, 1936).
- Hitti, P.K. A History of the Arabs, (London, 1937).
- Hodgson, F.C., The Early History of Venice from the Foundation to the Conquest of Constantinople. (London, 1901).
- Hoenicke, G., Studien zur Geschichte des Hospitalordens im Königreich Jerusalem, (Halle, 1897).
- Hofmann, Georg, "Papst Gregor VII. und die Christliche Osten", (Studi Gregoriani, edited by G.B. Borino, Rome, 1947, Volume I), pp. 169-181.
- Holtzmann, W., "Studien zur Orientpolitik des Reformpapsttums und zur Entstehung des ersten Kreuzzuges", (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXII, 1924-1925), pp. 167-189.
- _____, "Der Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Alexius I und Urban II im Jahre 1089", (Byzantinisches Zeitschrift, XXVIII, 1928), pp. 38-67.

- _____, "Zur Geschichte des Investiturstreites", (Neues Archiv, L, 1935), pp. 270-282, contains the text, with commentary, of Bohemund's letter to Paschal II in 1106.
- Houtsma, M.T., "Seljuks", (The Encyclopaedia Britannica, eleventh edition), XXIV, pp. 608-611.
- Hüffer, G., "Die Anfänge des Zweiten Kreuzzuges", (Historisches Jahrbuch, VIII, 1887), pp. 391-429.
- Iorga, N., Breve Histoire des Croisades et de leurs Foundations en Terre Sainte, (Paris, 1924).
- _____, Les Narrateurs de la Première Croisade, (Paris, 1928).
- Jalland, T.G., The Church and the Papacy, (London-New York, 1944).
- Jamison, E., "Some Notes on the Anonymi Gesta Francorum with Special Reference to the Norman Contingent from south Italy and Sicily in the First Crusade", (Studies in French Literature and Medieval Literature presented to Professor M.K. Pope, Manchester, 1939), pp. 183-202.
- Jordan, E., L'Allemagne et l'Italie aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles, (being Volume IV, part one, of the Histoire Générale, Histoire du Moyen Age, edited by G. Glotz, Paris, 1939).
- Jugie, M., "Le Schisme de Michel Cerulaire", (Echos d'Orient, XXXV, Paris, 1937), pp. 440-473.
- _____, Le Schisme Byzantin, (Paris, 1941).
- Kap-Herr, H. von, Die Abendländische Politik Kaiser Manuels, (Strasbourg, 1881).
- Klein, C., Raimund von Aguilers: Quellenstudie zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, (Berlin, 1892).
- Krebs, F., Zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen, (Münster, 1881).

Krey, A.C., The First Crusade, (Princeton, 1921).

_____, "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta", (The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, edited by L.J. Paetow, New York, 1928), pp. 57-78.

_____, "William of Tyre. The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages", (Speculum, XVI, 1941), pp. 149-166.

_____, "Urban's Crusade - Success or Failure?", (American Historical Review, LIII, 1947-1948), pp. 235-250.

King, E.S., The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land, (London, 1931).

Kretschmayr, A., Geschichte von Venedig, (two volumes, Leipzig, 1905-1920).

Krumpholtz, K., Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur, (second edition, Munich, 1897).

Kühn, F., Geschichte des ersten lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem, (Leipzig, 1886).

_____, "Zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen", (Neues Archiv, XII, 1887), pp. 543-548.

Kühne, E., Zur Geschichte des Fürstentums Antiochien, 1098-1130, (Berlin, 1897).

Kugler, B., Boemund und Tankred, Fürsten von Antiochen, (Tübingen, 1862).

_____, Studien zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzuges, (Stuttgart, 1866).

_____, Anseleuten zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzuges, (Tübingen, 1878).

_____, Neue Anseleuten zur Geschichte des Zweiten Kreuzzuges, (Tübingen, 1883).

- _____, Albert von Aachen, (Stuttgart, 1885).
- _____, Analecten zur Kritik Alberts von Aachen, (Tübingen, 1888).
- _____, Eine Neue Handschrift Alberts von Aachen, (Tübingen, 1893).
- _____, Die deutsche Handschriften Alberts von Aachen, (Tübingen, 1894).
- La Monte, John, "To what extent was the Byzantine Empire the Suzerain of the Latin Crusading States", (Byzantion, VII, 1932), pp. 253-264.
- _____, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).
- _____, "Some Problems in Crusading Historiography", (Speculum, XV, 1940), pp. 57-75.
- _____, "La Papauté et les Croisades", (Renaissance, II-III, 1945), pp. 154-167.
- Laurent, J., Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides jusqu'en 1081, (Nancy, 1913).
- _____, L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam, (Paris, 1919).
- Leib, B., Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la Fin du XIème Siècle, (Paris, 1924).
- _____, "Deux Inédits Byzantines sur les Azymites au debut du XIIème Siècle", (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, II, 3, No. 19, Rome, 1924), pp. 133-216.
- Leonard, E.G., Introduction au Cartulaire Manuscrit du Temple, 1150-1317, (Paris, 1930).
- Longon, J., Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen Age, (Paris, 1929).
- Lot, F., L'Art Militaire et les Armées du Moyen Age, (two volumes, Paris, 1946).

- Lundgreen, F., Wilhelm von Tyrus und die Tempelordern, (Berlin, 1911).
- Meas, P., "Die Musen der Kaisers Alexios I", (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXII, 1913), pp. 348-369.
- Manfroni, G., "Le relazioni fra Genova, L'Impero Bizantino e I Turchi", (Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, XXVIII, Genoa, 1896), pp. 577-858.
- de Mas Latrie, L., "Essai de classification des Continuateurs de l'Histoire des Croisades de Guillaume de Tyre", (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, fifth series, I, 1871), pp. 38-140.
- _____, "Les Patriarches Latins de Jérusalem", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I, 1893), pp. 16-41.
- _____, "Les Patriarches Latins d'Antioche", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, II, 1894), pp. 192-205.
- Melville, M., La Vie des Templiers, (Paris, 1951).
- Meyer von Knonau, G., Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV und Heinrich V, (seven volumes, Leipzig, 1890-1909).
- Michel, A., Humbert und Kerularios, (two volumes, Paderborn, 1924-1930).
- _____, "Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit", (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, No. 121, Rome, 1939).
- Moeller, C., "Godéfroid de Bouillon et l'Avourie du Saint Sépulchre", (Mélanges Godéfroid Kurth, Leipzig, 1908), pp. 75-83.
- Monod, B., Essai sur les Rapports de Pascal II avec Philippe Ier (1099-1108), (Paris, 1907).
- Munro, Dana C., "The Speech of Urban II at Clermont", (American Historical Review, XI, 1906), pp. 231-242.

- _____, "The Popes and the Crusades", (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LV, No. 5, 1916), pp. 348-356.
- _____, "Did the Emperor Alexius ask for aid at the Council of Piacenza?", (American Historical Review, XXVII, 1922), pp. 731-733.
- _____, "A Crusader", (Speculum, VII, 1932), pp. 321-335.
- _____, The Kingdom of the Crusaders, (New York-London, 1936).
- Neumann, C. Bernhard von Clairveaux und die Anfänge des Zeiten Kreuzzuges, (Heidelberg, 1882).
- _____, Geschichte Geschichtschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im Zwölften Jahrhundert, (Leipzig, 1888).
- _____, Die Weltstellung des Byzantinischen Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen, (Heidelberg, 1914).
- Nicholson, R.L., Tancred, (Chicago, 1940).
- Norden, W., Das Papsttum und Byzanz, (Berlin, 1903).
- Oeconomus, L., La Vie Religieuse dans l'Empire Byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges, (Paris, 1918).
- Ohnsorge, W., "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Manuels I. von Byzanz", (Festschrift Albert Brackmann, edited by L. Santifaller,) Weimar, 1931.
- Oman, Sir Charles, A History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, (London, 1898).
- Ormanian, M., The Church of Armenia, (translated from the French by G. Marcar Gregory, London, 1912).
- Oster, E., Anna Komnena, (3 Progr., Rastatt, 1868-1871).
- Palmieri, A., "Filioque", (Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique, V, II, cc. 2309-2343.

- Paris, P., Guillaume de Tyre et ses continuateurs, (two volumes, Paris, 1879).
- Pfeiffer, E., "Die Stellung des heiligen Bernhards zur Kreuzzugsbewegung", (Cistercienserchronik, XLVI, 1934), pp. 273-283, 304-311.
- Poole, R. Lane, "John of Salisbury at the Papal Court", (English Historical Review, XXXVIII, 1923), pp. 321-330.
- Porges, W., "The Clergy, the Poor and the non-Combatants on the First Crusade", (Speculum, XXI, 1946), pp. 1-23.
- Prutz, H., "Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus", (Neues Archiv, VIII, 1882), pp. 93-132.
- Prutz, H., Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens, (Berlin, 1888).
- _____, Die Geistlichen Ritterorden, (Berlin, 1908).
- Reg, E.G., Les Colonies Franques de Syrie, (Paris, 1883).
- Riant, Paul, Études sur l'Histoire de l'Église de Bethléem, (two volumes, Genoa, 1889-1896).
- _____, "Eclaircissements sur quelques points de l'Histoire de l'Église de Bethléem-Ascalon", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I, 1893).
- Richard, J., Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie Toulousaine, (Paris, 1945).
- Röhrich, R., "Syria Sacra", (Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-vereins, X, 1887), pp. 1-43.
- _____, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, (Innsbruck, 1898).
- _____, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, (Innsbruck, 1901).
- Rousset, P., Les Origines et les Caractères de la Première Croisade, (Neuchâtel, 1945).

- Runciman, S., A History of the Crusades, (three volumes, Cambridge, 1953-1954).
- Salloch, M., Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus, (Greifswald, 1934).
- Schaube, A., Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets, (Munich, 1906).
- Schlumberger, G., Numismatique de l'Orient Latin, (Paris, 1878).
- _____, "Deux Chefs Normands des Armées Byzantines", (Revue Historique, XVI, 1881), pp. 289-303.
- _____, Renaud de Chatillon, (Paris, 1923).
- Schmidt, J., Des Basilios aus Achrida Erzbischof von Thessalonich
Bisher inedierte Dialoge, (Manick, 1901).
- Schrader, C.E. "The Historical Development of the Papal Monarchy", (Catholic Historical Review, XXII, 1936), pp. 259-282.
- Schreiber, G. "Anselm von Havelberg und die Ostkirche", (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, LX, 1941), pp. 357-362.
- Schwerin, U., Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innozenz IV., (Berlin, 1937).
- Seeger, J., Byzantinische Historiker des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts:
I. Nikephorus Bryennius, (Munich, 1938).
- Simonsfeld, H. Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Friedrich I., (two volumes, Leipzig, 1908).
- Stevenson, W.B., The Crusaders in the East, (Cambridge, 1907).
- Thurot, Ch., "Etudes critiques sur les historiens de la Première Croisade", (Revue Historique, I, 1876), pp. 61-77, 372-386.

Runciman, S., A History of the Crusades, (three volumes, Cambridge, 1953-1954).

Salloch, M., Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus, (Greifswald, 1934).

Schaube, A., Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets, (Munich, 1906).

Schlumberger, G., Numismatique de l'Orient Latin, (Paris, 1878).

_____, "Deux Chefs Normands des Armées Byzantines", (Revue Historique, XVI, 1881), pp. 289-303.

_____, Renaud de Chatillon, (Paris, 1923).

Schmidt, J., Des Basilios aus Achrida Erzbischof von Thessalonich
Bisher inedierte Dialoge, (Manick, 1901).

Schrader, C.E. "The Historical Development of the Papal Monarchy", (Catholic Historical Review, XXII, 1936), pp. 259-282.

Schreiber, G. "Anselm von Havelberg und die Ostkirche", (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, LX, 1941), pp. 357-362.

Schwerin, U., Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innozenz IV., (Berlin, 1937).

Segar, J., Byzantinische Historiker des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts:
I. Nikephorus Bryennius, (Munich, 1888).

Simonsfeld, H. Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Friedrich I., (two volumes, Leipzig, 1908).

Stevenson, W.B., The Crusaders in the East, (Cambridge, 1907).

Thurot, Ch., "Études critiques sur les historiens de la Première Croisade", (Revue Historique, I, 1876), pp. 61-77, 372-386.

Tournebize, F., Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Armonie,
(Paris, 1919).

Vacandard, E., Vie de Saint Bernard, (fourth edition, two volumes,
(Paris, 1927).

Vasiliev, A.A., History of the Byzantine Empire, (Madison, Wisconsin,
1952).

Villey, M., La Croisade. Essai sur la Formation d'une Theorie
Juridique, (Paris, 1942).

de Vogüé, C.J.M., Les Églises de la Terre Sainte, (Paris, 1860).

Williams, W. Saint Bernard of Clairveaux, (Manchester, 1935).

Wittek, P. "Deux Chapitre de l'Histoire des Turcs de Roum",
(Byzantion, XI, 1936), pp. 285-319.

Yewdale, R.B., Bohemund I, Prince of Antioch, (New York, 1917).

PART ONE

The Reign of Paschal II.

Section One:

THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND THE CRUSADERS IN THE EAST

1. Alexius I. Comnenus (1081-1118).

The chief architect of the revived glories of the Byzantine Empire of the late eleventh century was Alexius I. Comnenus.¹ Indeed, the dangers which Alexius had faced in the opening years of his reign had been of such a staggering character as to render doubtful the survival of his Empire.² To the north, there were the barbarian tribes, notably the Comans and the Patzinaks.³ To the west, Alexius was confronted with the invasion of the Normans,⁴ led by Robert Guiscard, the first of a series of Norman wars directed towards the conquest of the Empire. To the east, the Seljuk Turks continued their triumphant advance, following their annihilation of the imperial armies at Manzikert.⁵ Not only were there enemies without, but also there were tensions and conspiracies within the Empire itself and in the capitol.⁶ By incredible daring, by military genius and diplomatic adroitness, and above all, by a personal courage which is revealed on almost every page of the Alexiad, Alexius was able to defend the Western provinces of his Empire, and to preserve the Empire within from sedition and rebellion, - all this during a period when the Empire appeared to be drowning in the midst of a sea of enemies. The Normans were driven, as we shall briefly describe below, from imperial territory by the year 1085. Then Alexius turned his attention towards the barbarians from the north who had taken advantage of his difficulties with the Normans to roam at will through the western provinces of the Empire.

Success attended him: the Patzinaks were annihilated in 1091, the Comans in 1094.⁷

In Asia Minor, however, he accomplished little during the opening years of his reign. Manzikert had destroyed the army of Romanus IV Diogenes. This defeat, together with the attacks of the barbarians and Normans in the west, and the internal tensions within the Empire,⁸ had made the defence of Asia Minor impossible.⁹ Iconium was lost in 1084. Antioch, the great fortress on the Orontes, was captured by trickery and deceit in 1085.¹⁰ Alexius was helpless. What little energy he had had to be spent in the west. Therefore, the Turks continued their slow but irresistible advance. At one point, it seemed likely that the Turkish emir of Smyrna, Tzackas, would create a mammoth military alliance between the Seljuk Turks and the Patzinaks which would crush the Empire in a huge pincer-like movement.¹¹ Fortunately, Alexius defeated the Patzinaks. However, the threat of a Turkish attack on the capitol from the sea coupled with an invasion of the Peloponnese remained. Their advance into Bithynia towards Nicomedia and the Propontis continued.¹² More and more, the Bosphorus and the Aegean had become the true line of defence against Islam.

However, by the year 1095, the strength of the Byzantine Empire in the west had improved to such a degree that Alexius could begin to think about a counter-offensive against the Turks. Some encouragement could be found in the fact that since the death of Malek Shah in 1092, the Turkish advance had been hindered somewhat by internecine warfare between sultan, emir and satrap.¹³ Military initiative had passed to the Greeks and with the defeat of the barbarians and the Normans, this became a genuine possibility.¹⁴ The

achievements of Alexius had been impressive. The western enemies had been defeated. The royal finances, almost non-existent in 1081, had somehow been restored.¹⁵ The central administration, strained asunder and rendered inert by the years of political intrigue prior to Alexius' accession, was functioning smoothly. The magnificence of the court continued to uphold Byzantine prestige.

Yet, despite all of this, Alexius knew that he would need help. He had not the troops required for large-scale operations in Asia Minor. Asia Minor, by and large, was lost and with it had gone the Empire's source of its best soldiers and sailors. Large numbers of mercenaries were required, and there was only the West which remained as a potential source of military assistance.¹⁶

To the West, Alexius had turned for help before. When Robert of Flanders returned from Jerusalem via Constantinople in 1081,¹⁷ Alexius had received his promise to send out mercenaries which would assist the Emperor in his battles.¹⁸ During the war against Guiscard, Alexius also turned to the west for support,¹⁹ and again ~~in~~ he had appealed to Urban II for help against the Patzinaks in 1091.²⁰ Thus, Alexius was following an established custom when at this time in 1095 he appealed to the West, specifically to the Pope, for assistance in the procurement of mercenaries for his army. The result of this appeal was the papal exhortation to the assembled bishops in the council of Piacenza in March of 1095, urging that they do all in their power to assist the Eastern Emperor in his struggles against the infidel. This proved to be the beginning of that great western movement towards the Holy Places which we call the First Crusade.²¹

The Byzantine Emperor received more from the West than he

had bargained for. Alexius had looked for mercenaries to assist in the undertaking of large-scale operations in Asia Minor. He received, instead, a crusade, a vast mob of Latins, poorly disciplined, journeying towards Jerusalem. As Gibbon so wittily remarked, Alexius was like the Hindu shepherd who, having prayed for rain, received a flood.²²

Alexius, we can imagine, with some degree of certainty, found the idea of a crusade incomprehensible and the advent in fact of such a notion quite alarming. As for the idea of a crusade, we should state that the Byzantine had no comparable idea of a holy war in their intellectual and spiritual make-up. The Byzantine Church had never been persuaded to bless a holy war.²³ The Byzantine had no enthusiasm comparable to the religious jingoism which had found expression in the crusade movement. The Byzantine might wonder why the Latins would go to the Holy Land when the golden city on the Bosphorus herself held within her churches all the major relics of the Christian tradition. What need to go farther?

Further it should be stated, that for the Byzantine, all things were subsumed under politics.²⁴ Palestine, almost devoid of vital religious interest to the Byzantine Christian, was also emptied of all political content. Its recovery was not vital to the Empire. What the Empire needed was aid and assistance in recovering the precious province of Asia Minor. The religio-political attitudes which were so characteristic of the Byzantine equated the defence of the Empire with the defence of Christendom. Why thus go to Palestine? Therefore, since they lacked the necessary equipment for the understanding of the minds of the Crusaders, Alexius and his countrymen could not see the Crusade as anything but a useless and indeed

dangerous expedition.²⁵ In this there was some justice. In the first place, the passage of the Latins like locusts through the Western Provinces would bring economic and social havoc to a land which had had enough of depredation and pillage.²⁶ Not only this, it soon became clear that the rank and file of the crusaders cared little for the safety of Constantinople. After all, they were marching towards Jerusalem.²⁷ Quite naturally, Alexius feared the power of the crusaders. As they approached the capitol, it was plain to the Emperor that his armies were but a fraction of the combined forces of the Latins. Not only this, most of his army was dispersed, guarding the extensive frontiers and boundaries of the Empire. While the barbarians of the Balkan Peninsula could be appeased through threats, bribery, and clever treaty writing, Alexius could not risk the withdrawal of any of these troops from the frontier in order to meet the peril of the Crusade.²⁸ While he had little respect for Latin discipline and military precision, knowing Latin instability, avarice, and emotional uncertainty, Alexius feared the Latins because of their strength, numerical and physical, and also for the vitality and energy which made them irresistible in the heat of battle.²⁹ Besides, in addition to all of this, the Empire had had bitter experience with unruly Latin mercenaries. Only the brilliance of Alexius, who was at that time Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Armies, had saved the Empire from total disruption during the revolt of the Frankish mercenary Roussel in the reign of Michael Ducas.³⁰

Finally there was something about the Crusade which was far more alarming to Alexius than anything we have mentioned. It was clear to the Greeks, - despite a touch of cynicism and contemptuous

amusement, - that most of the Crusaders wished genuinely to worship at the sacred shrines in Palestine.³¹ Yet it was equally clear to Alexius that some of them had dreams of conquest.³² The chief reason for this conviction was undoubtedly the presence of Bohemund among the leaders of the First Crusade. It should be remembered that for 200 years the Normans had swept the seas, and that their energy was not even yet expended. In Bohemund Alexius beheld the son of that Guiscard who had attempted to seize the throne of the Empire at the outset of Alexius' reign. The memory of the danger to which Guiscard has exposed the Empire had not effaced itself from the mind of Alexius I.

A cursory reading of Anna Comnena will reveal the hatred, fear and indeed, the admiration which the Greeks felt for the Normans.³³ They, as had others, had taken advantage of the "time of troubles" within the Empire to increase their own power at Byzantine expense. Bari had been captured in the same year as the defeat of Manzikert. With its fall, the Normans destroyed the Greek power in Apulia and Calabria. Their aggression seemed all the more insulting when the Normans had contracted a marriage with the imperial throne: Helen, daughter of Guiscard, was betrothed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, brother of Michael VII. This attempt on the part of Michael VII Duca~~s~~ to control the Norman ambition was to prove a boomerang to the Empire.³⁴ For when Nicephoras Botaniates usurped the throne, he annulled the marriage, sending Constantine and Helen off to the convent.³⁵ However, the "foreign and barbaric"³⁶ race came forward with a new deceit. Guiscard produced a monk who claimed to be the deposed Michael who had fled to the court of Robert to ask him for help in regaining his throne.³⁷ With this pretext as a cloak,

Guiscard invaded the Western provinces of the Empire in the year 1081.³⁸ Gregory VII, perhaps encouraged by the Donation of Constantine which gave portions of the Balkan peninsula and the islands of Corfu and Cephalonia to the Papacy,³⁹ blinded by his zeal to have justice done to the pseudo-Michael whose genuineness he accepted, fearful of Henry IV, and needing Norman support in Italy, gave his blessing to the war.⁴⁰ It may also be that Gregory looked for a revival of his plans for church union and the defence of Christendom against Islam, plans which we shall discuss in another place and which Gregory had had several years previous to this. Religion and politics are inextricably joined together in this first Norman attack with papal blessing upon the mainland of the Byzantine Empire.

The skill of Alexius, the timely aid from the Venetian fleet,⁴¹ the exigencies of the Norman-papal alliance in Italy,⁴² and the opportune death of Guiscard, conspired to grant victory to the Greeks. Just how far Robert's ambitions ranged we do not know.⁴³ However, the Byzantines were left with a great fear of Norman ambition. Thus, from the first, it must have seemed as if the Crusade were merely another Norman device to conquer the Empire. The Byzantines were not alone in this identification of the Crusade with Norman ambition. William of Malmesbury thought that Bohemund had originated the Crusade as a pretext to hide his designs on the imperial throne.⁴⁴

The Greeks were well aware that their golden city on the Bosphorus was the object of much ambition and desire. The greatest city in Europe during the Middle ages, with its incredibly wealthy churches, its rich industries, its vast commercial organisation, its palaces which outwardly expressed the glory of the Byzantine Caesars, Constantinople exercised an unholy fascination on many Westerners,

especially the Normans, who had taken the place of the Byzantines in South Italy and whose natural successors they considered themselves to be.⁴⁵ Although the Empire was to discover that most of the crusaders were animated by a simple desire to liberate the Sepulchre of the Lord and nothing more, and that most of the leaders, if unruly, constituted no great danger, nonetheless, it seemed at first as if the Empire were in a moment of supreme danger when the crusaders entered the imperial territory.

One final matter. We have discussed the Byzantine attitude towards the crusaders as such. We must mention the divisions existing between East and West at this time. The next section will describe in brief compass the relations between the Greek and Latin churches as they existed on the eve of the Crusades. However, it should be stressed at the start that the animosity which marked the encounter of Greek and Latin during the Crusade arose more from cultural and racial diversities than from theological differences. To the Greek, the Latin was a proud barbarian, worthy of scorn and contempt, whose advent as a crusader was greatly to be feared and distrusted.⁴⁶ To the Latin, it is plain, - throughout the twelfth century, - that the Greek was something less than a man, cowardly, deceitful, effeminate.⁴⁷ This reaction was increased when the Latins encountered the obvious superiorities of civilised life in Constantinople. All this is of the greatest importance in assessing the true significance of the existing relations between the Greek and Latin Churches.

2. Relations between the Greek and Latin Churches at the Time of the First Crusade.

We have discussed the Greek reaction to the Crusade and the

and the additional animosity arising from the cultural and racial diversities between Latin and Greek. To complete the picture, we must enquire as to the state of relations existing between the churches of East and West and then turn to the ever-vexing question of the papal attitude vis à vis the Crusade in connection with the Greek church.⁴⁸

At the outset, we should state that the Greeks regarded the Latins as their fellow Christians. Indeed, Anna Comnena, who hated the Latins and whose opinions are representative of her time, despite her hatred of the Papacy, always regards the Latins as the possessors of true Christian faith.⁴⁹ Further, at the beginning of the Crusade period, there is little doubt that the Latins, in their turn, regarded Easterners as partakers with them in the Christian dispensation.⁵⁰ Thus, during the progress of the First Crusade, Adhemar and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Simeon, wrote a joint letter to the faithful in the West, urging them to continue the prosecution of the Crusade.⁵¹ This and the letters which Anselm of Ribemont wrote to his metropolitan, Manasses, Archbishop of Rheims, indicate that friendly feelings existed often between the members of the Greek and Latin churches.⁵²

However, when these acknowledgements have been made, it must be seen that the eleventh century is marked by an ever-widening break between the two churches. Indeed, there was a time when historians considered the excommunication of Michael Cerularius to be the event which sundered once and for all the ties between the Latin and the Greek churches. Considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to this event and the relations between the two churches after it, and our understanding of the significance of the

Cerularian schism has been corrected ~~at~~ many points. The effect which the Crusades had upon the relationship between the two churches is one of the recurring themes in this dissertation. It is therefore important for us that we consider in brief compass the important elements in the growing schism between the two churches.

First, we should recall that Byzantine society was ruled by what we to-day call Caesaropapism.⁵³ The Emperor of Constantinople was in supreme control of all the outward ordering of church affairs. He regulated the disposition of benefices, the election of bishops, etc. Nowhere in Byzantine life could there be found any notion that the clergy were independent of the rest of society. All things were unified in the Byzantine world. The clergy and the laity were not two but one. At the head of the society stood the Emperor who, in the words of the Patriarch of Antioch, Theodore Balsamon, a celebrated canonist of the twelfth century, was a priest who ministered under God to the soul and the body of the Empire. The Patriarch of Constantinople, taking the pre-eminent place among the patriarchates of the Eastern churches, ministered only to the soul of the society.⁵⁴ Where the imperial power ran so did the jurisdiction of the Greek hierarchy. Wherever the Oecumene extended, we find the same unity between clergy and laity, a unity symbolised in the person and function of the Emperor. It is plain therefore that the structure of Byzantine society would be endangered if there were a supreme ecclesiastical authority which stood outside and even beyond the authority of the Emperor. Further, Byzantium never looked for a sole magisterium, a sole custodian of authority and of Christian doctrine. The custody of the sacred

tradition, the preservation of Christian faith and practise was the concern of all members of the society which coincided with the extent of the imperial power. Even to those who lived under the political rule of the heathen there was but one church, one society, one emperor and one faith. Christian faith and practise therefore in the history of Byzantium was something which always had political ramifications, just as political actions were always intertwined with matters spiritual and ecclesiastical.⁵⁵

It is one of the bitter things in the history of Christendom that the attempt by the Popes to free themselves from the control of the temporal power and thus achieve the reform of the Church,-- that attempt which we loosely denominate the Gregorian Reform,-- played no small role in the final separation of the churches of East and West. In an attempt to secure the "libertas" of the Church, the Roman Church, relying upon the doctrine of the Petrine supremacy and also upon such documents as the Donation of Constantine, presented herself to the world as the supreme custodian of the Faith and final authority over the life and activity of the Christian Church. Then the Papacy undertook to realise its divinely appointed role as the spiritual head of Christian society. To the Byzantine eye, this claim, coupled with the temporal ambitions of the Papacy, constituted a usurpation of the place in Christian society rightly enjoyed only by the Emperor at Constantinople. This is not to say that the doctrine of the Roman primacy was the only cause of theological dissension. However, the clash between the Petrine Supremacy and Byzantine Caesaropapism is one of the fundamental reasons for the continued growth of the schism between the churches, and further, this conflict is implicit in much of

the dealings which the Papacy was to have the Byzantine Emperors throughout the period covered by this dissertation.⁵⁶

The first great sign in the growing estrangement between the two churches had been the so-called excommunication of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius in 1054.⁵⁷ While the true nature of this event, seriously misunderstood and misrepresented until recently, need not concern us, it is fair to say that the action of Cardinal Humbert in excommunicating the Patriarch Michael Cerularius gave the Patriarch the chance to pose as the defender of Greek Christianity against the pretensions of the Latins. The Greek hierarchy throughout our period was popular with the laity of the Greek church as the defenders of the integrity and purity of the Greek tradition against the "innovations" of the Latins.⁵⁸ Not only this, the incident of 1054 enabled the church of Constantinople to pose as the defender of all Eastern Christians against the claims of Rome. While decisive evidence is lacking, it is more than likely that in the last analysis the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem and ~~Rome~~ ^{Antioch} were in line with Constantinople in regard to the question of the Roman primacy.⁵⁹ Further, we cannot but notice that the period after 1054 sees some decline in friendliness on the part of the Empire towards Latin visitors and pilgrims.⁶⁰

If the procedure of the papal legates in 1054 aroused animosity, there were other sources of irritation. Pope Sergius IV, who reigned from 1009 to 1012, had, under German and Cluniac influences, officially introduced the Filioque, - the doctrine of the Double Procession, - into the Nicene Creed. This innovation had had its birth in the houses of reformed Benedictines, and the Greeks resented this innovation by the Roman Church which had acted without

consulting the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.⁶¹ Further, there was disagreement concerning the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the Eucharist. The brilliant scholar Michael Psellus in the period immediately preceding the accession of Alexius had singled out this Latin usage and the innovation of the Filioque in a vigorous attack on the Latin Church.⁶² Further, as occasions for mutual misunderstanding and suspicion, there were also the many divergences in liturgical tradition, piety and cultus between East and West.

Yet it should be said that the divergences in usage were things of long standing. Greeks had criticised the Latins on various ecclesiastical matters before and the Latins had replied in kind. In fact, one could perhaps over-emphasize the divergences existing between the churches at the beginning of Alexius' reign in 1081. In many ways it could be said that the current trend of scholarship has been to minimise the actual effects of the incident of 1054.⁶³ Much evidence can be adduced. The Greek and Roman rites existed side by side in many areas, notably in southern Italy. Pilgrims from each church visited the shrines of the other: Byzantine monks visited the holy places of Old Rome;⁶⁴ Latins worshipped at the shrines of the East.⁶⁵ Then there was the imperial patronage of the great Benedictine abbey at Cassino.⁶⁶ Marriages between princely houses brought the churches of East and West closer together. Not only this, there was occasionally a spirit of kindness and mutual tolerance, a desire for discussion and understanding on the theological level among the Greeks. The distinguished pupil of Psellus, Theophylact, Archbishop of Achrida in Bulgaria, departed notably from the position taken up by his teacher. Writing

on the errors of the Latins, the Archbishop makes plain that he does not assume that a definite separation exists between the two churches. The many divergences in usage and custom were regarded by Theophylact as important but not of such a nature as to make schism inevitable. Notable also is that Theophylact makes no reference to the Papacy and its claims save, perhaps, in his rejection of any intolerance and haughtiness in theological and ecclesiastical matters. However, on one point, the Archbishop was adamant. The Latin Church had erred in its adoption of the Filioque. This, Theophylact felt, was tantamount to provocation of schism. However, even here the Archbishop's goodwill, and the charity for which he pleads, is in evidence. The action of the Latins was dictated by ignorance. Nonetheless, the cultured prelate rejected the Double Procession.⁶⁷ Another representative of this group of moderates was the Metropolitan of Kiev who in his dealings with Guibert of Ravenna indicated that he felt the two churches were fundamentally agreed in faith, if not in matters of practice.⁶⁸

Nonetheless, we must insist on the significance of those forces which made for separation, animosity and suspicion between the churches. Byzantine Caesaropapism encountered the resurgent universal claims of the Roman Primacy. The claim to the universal magisterium and the universal episcopate could only be a threat to the entire religio-political structure of the Empire. The divergence in faith and practice added fuel to the fires of suspicion and hostility generated by racial and cultural antagonisms. Indeed, time was to illustrate the conflict. The events of 1054 had given Cerularius his chance. He attempted to force the other Eastern patriarchates into line with Constantinople, demanding that

the papal name be removed from the dyptychs,⁶⁹ and he also appealed to public opinion through the literary activities of Psellus. The treatise of Psellus, to which we have already referred, held the Latin usages up to scorn and abuse in a way which can only be called vituperative and demagogic.⁷⁰ The inflammatory writing of Psellus must be placed alongside Cerularius' letter to Peter of Antioch, enjoining conformity with Constantinople's stand against Rome, Leo of Achrida's letter to John of Trani,⁷¹ the abusive pamphlets of Nicetas Stethatos⁷² and the synodal edict of Cerularius.⁷³

Mixed into all of this animosity, arising more from prejudice than from doctrinal divergence, are the Normans. It is of the most profound significance that the emergence of the papal claims to the universal magisterium and the universal episcopate coincides roughly with the beginnings of the Norman-papal alliance, which dates from 1059, and with the Norman war against the Greeks, which began in 1060 and which culminated in the capture of Bari in 1071. The alliance of the Papacy with the Normans had profound consequences for the Byzantine attitude towards the Papacy, in addition to the antagonisms arising from theological differences. Gregory VII was seen, not as the heroic prophet of a reformed and purified church, but as the supporter of the hated Normans and their aggressive designs on the Empire. Urban II was to re-affirm the Norman alliance and thus provide grounds for an ever-increasing hostility of the Greek church for the Papacy.⁷⁴

Thus all was not well between the two churches in the latter half of the eleventh century. The forces making for greater and ultimately permanent estrangement were great, and, as we shall show,

the Crusades helped to push the breach between the two churches beyond the point of no return.⁷⁵

It is true that there had been attempts by the Papacy to heal the schism. All failed. Alexander II had attempted to open negotiations and had not succeeded. It is likely that the papal alliance with the Norman was the decisive failure in these negotiations. The recognition by the Emperor Constantine Duca of Cadalus of Parma as Honrius II, and the subsequent collapse of Cadalus' power, must have increased animosity and resentment on both sides.⁷⁶ Gregory VII. was concerned with church unity also. His mind directed its efforts towards the problem of the Greek rejection of the Filioque and the Roman primacy. Not only this, Gregory evolved a plan to lead an army to the East which would defend Constantinople against the infidel, during which time Gregory would preside at an ecumenical council in the Eastern capitol, whose logical outcome would be the reunion of the churches. The defence of Christendom was the dominant motive, however, in Gregory's mind. His relations with the Eastern Empire are summarised in the notes.⁷⁷ However, we may say that while Gregory's motivation was of the highest, his methods were not calculated to win Greek confidence. Although the Papacy and the Normans were estranged at this time, the Greeks feared the advent of Gregory with an army at his command. Another Norman ruse. Another Roman aggression. It seemed then that the Pope hoped to achieve reunion by force. Papal arrogance seemed undiminished when Gregory discontinued the sending of the systatic letter, further sign of the Papacy's claim to the universal magisterium.⁷⁸

The negotiations of 1074 failed. A few years later, motivated

by a zeal for righteousness and by compassion for the pseudo-Michael, and perhaps still hoping to revive his plan for the defence of Christendom and the reunion of the Churches, Gregory excommunicated Botaniates and sanctioned the Guiscard invasion.⁷⁹

This, however, stimulated Greek hatred. They had despised Michael VII Ducas for the Norman marriage. Now, hate for the Papacy increased. Anna Comnena, writing in later years, attributed to Gregory the most horrible crimes.⁸⁰ To her and to many another, the Papacy was partly responsible for the loss of southern Italy.⁸¹ She hated the Papacy for its temporal ambition and for its claim to be the "president of the whole world." It was, to Anna, just another example of Western barbarism and insolence.⁸²

Relations were not permanently broken off. True, they were weakened further by Alexis' alliance with Henry of Germany in face of the Norman papal entente.⁸³ However, Alexis saw clearly that for his Empire there was great value in an alliance with the Papacy which would prove useful in the recruitment of mercenaries for the imperial armies and which also might one day be useful in the Byzantine desire for revenge upon the Normans. After the death of Guiscard, Alexis thus opened upon a series of negotiations with Urban II. These, summarised in the notes,⁸⁴ are most instructive as to the relations then existing between the churches with all their political ramifications. A few positive results were achieved. Alexis had the satisfaction of knowing that Urban had removed the ban of excommunication. The way was cleared for various enterprises useful to Alexis, notably the recruitment of mercenaries.⁸⁵ However, as is made plain in the notes, the Greek Church treated the Papacy with suspicion and distrust throughout the course of the negotiations. The Patriarch of Constantinople and his colleagues

asked for a systatic letter from Urban, and there is no evidence that Urban replied. Probably he did not. There is no evidence that the Greeks placed Urban's name on the dyptychs of Hagia Sophia, thus formally establishing union between the churches. Further, while Alexius was able to secure good diplomatic relations with the Papacy, it should be said that the ambassador of the Patriarch, the Metropolitan Basilius of Calabria, represented the Pope to the Easterners as the creature of the hated Normans, thus perpetuating the Greek scorn for the papal connection with the Normans. As for the Papacy, the demand of the papal presence at a council to decide "canonical differences", the demand for a systatic letter, i.e., a profession of faith, prior to acceptance into full communion, must have indicated to the Pope that the Greek Church was not disposed to any recognition of his universal authority. This, however, did not mean that the schism was held to be something accomplished once and for all. The Greek Church did not act in any formal way which would make the differences between the churches of such a nature that canonically the altars of the Greeks would be closed to Latins. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries no formal judgment was pronounced by the Eastern Churches on the "errors of the Latins."⁸⁶

However, the Greek opposition continued. When Simeon of Jerusalem made his profession of faith upon receiving his patriarchal see, he took occasion to elaborate a theological attack on the Double Procession, unleavened bread and the Roman primacy.⁸⁷ John, Patriarch of Antioch, was the author of a treatise directed against the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist.⁸⁸ It was plain to the Greek Church, thanks partly to Basilius' slanders, that the Papacy was not prepared to favour the perpetuation of the Greek Church

in South Italy without acknowledgment of the Roman primacy and the orthodoxy of the Filioque clause in the Creed.⁸⁹ In contrast in 1094, Anselm of Canterbury wrote against the Greek use of leavened bread in the Mass.⁹⁰

Thus, while the two churches recognized their common faith,⁹¹ we have emphasized the forces making for schism were strong and which, when combined with the other antagonisms arising from the Crusade, were to prove victorious over all attempts to restore religious harmony between East and West. The Crusade confronted Latin and Greek. Ultimately, violence flourished, rather than charity, from the encounter. Latin jingoism was met by a resurgent Greek racialism. Papal authority confronted imperial right. Two mutually exclusive views of the proper ordering of human destiny in this world came close together during the Crusade and then parted forever in diverse directions. Mixed into this and poisoning the waters were the temporal conflicts, engendered by Norman rapacity and ambition, for both Pope and Emperor and the fierce conflicts waged between Constantinople and the Italian maritime cities for the economic hegemony of the Mediterranean.

We must consider now, if only in brief compass, one of the most controversial problems arising out of the study of the First Crusade: What were Urban's motives in launching the Crusade?⁹² The proper beginning for any investigation of the problem is the council which Urban held at Piacenza in March, 1095. There a legation appeared from Alexius. They implored the Pope and indeed all the faithful to aid in the defence of Holy Church against the pagans. The infidel, already at the walls of Constantinople, had all but extinguished the Church in the areas which they had

conquered from the Empire. Urban responded, urging all to aid the Eastern Emperor as much as they were able.⁹³

That Alexius was asking for military assistance, i.e., mercenaries, and no more, is certain.⁹⁴ Urban, however, in the months subsequent to Piacenza proceeded to develop a vast plan which was to issue in the launching of the Crusade.⁹⁵

When the papal plan emerged, it was something more than merely a plan to aid the Eastern Emperor and the Eastern Church. A master statesman, Urban drew together many strands into one. The evolution in Latin Christian thought of a holy war, i.e., a crusade, reached now its final evolution.⁹⁶ Not only this, the Papacy as the spiritual head of Christendom, occupying the place once held by the Emperor,⁹⁷ could see that the war against the infidel was one which had to be fought on many fronts. She had encouraged the war in Spain. Allied with the Pisans and the Normans, the Papacy had carried the war against Islam into the very heart of the Mediterranean. The next step was to extend this to the East. Thus, a grand attack on three fronts would be undertaken against the infidel. The tides of the heathen would be pushed back through a crusade to the East. The goal was Jerusalem⁹⁸ and the purpose of the expedition was the liberation of the Eastern Christians.⁹⁹

It is to be noted that Urban created for his expedition a goal and a purpose which were quite independent of the aims and objectives of Alexius. Hence, as we shall see, Alexius failed utterly to reduce the crusaders to the level of mercenaries who were to be absorbed in his armies and become passive instruments of imperial policy. The Crusade was to liberate the Holy Places from the contaminating hand of the Turk. Thus, it was that Raymond in

Constantinople refused to take the oath of allegiance to Alexius. He would be an ally, but a vassal only to Him for whom he had left his possessions and native land.¹⁰⁰ The count eventually swore to respect the life and honour of Alexius, but he refused to become his man.¹⁰¹

Was the reunion of the churches Urban's dominant aim? Many have argued so.¹⁰² However, I cannot accept the judgment. Krey is correct when he says that Urban recognized that the Eastern Christians were the Churches of God which should be united in one fold under one shepherd, the Bishop of Rome.¹⁰³ As we know from the early years of his reign, church union and military assistance went hand in hand in the relations between the Byzantine Emperor and the Pope. Indeed, as we shall show, church union was a clearly recognized objective in the papal policies of the twelfth century. Unfortunately, we have no correspondence surviving between Alexius and Urban for this period.¹⁰⁴ What does seem more likely is that Urban ordered his representative Adhemar to treat softly where the Greek church was concerned. Urban, a skilful politician and mindful of the Basilus incident and the attitudes, expressed and unexpressed by the Greek church, knew that he could not afford to alienate the sympathies of the Greeks. Hence the crusaders, including Raymond, took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Alexius and even restored the Greek Patriarch of Antioch, John IV, the Oxite, to his throne. It must be insisted that Adhemar's role was intended to be one of conciliation and moderation towards the Eastern Churches. Urban did not intend that the Crusade should estrange the two churches any further. Hence, the papal attitude finds its expression, not only in the generally easy securing of the oath by Alexius, in the

restoration of John in Antioch, but also in the crusade appeals issued jointly by Adhemar and members of the Eastern hierarchy, notably Simeon of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁵ In the letter Simeon refers to himself as "apostolic", the language of an independent pontiff who threatened with excommunication those who deserted the expedition and who urged, by his own authority, the additional support of the Crusade by the West. Adhemar, good Hildebrandine ecclesiastic that he was, let all this pass for the sake of good relations with the Christians whom the crusaders were supposed to liberate. Adhemar was not preaching the doctrine of Petrine supremacy.¹⁰⁶ I think that all this is indicative of the papal attitude. However, we should not conclude from all this that Urban had the reunion of the churches clearly in mind as a dominant aim of the expedition. If Adhemar and the others could give the Empire any assistance on their journey, this was right and just. Had they not been sent to deliver the Eastern Christians? Urban's idealism and generosity are not to be underestimated. Besides, friendly relations with the Greeks were clearly necessary to bring success to the expedition. Undoubtedly, Urban hoped that better understanding between the two churches would emerge from the Crusade, thus leading perhaps to new discussions on the problem of church union. True, better understanding and friendliness did arise in the case of individuals: the joint letters which Adhemar and the Eastern episcopate issued during the course of the expedition, and the letters which Anselm of Ribemonte wrote to Manasses of Rheims, praising the Western Church for the labours of her sons on behalf of the Eastern Church.¹⁰⁷ These were to be frustrated by the antagonisms arising from increased racial and cultural conflict, by the mutual suspicion whose roots

may be traced to Norman ambition, Latin suspicion and imperial power diplomacy.

However, at the outset of the Crusade, church union was placed in the background.¹⁰⁸ We must not forget that the crusaders began the introduction of the Latin episcopate once they had passed beyond Antioch.¹⁰⁹ We shall discuss this more fully at a latter point, but it is probable that Urban had directed them to restore the ecclesiastical fabric of the Eastern Churches. Not only this, they began to make individual conquests which, we can assume pending further discussion, were also probably part of the papal plan. Urban undoubtedly would have wished the crusaders to restore imperial territory to Alexius but he also probably wished the Latins to hold Syria-Palestine.¹¹⁰ It is natural for us to suppose that Urban would have these restored churches and new Latin principalities acknowledge the Roman primacy. If reunion had been his dominant motive, it is doubtful if such would have happened.¹¹¹

However, as the Crusade progressed, there seems to have been in the air an increased awareness of the problem of church union. The Council of Bari in 1098, was concerned with the prosecution of the Crusade, and also with the settlement of difficulties existing with the Greek Christians of Southern Italy.¹¹² The Greek churches retained their liturgical usages and their own version of the Creed although, thanks to the eloquence of Anselm, they acknowledged the orthodoxy of the Filioque.¹¹³ They also acknowledged the Roman primacy, which was the most important thing from the Roman point of view. Bari was not a council for the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, but the debates held there tell us that reunion was on the papal mind in the last year of Urban's reign. Probably Urban

realized that the success of the Crusade had made the problem more urgent than before. In February, he had another council, this time in Rome. Once again the "errors and the heresies" of the Greeks were under discussion. However, once again, there is no record of any Eastern clergy being present at this council. What Urban proposed to do with the Greek errors and heresies we do not know. The evidence does not give support to any suggestion that he opened negotiations with Constantinople.¹¹⁴ Let this suffice, at this point, for an analysis of papal motivation in the First Crusade.

3. The Loss of Antioch.

The antagonisms existing between Greek and Latin all received expression shortly after the entrance of the Crusade armies into the Empire.¹¹⁵ Outwardly Alexius was friendly to the Peasants' Crusade,¹¹⁶ but inwardly his actions were dominated by caution and suspicion. His fears for the safety of his throne and the well-being of his Empire were increased when reports came to him of the pillaging and other criminal actions committed by the undisciplined rabble.¹¹⁷ Nonetheless, Peter was well received by Alexius.¹¹⁸ He urged Peter to wait at Constantinople for the main armies which were not far behind. However, the rabble became so unmanageable that there was nothing to do but transport them across the Bosphorus.¹¹⁹ Alexius, master diplomat, knew well that friendly relations must be maintained. Hence when he heard of the tragedy which had overtaken Peter's army, Christian charity and clever diplomacy influenced him to send out a small force to conduct the remnants back to the capitol.¹²⁰

The unruly behaviour of the Peasants had left a bad taste in Alexius' mouth. Nonetheless, when the main armies of the Crusade entered his realm, once again Alexius decided to hide his suspicion under friendly words, clever diplomacy and adroit negotiation. His first duty was to preserve and indeed to enhance the glory of his throne. Perhaps the Latins, if handled correctly, might become an instrument in his hands which would deal a severe blow to the power of the Turk.¹²¹ Hence, the warm messages of welcome to the crusaders, hence the offer of markets and supplies to be furnished at a reasonable rate of exchange,¹²² hence the discretion in checking the pretensions of Hugh of Vermandois,¹²³ the light skirmishing by his own troops which held the pillaging of the land to a minimum.¹²⁴

Alexius' policy was successful. The damage to the countryside was about as light as could be expected.¹²⁵ Not only this, the surveillance maintained by the imperial troops prevented the crusaders from reaching Constantinople at the same time. He knew that he was no match for the combined forces of the Latins.¹²⁶ On the other hand, this treatment brought increased tension between the Empire and its uninvited guests. The Latins could not understand how the Emperor could send the most friendly messages and at the same time send out the imperial troops to check by force any unwelcome action. Thus, we have a slow but steady growth of Latin animosity against the Greeks. Stories were already circulating in the armies as they marched towards Constantinople that Alexius had arranged for the annihilation of the Peasants. This, in addition to the treatment, diplomatic and otherwise, which the Latins received from the Greeks en route, made the Empire and its ruler seem increasingly sinister.¹²⁷

However, despite the difficulties experienced, the more sober Latins realised that they needed imperial help.¹²⁸ The leaders, when interviewed by the Emperor, received friendly advice as to warfare with the Turks. Imperial magnanimity returned insult with hospitality and generosity.¹²⁹ Alexius, on his side, knew how much the Latins could mean to his Empire. With the notion of a crusade to Jerusalem he had little patience. However, while out of Christian charity he would succour the pilgrims, he would also as Emperor reduce the crusaders to an instrument of imperial policy. Hence he demanded and received with surprisingly little difficulty the oath of allegiance to himself and to the safety and integrity of his realm. The crusaders also agreed to return to his jurisdiction all the lands which had once belonged to the Empire. This certainly meant the return of land reconquered in Asia Minor and also of the great fortress of Antioch.¹³⁰ There is little likelihood that it included the Holy Land which had not belonged to the Empire for four centuries. It may also be that Alexius assumed, - and in this time proved him to be correct, - that the leaders were primarily interested in the erection of principalities in Syria-Palestine.¹³¹ As long as the Empire received its due, he did not care. Perhaps, a series of buffer states bound by an oath of allegiance could be erected on the borders of the Empire, thus providing additional defence against the Turk. In his turn, Alexius promised military assistance, markets for the crusaders, reparations to them for their losses, provisions for the safety of pilgrims to the Holy Land, and finally that he would join the Latins in person in the attack on the infidel.¹³²

Nonetheless, the encounter of Greek and Latin at Constantinople

had not been to the complete satisfaction of either party. The Greek suspicion remained although it never in fact approached the picture painted by Anna writing in later years when Bohemund had become the symbol of all that was hostile and malevolent in the Crusade.¹³³ All in all, Bohemund behaved rather well.¹³⁴ He had been a mediator between Alexius and Raymond who, in his stubborn piety, had at first refused to take the oath.¹³⁵ In fact, the skirmishes with Godfrey on the suburbs of the capital, had been more alarming than any action of the Norman.¹³⁶ However, although the oath was obtained and the imperial fear of the crusaders and especially of Bohemund eased a trifle,¹³⁷ it was plain to Alexius that he had not been able to reduce the crusaders to be either his vassals or his mercenaries, at his command and in his control. There was this encouragement. The imperial art of flattery and suggestion, playing upon Raymond's growing jealousy of Bohemund, had begun to create in Raymond of Toulouse a firm ally. It may also be that Raymond was encouraged in this volte-face by the memory of Urban's injunction that the crusaders be friendly with the Greeks. Whatever the reason, it was to be a valuable conquest for Greek diplomacy.¹³⁸

However, it was plain to Alexius that Latin arrogance and ambition, the greed of some of the leaders and of many of the rank and file remained unabated.¹³⁹ Doubtless, he was also aware of the growing popular resentment against him, some of which we have already described. To the rank and file, the taking of the oath and the performance of homage to Alexius had been humiliating.¹⁴⁰ Not only this, many Latins felt that Alexius had forced them to do this, which was true.¹⁴¹ All this resentment would render less and

less the control which the Emperor might have hoped he would have over the Crusade.

Yet the crusaders had received some assistance from Alexius, and Alexius had fulfilled his first duty, the defence and advancement of his realm. With relief and satisfaction, combined with anxiety over the future, he saw his unwelcome guests cross the Bosphorus and disappear on their road to glory, accompanied by a small Greek force under Taticius.¹⁴²

In August 1097, he wrote to the Abbot of Monte Cassino, an old friend of the Byzantine Empire in Italy, relating all that he had done for the crusaders. A similar letter which presented Alexius in the most favourable light was dispatched June of 1098 to the Abbot of Cassino. Here Alexius described himself as a veritable "father" to the crusaders. It may well be that reports of Latin resentment against Alexius were already beginning to make their way back into Europe and the Abbot had written to Alexius asking for re-assurance.¹⁴³

The first crisis in the alliance with the crusades came with the siege of Nicaea.¹⁴⁴ By ruse and trickery, Alexius managed to gain possession of the town before the Latins could storm the walls and deliver the city to pillage by their own forces. Many of the Latins were angered by his refusal to allow plundering, and resentment grew apace.¹⁴⁵ It may be concluded that Bohemund observed closely the imperial procedures with Nicaea. Not only this, Baldwin du Bourg became interested in Edessa at this time and his own territorial ambitions began to take form and shape.¹⁴⁵

Relations between Greeks and Latins were not advanced by the fact that the Greek preparations for the provisioning of the armies

were anything but successful.¹⁴⁷ Further, the scant regard for the alliance with Alexius was made plain by Baldwin and Tancred's sudden foray into Cilicia, expeditions which clearly revealed that some would carve out principalities for themselves in total disregard for the Greek claims.¹⁴⁸ However, working relations were maintained between Taticius and the Latin leaders.

At Antioch there were new developments. The siege of the great fortress proved so difficult that Bohemund saw his great opportunity. His first task was to remove Taticius, which he accomplished with consummate guile and diplomatic genius.¹⁴⁹ He then let it be known that he was considering a withdrawal from the city,¹⁵⁰ which added to the despair of the crusaders who, confronted by the mighty walls of Antioch, the approaching infidel army under Kerbogha and the famine in their ranks, were ready to listen to any proposal which would deliver the city into their hands. When Bohemund offered to deliver the city to them, through conspiracy with a traitor inside Antioch,¹⁵¹ they agreed that he might keep Antioch if Alexius or his representative did not come to fulfill his promise to join the crusade and take possession of the city.¹⁵² It is to be noted how faithful the majority of the Latin leaders were to their oath. Bohemund contented himself on the surface with this provisional arrangement. With Taticius out the way, Bohemund could reflect that "possession is nine-tenths of the law". To counter the facts that Taticius had left in honour and good faith, promising to return, and, secondly, that during the siege of Antioch a fleet of ships had delivered to the port of St. Symeon a set of siege machines from the Emperor especially designed for Antioch,¹⁵³ he encouraged the notion that Taticius had fled out of fear and treachery.

Nonetheless, Bohemund, despite the fact that his intrigues delivered the city into the hands of the Christians, had but a slender hold on the actual possession of the city.

After the defeat of Ker^bogha and the lifting of the counter-siege of Antioch, the crusaders, despite Bohemund, demonstrated their desire to preserve their relations with Alexius. The Emperor was to be given a further chance: Hugh the Great was despatched, telling Alexius to appear in person, thus fulfilling his part of the bargain, and also offering him possession of Antioch.¹⁵⁴ Yet here events conspired against the Greeks.

Alexius had proceeded cautiously after the departure of the crusaders from Nicaea. His brother-in-law, John Ducas, had been given the task of securing the coasts of Asia Minor through a combined naval and land operation.¹⁵⁵ Alexius, mindful of his military weakness and with the memory of Man²ikert weighing upon him, moved slowly into the interior, consolidating the conquests made by the crusaders.¹⁵⁶

In June 1098, he had reached Philomelium where he encountered Stephen of Blois and others who had deserted the crusaders at Antioch. To cover the shame of their desertion, these told stories which painted the Christian situation at Antioch as little short of total annihilation. Fearful of an approaching Turkish army, Alexius accepted the stories at their face value and stopped his advance towards Cilicia.¹⁵⁷ The decision to turn back was to influence profoundly the subsequent history of the Byzantine Empire. When the mission of Hugh the Great reached Alexius, winter had already set in. The power of the Turk was too great to attempt a new venture into the interior of Asia Minor.¹⁵⁸ Meanwhile, in

Antioch, Bohemund strove to increase his hold on the city. Acting in independent fashion, he granted a commercial privilege to the Genoese on 14 July, 1098, giving them rights of market, and storage space, exempting them from tolls and taxes. The matter was clearly a political manoeuvre in that the Genoese promised to defend Bohemund if necessary, i.e., against Alexius.¹⁵⁹ Not only this, Bohemund added to the letter, which the crusaders wrote to the Pope on 11 September, 1098, a series of accusations against the Emperor. Alexius, he wrote, had given the crusaders no assistance whatsoever and indeed had hindered them in any way that he could.¹⁶⁰ The Norman was anxious to secure papal support for his claim to Antioch.

In Antioch, the crusaders grew restive. The rank and file wished to press on towards the Holy City. Raymond, envious of Bohemund and fearful of what his ambition would do to relations with Alexius, proposed delay until Alexius should appear. Finally, no reply being received, in November the march towards Jerusalem was resumed. Bohemund was left, if not with a clear recognition of his claim to Antioch, in actual possession of the city.¹⁶¹ We should recognize the position the Latins were in. They could not wait for the Greeks indefinitely. Further Bohemund was clearly the strongest military leader in the Crusade. Also it did look as if Alexius had failed to fulfil his promises in some degree. While many of the leaders felt the shame of breaking their oath to Alexius and the concomitant loss of imperial support, they were more afraid of Bohemund and the consequences which might result if his claims were denied.¹⁶²

Alexius soon heard that Bohemund was in possession of Antioch. The old suspicions of the Crusade as a covertly hostile

attack on the integrity of the Empire grew apace. When approached by the Fatimids of Egypt, who wished to know if the Crusaders were his representatives, he disowned them. Having no interest in Palestine and resentful of the Norman seizure of Antioch, he could pretend with some sincerity that he was not interested in their progress. When these negotiations with the infidel became known to the crusaders, resentment against Alexius was provided with evidence, and Bohemund's conduct seemed all the less culpable.¹⁶³

However, by the spring of 1099, he took new courage. He had heard that Laodicea was in imperial hands.¹⁶⁴ The Emperor despatched an embassy which would secure Laodicea under imperial government and demand the possession of Antioch. Not only this they would also ask the crusaders to wait for Alexius, promising that he would overtake them at Acre by St. John's Day, June 24, 1099. The army refused to wait. The leaders agreed, now suspicious and resentful, not anxious that Alexius might have the opportunity to extend or strengthen the vague suzerainty implied in the original oath. As for the surrender of Antioch, Bohemund refused, citing the defection of Taticius and Alexius' failure to appear as reasons for regarding the original agreement as null and void.¹⁶⁵

Bohemund stayed behind in Antioch, determined to consolidate his hold over the principality in the absence of Raymond and the other leaders. The fact that Laodicea was held by the Greeks moved him to send Tancred to capture this important port. There the Normans found help in the form of a Pisan fleet. These, under the command of Daimbert, Archbishop of Pisa, had fought an inconclusive battle with the Greeks off Rhodes and were disposed to aid in the war against the Empire.¹⁶⁶ However, with Jerusalem captured and

the victory of Asculon achieved, this flaunting of Norman ambition aroused the ire of the Counts of Toulouse, Normandy and Flanders who hastened to Laodicea. Then, Daimbert, discovering that crusade opinion was against him, posed as a mediator. The siege of Laodicea was lifted, and Bohemund and Daimbert departed south towards Jerusalem. Raymond stayed in Laodicea, on the Emperor's behalf, and the Counts of Flanders and Normandy were transported to Constantinople. However, in the spring of 1100, Raymond was summoned to Constantinople to advise Alexius on future procedure against the Normans. With his departure, Laodicea was doomed. With the alliance of Daimbert and Bohemund, the departure of Flanders and Normandy, and the removal of Raymond, the control of Antioch was assured. As for Laodicea, Tancred captured it in 1103, after a siege of eighteen months. Raymond's attempts to assist in its defence were unavailing.¹⁶⁷ Coincident with all of this Alexius had despatched his generals into Cilicia in 1099. However, because of Armenian hatred for the imperialists, Tancred was able in 1101 to destroy the conquests that the Greeks achieved in 1099-1100.¹⁶⁸ Meanwhile, Bohemund proceeded to eradicate all Greek influences in Syria. We shall see in another place how the crusaders restored John IV, Patriarch of Antioch,¹⁶⁹ to his throne when the city had been captured from Islam. Bohemund arranged, as we shall see, for his removal in 1100. He could also rely on the traditional Armenian and Syrian hatred for the imperialists.¹⁷⁰ Further, many of the crusaders themselves were becoming increasingly hostile towards the faith and practise of Greek Christians. All this shall be detailed in another place. Suffice it to say that by 1100 the Greeks had lost Antioch completely to the Normans. That the Greek church still

regarded Antioch as their own is likely since evidence remains to indicate that Greek patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem lived in or around Constantinople in absentia from their see in the period of the crusades.¹⁷¹ This remains only a sign that the house of the Comneni considered Antioch to be a part of the Oecumene which must be recovered.

For some Alexius will always be held responsible for the failure of relations between the Empire and the Crusade, pursuing a selfish and inglorious policy which aimed at a maximum of profit with a minimum of risk.¹⁷² On the other hand, Chalandon portrays Alexius as utterly disinterested, not concerned to turn the Crusade to his advantage.¹⁷³ Both of these opinions are equally untrue. Acting upon the identification of the best interests of Christendom with the best interests of the Empire, Alexius did not scruple to alternate genuine kindness and generosity with treachery and terror, equally genuine, if he deemed such necessary to defend his country. The Latins could not understand this point of view and their failure to understand is one of the dominant themes in the relationship between the Papacy, the Crusade and the Byzantine Empire.

4. The Crusade of the Faint-Hearted.

Alexius knew that Bohemund was fomenting anti-Greek sentiment wherever he could. Yet he was helpless to prevent it. Such resentment grew apace during the Crusade of 1101, a series of disasters and errors the responsibility for which was placed by many Latins at Alexius' door.¹⁷⁴

As could be expected, Alexius was not overly friendly with the new arrivals from the West. Although the official tone was friendly,¹⁷⁵ the guerilla warfare between Latins and Greeks was at

times alarming.¹⁷⁶ The Lombards, in particular, seem to have behaved badly.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, while the usual assurances and gifts were received and distributed, Alexius' main concern was to remove the crusaders from his realm as quickly as possible. He pressed the over-faithful Raymond into service as their guide.¹⁷⁸ The crusaders, perhaps informed of Alexius' war with Bohemund, blazed a trail of atrocities¹⁷⁹ and military folly¹⁸⁰ on their march into Asia Minor. Their reward was destruction by the Turk.¹⁸¹

This finished Alexius' reputation with the Latins. They needed a scapegoat and none fitted so well as Alexius. The hatred, fomented by Bohemund, found ample support now. In vain did Alexius attempt to combat this. In 1102 and 1104 he attempted successfully again to ransom Latin knights and others who had been captured by the Turks.¹⁸² This, he hoped, would show his friendly attitudes. But this was not sufficient. Even the fact that he transported the survivors of the 1101 crusade to Jerusalem by sea did not improve matters.¹⁸³ Those who survived to reach Palestine hated him. Well could they remember that at the moment of crisis, the Greek guides had deserted William of Aquitaine who vowed vengeance on the Greek nation.¹⁸⁴ Reports of Alexius' treacheries flowed back, as we shall see, into Europe. In the mind of many he became identified with the Turk. He had made it possible for Kilij Arslan to annihilate the Crusade. While the sultan needed no such encouragement and assistance from Alexius, - and indeed there is no certain evidence that Alexius betrayed the crusaders, - it should not be forgotten that Arslan did lend military assistance to Alexius a few years later when Alexius was engaged in his final contest with Bohemund.¹⁸⁵ All in all, the Empire had become to many in the West the enemy of

the Crusade. Not only this, Alexius was the loser vis à vis the Turks. The destruction of the Crusade increased Turkish prestige and also resulted in the loss of the direct route to Syria. Further, Raymond was involved in the Latin hate of Alexius. By guile and treachery, Tancred forced him to abandon Laodicea when Raymond returned to Syria.¹⁸⁶ Further, Tancred used the disaster to drive the weakened Byzantine forces from Cilicia, and then, as we have mentioned, he captured Laodicea.¹⁸⁷

The survivors of the Crusade slandered Alexius to Baldwin. Albert reports that at a meeting of the crusaders on Easter Day, 1102, these urged Baldwin to humbly request Alexius to cease his harmful activities towards the pilgrims, clear indication of the fact that responsibility for the Crusade of 1101's failure was placed on Alexius' shoulders. Baldwin agreed and communicated this wish to Alexius via an embassy of Gerald, Archbishop of Mount Tabor and the Bishop of Barzenona. Alexius in reply defended himself against the accusations of the Lombards, and swore to show benevolence to the Latins.¹⁸⁸ Baldwin's letter seems to have been respectful and polite if also, implicitly, suspicious. Nonetheless, Alexius could feel encouraged. Hence he continued an aggressive policy towards the Latins. Having failed to get Bohemund into his power during his captivity,¹⁸⁹ when the Norman prince was released, Alexius demanded again that Bohemund surrender Antioch. In reply to the imperial accusations, Bohemund accused Alexius of having been the first to break the original compact through failure to aid the crusaders at Antioch. Alexius opened war. The imperial generals advanced into Cilicia but with little success due to military ineptitude and the hostile Armenians.¹⁹⁰ Further, the Italian maritimes

were hostile. Of Pisan attacks we have already spoken. Venice herself was known to be dangerous to the Empire.¹⁹¹ Genoa was also known to be anti-Greek, having assisted Tancred in the capture of Laodicea.¹⁹² However, the campaigns finally began to show success. Raymond, besieging Tripoli, was faithful to the Empire and hostile to Bohemund until his death in February, 1105.¹⁹³ The Byzantine fleet soon controlled the seas. Monastras was finally successful in Cilicia,¹⁹⁴ and soon part of Laodicea was in the hands of the Greeks.¹⁹⁵

The Normans thus were surrounded. Further, they had suffered terrible losses at the hands of the infidel. Blocked in the East, Bohemund was forced to go to the West. In the fall of 1104, accompanied by the deposed Patriarch of Jerusalem, Daimbert, Bohemund sailed to Bari, arriving in January 1105.¹⁹⁶ His activities will be recounted in another place. Suffice it to say here that his invasion of the Balkan Peninsula against Alexius ended in defeat. In the peace treaty of September 1108, Bohemund lost his lordship over Antioch, receiving the city and its environs from the Emperor whose vassal he professed to be. Bohemund also agreed to establish a Greek Patriarch in the city.¹⁹⁷

What remains may be briefly summarised. Tancred refused to honour the treaty of Bohemund.¹⁹⁸ In fact, he continued his reconquests in Cilicia, taking advantage of Alexius' preoccupation with Bohemund in the West.¹⁹⁹ Alexius attempted to organize a diplomatic campaign, designed to turn the Latins against Tancred.²⁰⁰ Baldwin proved useless in this,²⁰¹ as did also Bertrand of Tripoli.²⁰² Alexius appealed to the Turks against the Normans.²⁰³ This proved futile. Further, there was the ever-present threat of the Turks in

Asia Minor, and the Italian maritimes on the sea.²⁰⁴ Only the Byzantine sea power kept these in check. All in all, Alexius' great plans to reconquer Antioch came to nought. As for his prestige in Syria-Palestine there remained only a vague deference from the Latins which hid but thinly their indifference to him and the Empire.

5. Alexius and the Papacy.

Through all these years of the reign of Alexius I Comnenus, the role of the Papacy remains somewhat in the shadows. We have indicated something of the decline of his reputation with the Latins during the first Crusade and that of 1101. We have already mentioned Alexius' ransoming activities which were not so much the exercise of Christian charity as they were of political sagacity. The knights, by their very freedom, testified to the benevolence of Alexius, whether they were in the newly established Latin states in Syria-Palestine or in the West. Not only this, we have mentioned Alexius' attempts in 1101-1102 to reply to the thinly veiled accusations of Baldwin, King of Jerusalem. In connection with this, we recall that the Bishop of Barzenona was one of the embassy to Alexius. The Bishop, whose name was Manasses,²⁰⁵ was received by Alexius who explained in great length all that had occurred between the Empire and the Crusades. Alexius seems to have thought that he had won the good will of the Bishop who, having come on the Crusade of 1101 and fulfilled his vows, decided to return to his Italian see. This was a capital misjudgment. For when the Bishop appeared before Paschal II, at the 1102 synod of Benevento, he repeated all the accusations against Alexius, the latter having given the Bishop the task of defending him before the Pope. It would seem that Paschal

fell into the spirit of anti-Byzantine feeling and directed Manasses to take his tale of Greek treachery and deceit to the nobles of France.²⁰⁶ The account, in Albert of Aachen, represents Paschal as accepting the slanders of Manasses without question. This may well be. Paschal may well have accepted the anti-Greek sentiment which so many crusaders brought back to Europe after 1100. However, as we shall show in the final section of this part of our dissertation, Paschal II supported Bohemund in his recruitment of the French for a "third crusade", whose purpose in reality was the reconquest of the Byzantine Empire. Although, as we shall show, the Pope refused to be drawn completely into the fantastic schemes of the Prince of Antioch, the initial papal sanction of the activities of Bohemund involved the Papacy in the attack upon the Empire. The war which Bohemund waged unsuccessfully against Alexius did the greatest harm to the relations between the East and the West. Anna Comnena, and no doubt many another, believed that the Pope had given Bohemund carte-blanche for his attack on the Empire.²⁰⁷ Thus, by the year 1111, relations between Alexius and Paschal were more strained than ever. Nonetheless, in that year, Alexius showed an inclination to begin a more aggressive policy towards the Papacy.²⁰⁸ The time was opportune: Paschal II had suffered the most profound humiliation at the hands of Henry V. The Norman-papal alliance had been little help to Paschal. Roger of Apulia had died, leaving a regency for his son, William. Sicily and south Italy were ruled by women. The political relations of Norman, Pope and Emperor, were of such a nature as to

encourage Alexius to make an attempt to separate the Papacy and the Romans from both Henry V and the Normans.

Alexius dispatched to the West legates bearing letters addressed to the people of Rome. The legation arrived early in 1112. In the letters, the Emperor offered to take the imperial crown of the West if the Romans so desired and to defend the supreme pontiff from the wicked attacks of Henry V. Either he or his son John would come to Rome to receive the crown according to the ancient tradition at the hands of the Pope.²⁰⁹

Although addressed to the Romans and not to Paschal II, the letter was nicely calculated to arouse the interest of the Papacy. However, at the same time Alexius had written to Gerard of Marsi, the Abbot of Monte Cassino. Alexius congratulated the Abbot that he was the adviser of both church and state, a delicate allusion to Gerard's involvement with Henry of Germany. Alexius professed sorrow over Henry's actions. However, God, who through events reveals His will, must ultimately decide on the guilt of the Emperor.²¹⁰ The tone of this letter is quite different from that to the Romans which showed no such willingness to let God decide in the matter.

According to Peter of Monte Cassino, the Romans accepted the offer from Alexius. They dispatched six hundred men to go to the Emperor and conduct him to the city. On their journey they were entertained by the Abbot of Monte Cassino.²¹¹

However, it soon became plain from the conversations that Gerard had in Rome with Paschal in March of 1112, that the Papacy would listen to the proposal only if there were an alliance with the Normans.²¹²

However, the suggestion of an alliance with the Normans quelled the desire to help the Pope. When he received the messages from the West, proposing a meeting at Durazzo to discuss a treaty with the Norman princes, Alexius lost interest. Therefore, he wrote to Gerard that he could not for the moment come to Durazzo.²¹³ To the Pope, Alexius wrote concerning the reunion of the churches, a topic which would bring no dangerous involvement with the Normans.²¹⁴ However, the matter closed with the papal reply.²¹⁵

The beginning of the papal letter to Alexius is of the greatest significance. Paschal is grateful that Alexius has set his heart on the union of the church. The Pope calls to mind the power of the Holy Spirit which is able to unite in one all races and tongues. This unity was mirrored in the apostles, and what the Spirit there accomplished can be accomplished now. However, the Pope is mindful of the difficulties attendant upon any attempt to unite the Church. The diversity which exists between the Greeks and the Latins is not easily welded into one.²¹⁶ The Pope then continues to recall the reverence which the Patriarchs of Constantinople once displayed towards the apostolic see. However, during later years, the Patriarchs of that city had withdrawn themselves from the love and obedience of the Roman church. They have not received the letters from Rome, nor have they condescended to have communication with the papal messengers.²¹⁷ There would have been no reconciliation had not Alexius taken the initiative.²¹⁸

The first step towards unity would be the acknowledgment of the Roman primacy by the Patriarch of Constantinople. The rest of the Greek hierarchy would then submit. How could differences between the churches be settled unless the heads of the churches

are reconciled and a final authority, i.e. Rome, established? Paschal then proceeds to mention the possibility, indeed the advisability, of having a council, once the Roman authority is recognised. An opportune time would be October of the following year. The letter concludes with an introduction of the papal ambassadors, one of whom was Mauros of Amalfi, the bishop who had been present at the signing of the treaty between Bohemund and Alexius in 1109.²¹⁹ Nothing seems to have come of this embassy. Perhaps, the negotiations did not end there. In the following year, Chrysolanus, Archbishop of Milan went to the East. It may be that he was making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, following upon his exile from Milan, or it may be that, as many have suggested, he had been sent to Constantinople by Paschal II to discuss church affairs. Be this as it may, in Constantinople, the Archbishop inveighed against the errors of the Greeks and defended the Filioque and also the Roman primacy. The Latin did not go unanswered, but his attack elicited replies from some of the most distinguished representatives of the Greek church.²²⁰

From this we can gather a partial understanding of why the negotiations undertaken by Alexius came to nothing. The Eastern Church did not care for the papal demand that they acknowledge the Petrine supremacy.²²¹ Nor would they accept at the papal hand the doctrine of the Double Procession. For its part, the Papacy stood firm. There could be no council, in the opinion of Paschal, until the Greek hierarchy had submitted to Rome. The Greeks would have wished for a general council to decide on all divergences in faith and practise between the two churches, including the question of the Roman Primacy. On the one hand, for the Pope, the question of the Roman Primacy was beyond discussion. On the other, the Greeks

insisted that it had to be discussed in council. Two conceptions of the nature of the Church and of ecclesiastical authority were juxtaposed to one another without result. However, this was not the only barrier between the churches. The second thing to be noted is that the Pope in his letter stressed the diversity existing between the two peoples. The unification of the churches of Greek and Latin cultures was clearly seen to be of such difficulty as to make the Pope despair of anything but the supernatural power of the Holy Spirit. The cultural and racial antagonisms existing before the Crusade and gaining increased power during the Crusade and after are clearly in the papal mind at this point. Did the Papacy think of Alexius as the enemy of the crusade at this point? Perhaps so, although the Pope does not allude to this. What is more likely is that Paschal was mindful of the racial jingoism which had grown to full strength during the crusade which, in Latins, had sneered, ridiculed and slandered all things Greek and had, in particular, presented Alexius as a villain of the highest order.

What had been Alexius' intention? The first is plain: the unification of the Empires. If the Eastern monarch were to receive the imperial diadem at the hands of the Pope, then the German Empire would no longer exist. The Greeks believed that there could be only one imperial crown and one emperor. This shall appear in other places in this thesis. They tolerated the German emperors when it was politically expedient to do so. However, here was an opportunity to unite the Empires in one.

It is more than likely that the Papacy realised that this was Alexius' aim. Therefore to this plan for the unification of the imperial crowns, Paschal was quick to point out the price:

the unification of the churches under the Church of Rome. Alexius and the Greeks would not pay this price.

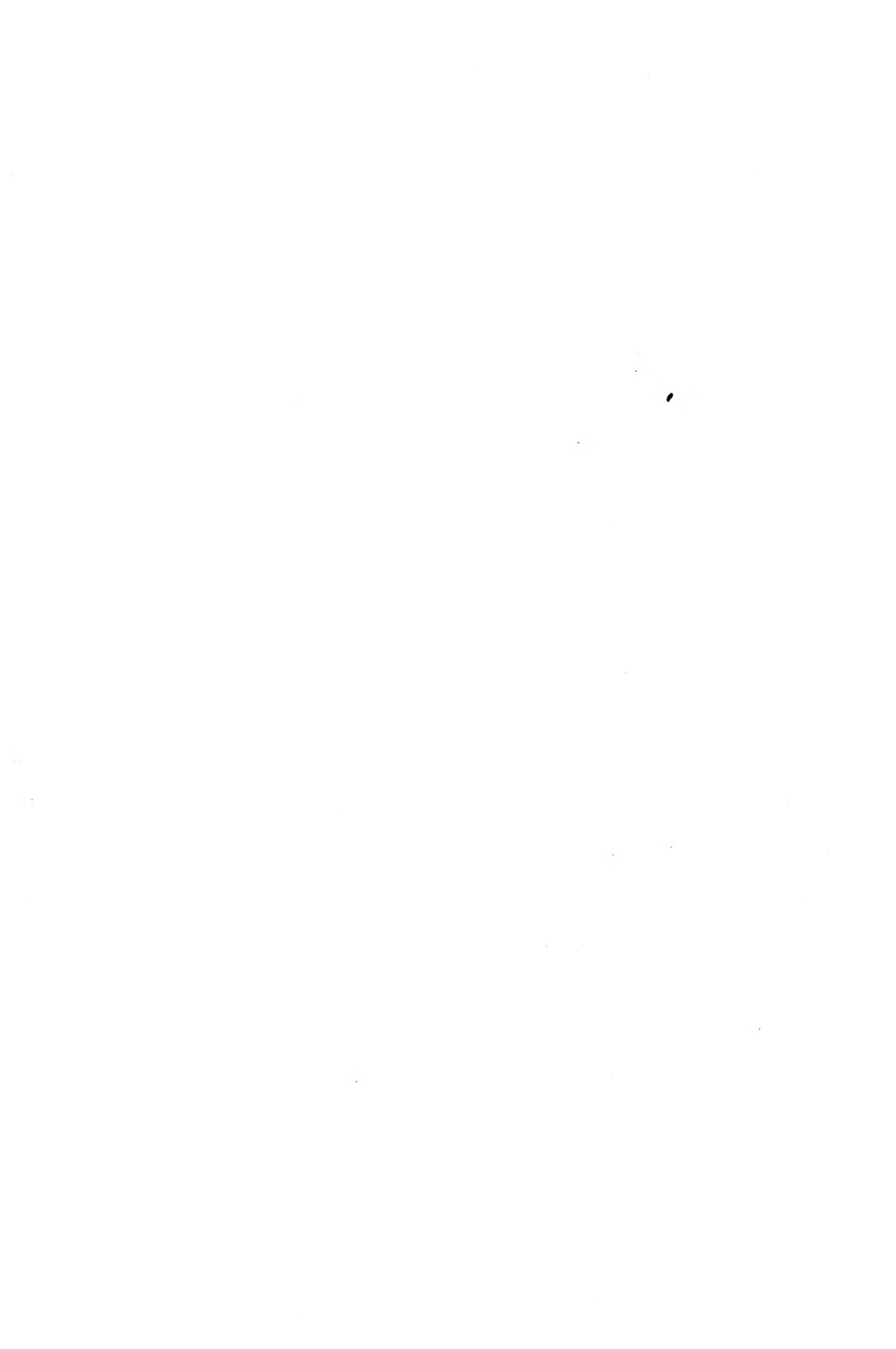
Alexius' second aim was, as we have mentioned, to separate the Papacy from the Normans. If this is correct, then Alexius' was guilty of a most serious miscalculation. For all the difficulties which the Papacy had inherited due to the Norman-papal alliance, the Papacy would not surrender it. In the first place, there were the claims of the Donation of Constantine. In 1099, Urban II had re-affirmed his suzerainty over the Norman domains.²²² So also had Paschal.²²³ No matter the disadvantages of the alliance, the Papacy in 1111 had little more beyond the Normans and the support of the Church to protect her against Henry V. True, thanks to the death of Roger of Apulia, the alliance was of doubtful value. However an alliance of Pope and Byzantine Emperor would deprive the Papacy, in all likelihood, of Norman support and indeed turn the Normans into enemies. Alexius could not protect the Pope from both Norman and German. Hence at the beginning of the negotiations, Paschal had sought to make allies out of Alexius and the Normans.

Was Alexius sincerely interested in church union? The question is difficult, perhaps impossible to answer. However, the general impression formed of these events and of Alexius' aims and objectives throughout his reign, is that he was not interested in it primarily or for its own sake. Politics came first. On the other hand, we may suppose that religious conviction was uppermost in Paschal's mind although politics entered into it. The Norman alliance could not be surrendered. Further Paschal knew that Alexius was not without his supporters in Italy.²²⁴ On the other

side, there is every likelihood that Alexius was motivated by political motives: the unification of the crowns and the detachment of the Papacy from the Normans. The Normans with their vitality and ambition and their control of Antioch pressed for a solution. If the Papacy were drawn into the Byzantine camp, then perhaps Alexius could realize his¹⁵ claims to Antioch and be protected from future Norman aggressions, the last of which had been Bohemund's abortive "Crusade".

However, the negotiations broke down. The Papacy demanded the recognition of the Primacy of Rome. Alexius probably saw that this was a stumbling block for the Greek hierarchy.²²⁵ Perhaps he also saw that an alliance with the Pope might boomerang against her designs on Antioch. After all, the Roman Primacy symbolised the determination of the Roman Church not to become the tool of any earthly monarch.

Alexius' closing years were hampered by ill-health and by the pressure of the Turks in Anatolia. Despite Bohemund's recognition of the Byzantine claim to Antioch, the city remained in the hands of the Normans.²²⁶ The bad reputation of the Greeks persisted, if only as a memory in the minds of many Latins. The two churches were still apart. The Empire was surrounded by enemies,²²⁷ and a new and stronger policy would have to be undertaken if the Empire were to survive as a great power in the Mediterranean sea which was rapidly becoming a Latin lake.²²⁸



FOOTNOTES:

1. Important secondary works on the reign of Alexius which have been used in the writing of this thesis are F.Chalandon, Les Comnène, Etudes sur l'Empire Byzantin aux XI^e et XII^e siècles. I. Essai sur le Règne d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène (1081-1118), (Paris, 1900); A.A.Vasiliev, History of the Byzantine Empire (Madison, Wisconsin, 1952); C.Diehl and G.Marcais, Le Monde Oriental de 395 à 1081, (volume III of the Histoire Generale, G.Glotz, editor, Histoire du Moyen Age, Paris, 1936), hereafter referred to as Glotz-Diehl III; v.IX of the same series, C.Diehl, R.Guilland, L.Oeconomos, and R.Grousset, L'Europe Orientale de 1081 à 1453, (Paris, 1945), hereafter referred to as Glotz-Diehl, IX. A useful article is P.Charanis, "Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade", Byzantion, XIX, 1949), pp. 17-36.
2. For a general picture of the Byzantine Empire at this time, see C. Neumann, Die Weltstellung des Byzantinischen Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen, (Heidelberg, 1914). Short but excellent summaries are to be found in S. Runciman, A History of the Crusades, (three volumes, Cambridge, 1952-1954), I, p. 71. See also R.Grousset, Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem, (three volumes, Paris, 1934-1936), I, pp. 1-LXII. Anna also writes in the Alexiad, III, 9, Dawes, p. 89, Leih, I, p. 130, that Alexius, at the beginning of his reign, judged the Empire to be in its death agony.
3. For information on these tribes and their activities, see Chalandon, Essai, pp. 2 ff., and Vasiliev, History, pp.324-326.
4. Secondary works used in connection with the Normans in southern Italy are as follows: F.Chalandon, Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile, (two volumes, Paris, 1907); O. Delerc, Les Normands en Italie depuis les Premières Invasions jusqu'à l'Avènement de S. Gregoire VII, (Paris, 1883); L.von Heinemann, Geschichte der Normannen in Unteritalien, (Leipzig) 1892); Jules Gay, L'Italie Méridionale et l'Empire Byzantin, (Paris, 1904); B. Kugler, Boemund and Tankred, Fürsten von Antiochen, (Tubingen, 1862). Of great merit are the concise accounts in Jean Longnon, Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen Age, (Paris, 1929), pp. 21-77; R.B.Yewdale, Bohemund I, Prince of Antioch, (New York, 1917), pp. 1 ff.
5. C.Cohen, "La Campagne de Manzikert d'après les Sources Mussulmanes," (Byzantion, IX, 1934), pp. 613-642. See also Sir Charles Oman, History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages, (London, 1898) pp. 216-221; H.Delbruck, Geschichte der Kriegskunst im Rahmen der politischen Geschichte, (three volumes, Berlin, 1900-1907), III, pp. 206-207; Ferdinand Lot, L'Art Militaire et les Armées du Moyen Age, (two volumes, Paris, 1946) I, pp. 71-72; Glotz-Diehl III, pp. 560-562; Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 59-63. The battle of Manzikert was the turning point in Byzantine history, as the Byzantines themselves knew well. From this disaster, the Empire never recovered. See Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. XXV-XXXIV.

6. Glötz-Diehl IX, pp. 14-15. For example, Alexius' use of church wealth to meet the needs of his foreign wars aroused great criticism. The Patriarch of Antioch, John IV, wrote against him. See P.G., 132, cc. 1117-1149. Also L.Oeconomos, La Vie Religieuse dans l'Empire Byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges, (Paris, 1913), pp. 136-140.

7. See Vasiliev, History, pp. 383-385; Chalandon, Essai, pp. 133-134.

8. For example, during the revolt of Roussel de Bailleul the Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates was so alarmed that he appealed to the Turks for help. See Chalandon, Essai, pp. 11-12. Botaniates during the course of his revolt against Michael Ducas had placed Turkish mercenaries in the great towns of Western Asia Minor, notably, Nicaea and Nicomedia. By the time of the Crusade, Nicomedia was in Greek hands, but Nicaea belonged to the Turks. It is possible, however, to over-estimate the effect of Roussel's revolt on the advance of the Turks. See Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. XXXIV-XXXV.

9. Glötz-Diehl IX, p. 15. For the advance of the Seljuks into Asia Minor, there is an excellent bibliography. P.K.Hitti, A History of the Arabs, (London, 1937) pp. 473 ff.; Vasiliev, History, pp. 354-357; L.E.Browne, The Eclipse of Christianity in Asia, (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 139-142; the article entitled "Seljuks" by Houtsma in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXIV, pp. 608-611; the distinguished works of J.Laurent, Byzance et les Turcs Seldjoucides jusqu'en 1081, (Nancy, 1913); L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam, (Paris, 1919); C.Cohen, "La première Pénétration turque en Asie Mineure", (Byzantion, XVIII, 1948), pp. 5-67; P.Witteck, "Deux chapitres de l'Histoire des Turcs de Roum", (Byzantion, XI, 1936), pp. 285-319; Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. XXXVI-ALVIII.

10. L.Bréhier, L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age, (Paris, 1921), pp. 50-51. See also the vivid account of the aftermath of Manzikert in Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 64-71.

11. Vasiliev, History, pp. 384-385.

12. Alexiad, X, 5, Dawes, p. 247, Lieb, II, p. 205.

13. Vasiliev, History, pp. 382-383, Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. XLVIII-LVIII.

14. For the beginnings of a Byzantine counter-offensive against the Turk, see Alexiad, VI, 9, VIII, 3, X, 5, Dawes, pp. 152-153, 198-199, 247, Leib, II, pp. 63-66, 133-135, 205-206. On the comparative repose of the Empire in 1095, see Glötz-Diehl IX, pp. 15-16; Chalandon, Essai, pp. 154-158; A.Fliche, "Urban II et la Croisade," (Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France, pp. 289-306, 1927, XIII), p. 292; Vasiliev, History, pp. 388-389; Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 116. Chalandon unsuccessfully argues that since the Empire was in such a stable condition that Alexius did not request aid from the West in 1095.

15. The loss of Asia Minor had been disastrous for the Byzantine economy. Alexius successfully restored the public finances by the most stringent taxation, by fines and confiscations, by the sale of offices, and by the development of the industries of his capitol. However, it should be mentioned that he devalued the coinage and hampered the economy of the realm by the granting of excessive commercial advantages to foreign merchants.

16. Mercenaries had long been part of the Imperial Army. See Bréhier, L'Eglise, p. 61. Anna mentions mercenaries often.

17. Alexiad, VII, 6, Dawes, pp. 179-180, Leib, II, pp. 105-106. Chalandon, Essai, pp. 117-118, judges it doubtful that the count took the oath although Anna presents this as something customary. There is nothing which would support Chalandon's opinion. The Chronica Mon. Sancti Bertini MGSS, XXV, p. 784, reports the count's pilgrimage. The mercenaries which Robert promised eventually did arrive. Alexiad, VII, 6-7, Dawes, pp. 179-182, Leib, II, pp. 105-110.

18. In 1088-1089 Alexius wrote to Flanders to remind him of his promise to send mercenaries. For a long time, the extant Latin letter from Alexius to Robert was thought to be a genuine document. Modern criticism has established that the letter we possess is a pious forgery, an excitatorium, composed 1098-1099, to encourage new departures for Syria. The letter is a conflation of material from the papal exhortations delivered in 1095-1096 in support of the Crusade together with certain general themes taken from the original letter which Alexius wrote to Robert. Also, the author added details which he thought would make the letter more effective, e.g., the remarks concerning the charm and amiability of the Grecian women. The letter is printed in Guibert, op.cit., I, 5, RHCoc, IV, pp. 131-133, and in Paul Riant, AOL, I, No. 31, pp. 71-74. Riant somewhat excessively judged it to be a total forgery from material in papal speeches. This opinion was **CONTESTED** by H.Hagenmeyer in his collection of letters for the First Crusade, Hag. Epistulae, pp. 10-44, 129-136,

185-209. See the same author's article, "Der Briefe des Kaisers Alexios I. Komnenos an den Grafen Robert I. von Flandern", (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, VI, 1897), pp. 1-32; L.Bréhier, L'Eglise, pp. 57-58; Chalandon, Essai, pp. 155-156, 324-336; Glotz-Diehl IX, p. 16. Vasiliev, History, pp. 386-387, has a useful summary of the opinions of historians. However, the best summary and analysis in brief compass is in Dölger, II, No. 1152.

19. Alexiad, V, 3, Dawes, pp. 119-120, Lieb, II, pp. 13-14. This report is corroborated by Bernold, whose Chronicon is one of the most reliable sources for the history of Europe in the late eleventh century, MGSS, V, p. 440.
20. Alexiad, VIII, 5, Dawes, p. 202, Leib, II, p. 139. Chalandon, Essai, p. 129. The report is substantiated by Bernold, Chronicon, MGSS, V, p. 450.
21. More shall be said elsewhere concerning the council of Piacenza and Alexius' mission to the Papacy at this time.
22. Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, (edited by J.B.Bury, seven volumes, London, 1909-1914), VI, c. 58, p. 296.
23. The great soldier-emperor Nicephoras Phocas had requested the Patriarch of Constantinople to admit to the honoured rank of martyr those soldiers who died fighting the infidel. The Patriarch refused. See Zonaras, Epitome, XVI, 25, CSHB, III, p. 506. Strictly speaking, Grousset is inexact when he refers to "la croisade byzantine sous Nicéphore^{RC} Phocas", op.cit., I, p. XI.
24. Chalandon, Essai, p. 161.
25. Vasiliev, History, pp. 403-404. For Alexius' reaction to the Crusade, see P. Maas, "Die Musen der Kaisers Alexios I" (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXII, 1913), pp. 348-369, reference here, pp. 357-358.
26. It is the opinion of many that the Crusade was an irretrievable disaster to the life of the Balkan Peninsula. See D.Bikólas, La Grèce Byzantine et Moderne, (Paris, 1893), p. 29.
27. This point shall be mentioned again when the papal intentions for the First Crusade are discussed.

28. Alexiad, XIV, 4, Dawes, p. 372, Leib edition, III, p. 160. This is an exact description of the disposition of the imperial forces at the time of the entrance of the Crusade into the Empire. See Chalandon, Essai, p. 163.

29. Alexiad, X, 5-6, XI, 6, Dawes, pp. 248-251, 283, Leib, II, pp. 206-208, III, p. 28.

30. Roussel de Baillleul was a Norman who had fought in Guiscard's Sicilian campaign. For the rebellion of Roussel, see Alexiad, I, 1, Dawes, pp. 8 ff., Leib, I, pp. 9 ff. Other sources are Nicephorus Bryennius, Historia, II, 4 ff., CSHB, pp. 58 ff.; Amatus, Ystoire, I, 7-16, FSI, pp. 15-21; Scylitzes, Historia, CSHB, v. 2 of Cedrenus, pp. 708 ff.; Attaliates, Historia, CSHB, pp. 188 ff. Zonaras, Epitome, XVIII, 16 f, CSHB, III, pp. 708 ff. See also Chalandon, Essai, pp. 29 ff.; Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 62, 63, 66-67; G.Schlumberger, "Deux Chefs Normands des Armées Byzantines", (Revue Historique, XVI, 1881), pp. 289-303.

31. Alexiad, X, 5, Dawes, p. 250, Leib, II, p. 209.

32. Hence the imprisonment of Hugh of Vermandois at Durazzo; Alexiad, X, 7, 9, Dawes, pp. 252-254, 261, Leib, II, pp. 213-215, 225-226.

33. The Alexiad opens with the account of the revolt of Roussel and from there on, Anna has little good to say about any Westerner and especially the Normans. For example, when Bohemund landed on the western shores, near Durazzo, in his invasion of later years, the announcement roots all, save Alexius, to the spot in horror and fear. Alexiad, XII, 9, Dawes, p. 322, Leib, III, p. 85. However, Anna could not conceal her admiration for Bohemund, Alexiad, XIII, 10, Dawes, p. 347, Leib, III, pp. 122-124. Even Guiscard receives his due share of admiration and praise, Alexiad, I, 10, Dawes, p. 27, Leib, I, p. 37-38.

34. Actually, the marriage negotiations began under Romanus IV Diogenes. See a letter of Michael Psellus in K.N.Sathas, Bibliotheca Graeca medii aevi, (seven volumes, Paris-Venice, 1872-1879), V, p. 387. Michael, who resumed negotiations, found himself dealing with a more haughty Guiscard than his predecessor. However, the imperial wish was attained. For these negotiations, see the following sources. Scylitzes, Historia, in volume II of the CSHB edition of the Synopsis of Cedrenus, pp. 720-724; Zonaras, Epitome, XVIII, 17, CSHB, p. 714; Alexiad, I, 10, Dawes, pp. 26-27, Leib, I, p. 37; Amatus, Ystoire, VII, 26, FST, pp. 318-320; Malaterra, Historia Sicula, III, 13, RISS (new), V, I, pp. 64-65;

Orderic Vitalis, VII, 5, III, p. 166; William of Apulia, Gesta, III, ll. 502 f, MGSS, IX, p. 275; Romuald, Chronicon, RISS (new), VII, I, p. 189. See also Chalandon, Essai, pp. 61-62; Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 260-265; Heinemann, op.cit., I, p. 390. The Greek reaction to this alliance was instrumental in bringing Botaniates to the throne. See also the letters in Dölger, II, No. 973, No. 989, No. 990, and No. 1003. Anna is probably correct when she sees in the marriage the first sign of Norman designs on the imperial throne: Alexiad, I, 12, Dawes, p. 30, Leib, I, p.

35. Alexiad, I, 12, Dawes, p. 31, Leib, I, p. ; Malaterra, III, 13, RISS (new), U, I, pp. 64-65; William of Apulia, III, ll. 502 f, IV, ll. 1 ff, MGSS, IX, pp. 275, 279; Romuald, Chronicon, RISS (new), VII, I, p. 190.

36. Alexiad, I, 10, Dawes, p. 26, Leib, I, p. . It is to be noted that others, besides the Greeks, hated the Normans. See the comments on their ferocity in the Gesta archiepiscoporum Mediolanensis, MGSS, VIII, p. 10 and Malaterra's famous character sketch of the Normans, I, 3, RISS (new), V, I, pp. 8-9.

37. On the pseudo-Michael and the war which followed, see Lupus Protospatarius, MGSS, V, p. 60; Orderic Vitalis, VII, 5, III, pp. 166-168; Malaterra, Historia Sicula, III, 13-14, 24-33, 39-42, RISS (new), V, I, pp. 64-66, 71-77, 81-82; William of Apulia, Gesta, IV, ll. 162 ff., MGSS, IX, pp. 282 ff.; Books IV and V of the Gesta of William are devoted to the war of Guiscard against the Empire. See also the Anonymi Baronsis Chronicon, RISS, V, cc. 768 ff.; Romuald, Chronicon, RISS (new), VII, I, pp. 191-197; Alexiad, I, 12, IV, 1, Dawes, pp. 31, 99, Leib, I, pp. 44ff./ Books I-VI, of the Alexiad have Anna's account of the Norman war. See also Scylitzes, Historia, CCHB, v.2 of Cedrenus, pp. 720 ff.; Zonaras, Epitome, XVIII, 22 f. CCHB, III, pp. 734 ff. As for the identity of the Pseudo-Michael, he was probably an unknown Greek religious of South Italy who seemed useful for Robert's purposes.

38. Adequate treatments of the Norman war may be found in Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 258-284; Chalandon, Essai, pp. 58-94; Yewdale, op.cit., pp. 9-24.

39. George Every, The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204, (London, 1947) p. 175.

40. For proof of Gregory's deception and his blessing of the war, see JL, 5178. It is perhaps significant that the Anonymi Vaticani Historia Sicula, RISS, VIII, c. 768 lists as one of Guiscard's reasons for war the resistance of the Greek church to Rome. See von Heinemann, op.cit., pp. 299-339.

41. The Venetians feared that a Norman victory would cut the Venetian trade routes into the Mediterranean and to the East. See Alexiad. VI, 5, Dawes, pp. 146-147, Leib, II, pp. 50-53; Dandolo, Chronicon, RISS (new), XII, I, pp. 216-217. The chrysobull, which granted Venice extraordinary privileges, notably, rights of purchase and sale within the Empire without restriction, exemption from imports, duties, inspections, the granting of a special quarter in Constantinople, etc., may be consulted in Tafel-Thomas, pp. 43-63; JGR, III, pp. 434-439. See also W. Heyd, Histoire du Commerce du Levant, (translated from the German by F. Renaud, two volumes, 2nd reimpression Leipzig, 1936), I, pp. 118-120; Chalandon, Essai, pp. 82-83; A. Kretschmayr, Geschichte von Venedig, (two volumes, Leipzig, 1905-1920), I, pp. 163, 179, 449; F. C. Hodgson, The Early History of Venice from the foundation to the Conquest of Constantinople, A.D. 1204, (London, 1901), p. 166. See also Dölger, II, No. 1081. It might be well to mention here other works dealing with the Italian maritime cities which have assisted me in this thesis. C. Diehl, Une République patri-cienne: Venise, (Paris, 1916); A. Schaube, Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets, (Munich, 1906), especially pp. 3-26 for the early growth of Venice up to 1095; E. G. Rey, Les Colonies Franques de Syrie, (Paris, 1883), pp. 69-74; E. H. Byrne, "The Genoese Colonies in Syria", (The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, edited by L. J. Paetow, New York, 1928), pp. 139-182, and by the same author, "Genoese Trade with Syria in the Twelfth Century", (American Historical Review, XXV, 1919-1920), pp. 191-219; John La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, pp. 226-242.

42. Gregory was forced to recall Guiscard to Italy. See JL, 5038, 5210. Also Romuald of Salerno, RISS (new), VII, I, pp. 194-195; Malaterra, III, 33, RISS (new), V, I, p. 77. It would be valuable to us if we knew with certainty what Gregory felt of the Byzantine-Venetian alliance. See W. Holtzmann, "Studien zur Orientpolitik des Reformpapsttums and zur Entstehung des ersten Kreuzzuges", (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXII, 1924-1925) pp. 167-189, here pp. 167-169.

43. That Guiscard aspired to the imperial throne is clear. Richard of Poitiers, MGSS, XVI, p. 79, says he wished to make Bohemund emperor of Constantinople and also perhaps of lands beyond the Bosphorus.

44. Gesta Regum, II, p. 390. So also Malaterra, IV, 24, RISS, (new), V, I, p. 102.

45. For a few indications of this fascination, see Odo of Deuil in his account of the Second Crusade, Berry, pp. 62-67. Also, Guibert, I, 5, RHCocce, IV, p. 132 and Robert, II, 20, RHCocce, III, pp. 750-751.

46. Glötz-Diehl III, p. 537; L.M.Hartmann, The Early Medieval State, (Historical Association Pamphlet, G 14, translated by H. Liebeschütz, London, 1949), p. 18. The examples in the Alexiad are plentiful.

47. For examples of this Latin attitude towards the Greeks, see Albert, IV, 6, XII, 15, RHCocc., IV, pp. 392, 698. Consult also Hag. Gesta, p. 366, n. 23. Amatus, Ystoire, whose account of the activities of Roussel has been cited, pictures the Norman condottiere as the soul of honour as opposed to Greek craft and deceit. See I, 7-15, FSI, pp. 15-21; William of Apulia refers to their lack of martial vigour and effeminacy, I, ll. 225-228, MGSS, IX, p. 246; Malaterra, Historia, III, 13, RISS (new), V, I, p. 64, repeats the same opinion.

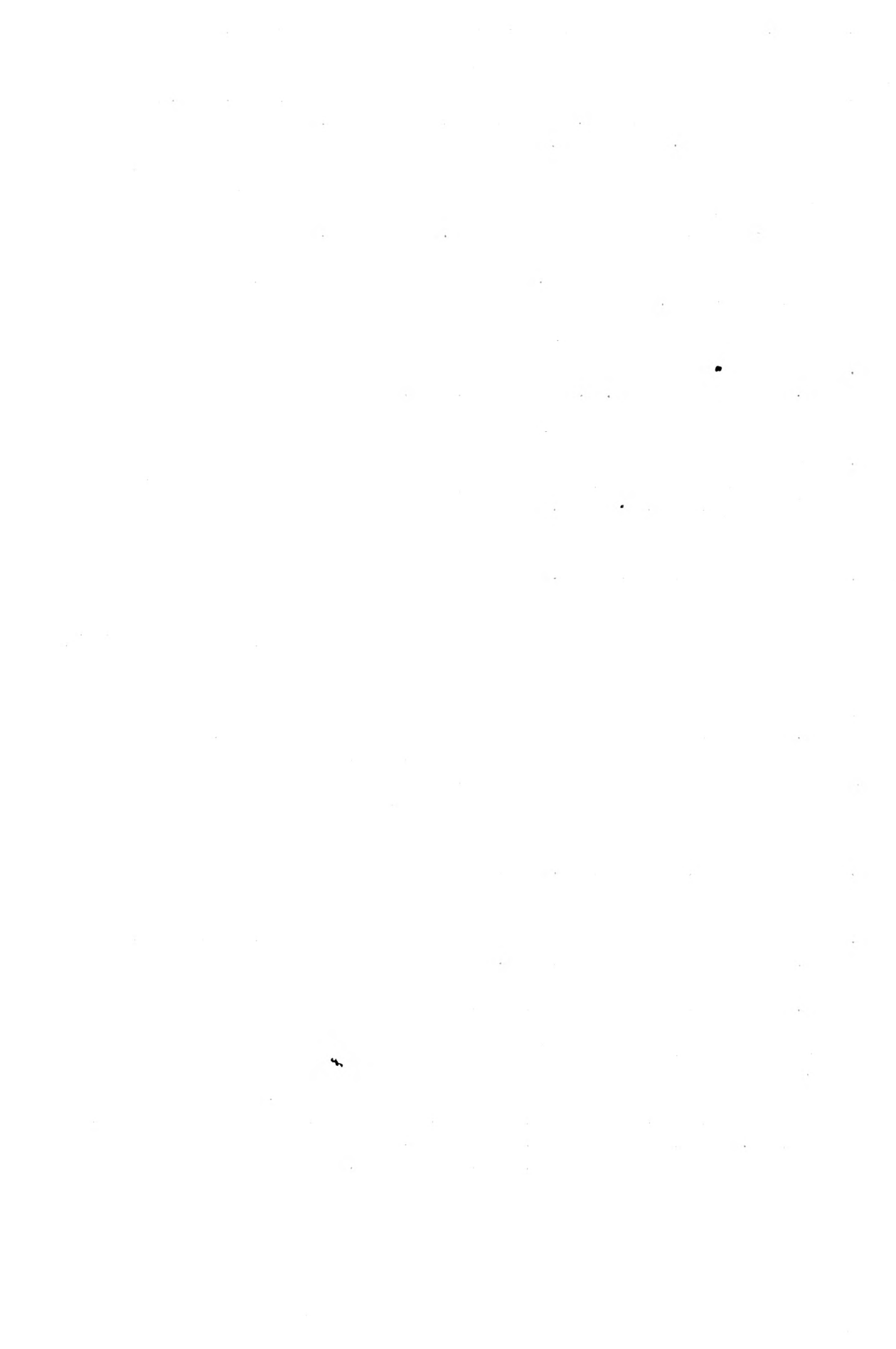
48. For a bibliography on the relations between the two churches, see: A.Fliche, La Réforme Grégorienne et la Reconquete Chrétienne, (1057-1123), (volume VIII of Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, edited by A.Fliche, V.Martin, and E.Jarry, Paris, 1950); we shall refer to this work hereafter as Fliche, Histoire, VIII; W.Norden, Das Papsttum und Byzanz, (Berlin 1903); A.Michel, "Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit", (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, No.121, Rome, 1939); A.Michel, Humbert und Kerularios, (two volumes, Paderborn, 1924-1930); George Every, The Byzantine Patriarchate, (London, 1947); B.Leib, Rome, Keiv et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle, (Paris, 1924); Jules Gay, op.cit., pp. 477-500; L.Bréhier, L'Eglise, pp. 40-42; L.Bréhier, Le Schisme Oriental du XI^e siècle, (Paris, 1889); M.Jugie, "Le Schisme de Michel Cerulaire", (Echos d'Orient, XXXV, Paris, 1937), pp. 440-473 and his large work of synthesis, Le Schisme Byzantin, (Paris, 1941). Of the greatest interest still is the work of Leo Allatius, De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis Perpetua Consensione, (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1648).

49. Alexiad, X, 8-9, Dawes, pp. 254-261, Leib, II, pp. 215-226. Or again in Albert of Aachen, I, 12, RHCocc., IV, p. 282, Peter is assisted by Alexis because he and his companions are Christians.

50. Although the account is probably fictitious, it is pertinent to record that Godfrey, when asked by Bohemund, refused to attack Constantinople, saying that he had taken a vow to liberate Jerusalem, not to kill Christians, Albert, II, 14, RHCocc., IV, p. 309. See also William of Tyre, II, 5, III, 19, V, 11, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 124, 179, 241, RHCocc., I, pp. 79-80, 140, 211-212; Fulcher, I, 25, RHCocc., III, p. 354, Hag. Fulcher, p. 278.

51. Hag. Epistulae, pp. 59-61, 141-142, 242-247. During the siege of Antioch, Simeon sent out supplies to the crusaders. Albert, VI, 39, RHCocc., IV, p. 489.

52. Hag. Epistulae, pp. 63-68, 144-146, 254-269.
53. Especially lucid on this point is Every, op.cit., passim, in particular, pp. viii, 31, 151-152. See also Vasiliev, History pp. 469-470. For two examples of imperial "interference" in theological and ecclesiastical affairs, see Alexius Comnenus' dealings with a resurgence of iconoclasm in 1092, during the patriarchate of Nicholas III Grammatikos, 1084-1111. Grumel, III, No. 967, No. 968. Equally clear is the account in Nicetas of the influence of Manuel Comnenus on spiritual matters. De Manuele Comneno, VII, 5-6, CSHB, pp. 274-284.
54. The quotation from Theodore may be found in Vasiliev, History, p. 470 and in P.G., 138, c. 93.
55. For Alexius' strict, yet usually benevolent control of the Church, see Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 7-11; Glötz-Diehl IX, pp. 33-37.
56. Norden, op.cit., pp. 1-4, is, I believe, quite correct when he states that the content of the notion of the Roman primacy was emptied in the East due to Caesaropapism. On the Norman-papal alliance, see von Heinemann, op.cit., pp. 159-189.
57. For the so-called schism of Cerularius, see the work of Dr. A. Michel, Humbert und Cerularios, passim; L. Bréhier, Le Schisme Oriental, passim, W. Norden, op.cit., pp. 16 ff; F. Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 156 ff; Vasiliev, History, pp. 337-339; Jules Gay, op.cit., pp. 491 ff.
58. Chalandon, Essai, p. 19.
59. The evidence is not clear. See Every, op.cit., pp. 155 ff.; L. Bréhier, L'Eglise, pp. 41-42 agrees with the text although few facts are brought forward to support this view; see also L. Bréhier, Le Schisme, pp. 219-245, for an analysis of the steps taken by Constantinople towards ensuring the conformity of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem to the defiance of Rome by Constantinople. Peter of Antioch made a half-hearted resistance to Michael Cerularius. See M. Jugie, Le Schisme Byzantin, pp. 219-229, and L. Allatiñs, De consensione, I, 16, c. 239, II, 9, cc. 616-625. The pertinent correspondence is printed in PG, CXX, cc. 756-820.



60. For example, in 1055, Lietbert, Archbishop of Cambrai, on his way to the Holy City as a pilgrim, was hindered by the Byzantine authorities from fulfilling his vows. See the Gesta Lietberti and the Chronicon S. Andreae, MGSS, VII, pp. 497, 535-7. Indeed, in 1056, Victor II wrote to the Empress Theodora protesting against Byzantine treatment of pilgrims passing through imperial territory. See JL 4342, PL 149, cc. 961-962. There has been an unsuccessful attempt to attribute this letter to Victor III. See Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 87 ff.
61. See Every, op.cit., pp. 149-150, 170; and the article by A.Palmieri "Fillogue in the Dictionnaire du Theologie Catholique, V, cc. 2309-2343.
62. See J.Hergenröther, Monumenta Graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentia, (Ratisbon, 1869), pp. 62-71. Psellus lauded Cerularius for his opposition to the Latins "whose impious pride would destroy all true religion". See his funeral oration for the Patriarch in K.N.Sathas, Bibliotheca Graeca medii aevi, (seven volumes, Paris, 1872-1894), IV, p. 348.
63. On this point, the most important work is Bernard Leib's Rome, Kiev et Byzance which has been cited in the notes. Also to be noted is the very important work of F.Dvornik, The Photian Schism, History and Legend, (Cambridge, 1948). See also Every, op.cit., pp. 153-193. Nowadays we speak of the hardening of the Schism during the twelfth century as the decisive stage of the separation of the churches of East and West. See A.Fliche, Histoire VIII, pp. 303-308, who summarises Leib.
64. On the exchanges between the two peoples, Eastern and Latin Christians, see Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 75-105. For Byzantine monks visiting Rome, see Alexiad, I, 12, Dawes, pp. 30-33, Leib, I, pp. 45.
65. Of special significance to Westerners was the shrine of St. Nicolas at Myra. The "translation" of the relics of Nicolas to Bari forms one of the most interesting and revealing chapters in East-West relations in the late eleventh century. See Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 51-74.
66. For some examples, see the Chronicon Mon. Casinensis, MGSS, VII, pp. 694, 702, 718, 731. Also Dölger, II, No. 1006, dated April, 1076; Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, comments on this relationship, pp. 103 ff.



67. The treatise of Theophylact is printed in P.G., 126, cc. 226-250. On this work see the admirable analysis of Leib, op.cit., pp. 41 ff. Also it will be found in C.Will, Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae saec. XI. composita extant. (Leipzig, 1861). See M.Jugie, Le Schisme Byzantin, pp. 243 ff., and L.Allatius, De consensione, II, 10, cc. 630-631.
68. Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 32-41.
69. Thus, the letter of Michael Cerularius to Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, printed in C.Will, op.cit., pp. 172-188.
70. Father Leib has analysed the Byzantine polemical campaign against the Latins, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 27-50.
71. C.Will, op.cit., pp. 51-64. For the political significance of this letter, see Jules Gay, op.cit., pp. 495-500.
72. C.Will, op.cit., pp. 127-136. They will also be found in J.Hergenröther, op.cit., pp. 139-154.
73. C.Will, op.cit., pp. 155-168. See M.Jugie, Le Schisme Byzantin, pp. 206-219 for Cerularius' anti-Latin activities. L.Allatius, De consensione, II, 10, cc. 625-642, on the growing controversy.
74. We shall illustrate this shortly with an account of union negotiations between East and West in the early years of Urban II's reign.
75. Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 93 ff. See also M.Jugie, Le Schisme Byzantin, pp. 187-192.
76. The letter is in the writings of Benzo of Asti, Ad Heinricum IV Imperatorem Libri VII, MGSS, XI, p. 622. Also Dölger, II, No. 950 where these materials are criticised. Also Jules Gay, op.cit., p. 527. For the attempts of Alexander II to achieve reconciliation, see the AASS, for August, I, p. 236.
77. On Gregory's policy see, L.Bréhier, L'Eglise, op.cit., pp. 51-53 and Georg Hofmann, "Papst Gregor VII. und die Christliche Osten", (Studi Gregoriani, ed. G.B.Borino, I, Rome, 1947) pp. 169-181. Gregory's concern for unity is shown in his letter of 9 July 1073, to Michael VII. who had asked for military aid against the Turks and promised church union. JL, 4789, The Register of Gregory is edited in the Monumenta

Germaniae Historica, Epistulae Selectae, (edited E. Caspar, Berlin, 1920) I, No. 18, pp. 29-30. Also see Gerold Meyer von Knonau, Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V. (seven volumes, Leipzig, 1890-1909), II, pp. 340-341. In the months following, the great scheme for the defence of the Eastern Empire was evolving in Gregory's mind. Pertinent letters are Register, I, 46, 49; II, 3, 31; pp. 70, 75, 128, 166 f, JL, 4823, 4826, 4876, 4904. Certain of the re-union of the churches, Gregory looked forward to a great Christian army battling for the relief of the Empire, and, as his thoughts developed, of the Lord's Sepulchre. See Meyer von Knonau, op.cit., II, pp. 436-438. On 16 December, 1074, Gregory called for the support of all the faithful beyond the Alps, JL, 4910, Register, II, 37, p. 173. However, the Eastern church's reluctance, the growing tension with Henry, due to the papal decrees of 1074, and the necessity of conciliating the Romans ruined the plan. See the famous letter to Hugh of Cluny, Register, II, 49, p. 189 and the letter to the Patriarch of Venice recently returned from the East, JL, 4913, Register, II, 30, pp. 175-176. One should not interpret Gregory's actions as an attempt to achieve church union with military aid either as a weapon or as a bait. See Every, op.cit., p. 175 and Ursula Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes, (Berlin, 1937), p. 70. See also Glotz-Diehl III, pp. 559-560 for an excellent summary of Papal-Norman-Byzantine relations. See also Norden, op.cit., pp. 38-46; Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 14-19; A. Fliche, Histoire VIII, pp. 69-70, 74-75.

78. On the systatic letter, see F. Dvornik, The Photian Schism, pp. 327-328, and his review of T. G. Jalland's, The Church and the Papacy, (London-New York, 1944), in the February, 1945, issue of Blackfriars, pp. 57-58.
79. For the excommunication of Botaniates, see Register, VI, 56, p. 400. See Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 254 ff, 265 ff. We note that Gregory's plan was not a Crusade like the Crusade of 1095. No indulgences were offered, Constantinople was the primary goal of the expedition. As we shall argue, Urban temporarily put aside the notion of church union which had a central place in Gregory's conception.
80. Alexiad, I, 13, Dawes, p. 32, Leib, I, p. 48-49.
81. The Greeks did not know that Gregory based his dealings with the Normans on the Donation of Constantine.
82. See Anna's account of Gregory's dealings with Henry IV, whose alliance Alexius sought. Alexiad, III, 10; Dawes, pp. 91-93, Leib, I, pp. 132-36. Chalandon, Essai, pp. 69 ff, with important notes.

83. For Alexius and Henry IV see the Annalista Saxo, MGSS, p. 721; Meyer von Knonau, op.cit., III, pp. 448, 482-483, 522-523; Lupus Protospatarius, MGSS, V, p. 61, and Bernold, MGSS, V, p. 440.
84. On these negotiations see Leib, op.cit., pp. 20-26; the indispensable work of W. Holtzmann, "Der Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Alexios I. und Urban II im Jahre 1089", (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVIII, 1923) pp. 38-67 and "Studien zur Orientpolitik des Reformpapsttums und zur Entstehung des ersten Kreuzzuges", (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXII, 1924-1925), pp. 167-189; Every, op.cit., pp. 176-178; Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 100 ff; Fliche, Histoire VIII, pp. 236-238; Norden, op.cit., pp. 46-57. See the account in Malaterra, IV, 13, RISS (new), pp. 92-93; JL 5326a, printed on p. 752 of volume two of JL, is a letter of Guibert of Ravenna directed probably to the Patriarch of Constantinople; most helpful are the entries in Dölger, II, No. 1146, No. 1156 and in Grumel, III, No. 947, No. 948, No. 953, No. 954. A brief summary of the evidence is given here. Alexius had in 1083, indicated his desire for Christian unity when he made Euthymius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, one of his representatives in the negotiations for peace with the Normans. The presence of the Patriarch, who stood as a symbol of oppressed Christendom and the Greek of resistance against the infidel, had little effect. The Emperor Alexius, discovering that he was still under the ban of excommunication, forbade the Latins of his realm to use unleavened bread in the Eucharist. It may be also that the Constantinople Patriarch ordered Greek Christians not to enter Latin churches or attend their services. Be this as it may, Alexius' action had, from the imperial point of view, the desired effect. Urban protested, and thus the door for negotiations was opened. Alexius next proposed that Urban come to Constantinople to settle the differences between the churches in council. Urban refused, but his interest was aroused. He consulted his Norman vassal, Count Roger of Sicily (for the new Norman-papal Alliance see Romuald, Chronicon, RISS (new), VII, I, p. 199) who seemed agreeable to a papal-Constantinople rapprochement. See Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 296 ff., 345. This interview with his vassal occurred in April 1088, probably after Urban had sent to the East the Cardinal Deacon Roger and Nicolas, Abbot of Grotta Ferrata, to convey his protest against the imperial action. See Chalandon, Essai, pp. 129-130. Returning to Rome, Urban found Guibert in control of most of the city. Not only this, Urban knew that Guibert was in contact with the Patriarch of Constantinople. Guibert had established contact with Basilus of Calabria who had written asking for help in regaining possession of his see from which he had been ousted by the Normans. Guibert promised help, asking Basilus to be instrumental in opening up diplomatic exchanges between himself and the Patriarch of Constantinople. As we have mentioned before, Guibert was already in touch with the Metropolitan John of Kiev. Determined to head off the anti-pope, Urban removed

the ban of excommunication on Alexius. For Guibert's dealings with the East, with the Metropolitan of Kiev and Basilus of Calabria, a deprived Greek Metropolitan of Southern Italy, see Leib, op.cit., pp. 23-24. Meanwhile, Alexius had been busy with the hierarchy of the Church. He asked the patriarch and his episcopal synod why Urban's name was not on the dyptychs? Perhaps Urban, through his emissaries, had already raised the question. The Greek church, mindful of its imperial master, gave a soft answer to Alexius. It had been an oversight on their part. However, their hostile intent is made clear on the solution they proposed. They agreed that if Urban would submit the standard profession of faith, i.e., the systatic letter, declare his allegiance to the ecumenical councils, condemn the heresies condemned by the Church, indicate his reverence for the fathers and doctors of the Sixth ecumenical council especially, then his name would be placed on the dyptychs. After this, they would proceed to a council attended in person by Urban himself or his representative in Constantinople. They would thus discuss the differences between the churches. The patriarchal letter which accompanied the synodical decree, disclaimed all hostility to Latin Christians. He had not interdicted the attendance by Greeks at Latin services. Nicholas asked for the systatic letter, declaring he also longed for unity. This letter also introduced the embassy of Basil of Calabria and Romanus of Rossano. Would Urban restore Basilus to his see? The letter closed with formal professions of concern and interest. The mission was not successful. Urban did not present a profession of faith. The restoration of Basilus, deprived by the Normans of his see at Reggio, was all but impossible. While Romanus made his submission to Urban, Basilus wrote to Nicholas Grammatikos representing Urban in the worst possible light as the tool of the Normans. However, despite all the intrigue between Urban, Guibert, Kiev and Constantinople, the hostility to Urban and Urban's refusal to bow to the Greek Church, Alexius remained pro-Urban. See L. Alletius, De consensione, II, 10, cc. 625-626. The views expressed here and in the text are in opposition to those of Jugie, Le Schisme, p. 242 and those of V. Grumel, "Jerusalem entre Rome et Byzance: Une lettre inconnue du patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas III a son collegue de Jerusalem (vers 1089)" (Echos d'Orient, XXXVIII, 1939), p. 115 and in substantial agreement with Charanis in his communication to the Editor of the American Historical Review, LIII, 1947-1948, pp. 942-944.

85. See Bernold, MGSS, V, p. 450; Alexiad, VIII, 5 Dawes, p. 202, Leib, II, p. 139, where Alexius is described as expecting an army from Rome. In this connection, see Dolger, II, No. 1156; Leib, op.cit., pp. 179 ff.
86. Every, op.cit., pp. 155 ff.

87. See Grumel, III, No. 956, dated 1089. For Simeon's writings against the Latin rite, see A.Michel, "Amalfi and Jerusalem".

88. This treatise is edited by Leib in his "Deux Inédits Byzantines sur les Azymites au début du XII^{ème} siècle", (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, II, 3, #9, Rome, 1924), pp. 133-216.

89. On this see Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 300-301. More shall be said on this in regard to the council of Bari in 1098.

90. See the Annales S.Disibodi, MGSS, XVII, p. 151.

91. The famous forgery, the letter of Alexius to Robert of Flanders, represents the Emperor of Constantinople and his subjects as sharing the same religious faith of the Latins.

92. A working bibliography for the relation of the Papacy to the first Crusade Norden, op.cit., especially pp. 46-57; A.C.Krey, "Urban's Crusade - Success or Failure?" (American Historical Review, LIII, 1947-1948), pp. 235-250; John La Monte "La Papauté et les Croisades", (Renaissance, II-III, 1945), pp. 154-167; Dana C.Munro, "The Popes and the Crusades", (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, LV, No. 5, 1916), pp. 348-356; L.Bréhier, op.cit., pp. 55 ff; M.W.Baldwin, "Some Recent Interpretations of Pope Urban II's Eastern Policy", (The Catholic Historical Review, XXV, 1940), pp. 459-466; Leib, op.cit.; Holtzmann, op.cit.; A.Fliche, "Les Origines de l'action de la Papauté en vue de la Croisade", (Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique, XXXIV, 1938), pp. 765-775; F.Duncalf "The Pope's Plan for the First Crusade", (The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C.Munro, New York, 1928), pp. 44-56; D.C.Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II. at Clermont", (American Historical Review, XI, 1906), pp. 231-242; ~~Leib~~, "Did the Emperor Alexius ask for aid at the Council of Piacenza?" (American Historical Review, XXVII, 1922), pp. 731-733; M.W.Baldwin, "The Papacy and the Levant during the Twelfth Century", (Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, III, No. 2, January, 1945), pp. 277-287; U.Schwerin, Die Aufrufe der Päpste zur Befreiung des Heiligen Landes von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang Innozenz IV. (Historische Studien, 301, Berlin, 1937); Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens, (Stuttgart, 1935). Although Erdmann's work is primarily a study of the ideological preparation for the Crusade, he reviews the opinions of Holtzmann and Leib in Chapter Ten. R.Crozet, "Le Voyage d'Urban II et ses negotiations avec le clergé de France, 1095-1096", (Revue Historique, CLXXIX-CLXXX pp. 271-310; 1937); A.Fliche, "Urban II et la Croisade", (Revue d'Histoire de l'Eglise de France, XIII, 1927), pp. 289-306; P.Rousset, Les origines et les caractères de la première croisade, (Neuchatel, 1945); pp. 259-282; A.Cartellieri, Der Aufstieg des Papsttums im Rahmen der Weltgeschichte, 1047-1095, (Munich, 1936); M.Villey, La Croisade, (Paris, 1942).

93. The reports of the council of Piacenza may be seen in Manei, XX, cc. 801-816. Further sources are Bernold, MGSS, V, pp. 461-462. Other sources, Annales S. Benigni Divionensis, MGSS, V, p. 43; Annales Gemmeticonses, MGSS, XXVI, p. 508; Historia Monasterii Nova Pictaviensis, quoted by Munro in his article in the American Historical Review, XXVII, 1922, p. 732. The source quoted by Peter Charanis, "A Greek Source and the First Crusade", (Speculum, XXIV, 1949), pp. 93-94; Annales Stadenses, MGSS, XVI, p. 317; Gislæbertus, Chronicon Hanoniense, MGSS, XXI, p. 503. On Piacenza, see C.J. Hefele, Histoire des Conciles, (ed. and trans. by Dom H. Leclercq, Paris, 1907 ff) V, 1, pp. 338 ff. and Fliche, Histoire VIII, pp. 264-269. The article of Munro on Piacenza has already been cited. See also Holtzmann, Studien, pp. 191-192; Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 104, and Bréhier, L'Eglise, pp. 61-62; Norden, op.cit., pp. 47-49. Finally, we cite Dölger, II, No. 1176, and the three scholarly opinions cited immediately below.

94. Riant, AOL, I, pp. 87, 101-104 said that it was reunion and not mercenaries which concerned the imperial legation at Piacenza. Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 180-181, agreed. Chalandon, Essai, p. 156 denied that he asked for aid at all. These opinions can be set aside. All other considerations aside, the evidence presented in the Charanis' article is decisive. See also Munro's article on Alexius and Piacenza.

95. This is the contention of Fliche in the two articles cited above, ibid. Crozet's article establishes the papal itinerary. See also Fliche, History VIII, pp. 273-274.

96. This was the view of Erdmann, op.cit., who in his final chapter and an appendix also made a thorough-going investigation of Urban's aims and objectives. See the reviews of this most important book: L.Bréhier in the Revue d'histoire ecclesiastique, XXXII, 1936, pp. 671-676; Z.N.Brooke in the English Historical Review, LIV, 1939, pp. 108-110; Louis Halphen in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XCVII, 1936, pp. 391-392 and John La Monte in Speculum, XII, 1937, pp. 119-122.

97. A.Cartellieri, op.cit., p. 255; and Fliche's article, Les origines, passim.

98. As La Monte, La papauté, p. 156 indicates, all critics are agreed that Urban wished to free the Holy Land. Munro's analysis of Urban's speech reveals this although in the more reliable accounts Jerusalem does not receive the prominence that we might expect. However, the existence of vows which bound the crusaders to reach Jerusalem seems to me sufficient

evidence apart from the speech. Villey, op.cit., pp. 82-84 and Erdmann, op.cit., do not sufficiently emphasize Jerusalem as the destination of the crusade and the purpose of the expedition. See also Norden, op.cit., p. 53; Rousset, op.cit., pp. 56 ff., and Baldwin's article in the Polish Institute, p. 279 on this matter. Baldwin emphasizes that Urban wished to open a third front against the infidel. Further, the papal preaching after Clermont emphasizes the purpose of the expedition as the liberation of the Eastern Christians and the cleansing of Jerusalem. See the Chronicon S. Maxentii Pictaviensis, edited by P. Marchegay and E. Mabilly in their Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou, (Paris, 1869), p. 412 and in the Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis, in P. Marchegay and E. Salmon, Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou, (Paris, 1856), pp. 380-381.

99. The proper balance of the two motifs is seen in the papal letter to Flanders, AOL, I, No. 49, pp. 113-116, Hag. Epistulae, pp. 136-137: "Fraternitatem vestram iam pridem multorum relatione didicisse credimus barbaricam rabiem ecclesias Dei in Orientis partibus miserabili infestatione devastasse, insuper etiam sanctam civitatem Christi, passione et resurrectione inlustratam, suae intolerabili servituti cum suis ecclesiis, quod dici nefas est, mancipasse". The charter of the countess of Flanders also closely identifies the Crusade with the liberation of Jerusalem, Hag. Epistulae, p. 142.
100. See Raymond, II; RHCOcc, III, p. 238. Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 181 ff. fails to recognize the significance of Raymond's refusal. He argues that Urban wished the crusaders to restore all land to the Empire up to and including Jerusalem. See C. Cahen, La Syrie du Nord à l'Époque des Croisades, (Paris, 1940), p. 200. Further, it should be remarked that the crusaders did not stop to occupy land in Asia Minor, being drawn always towards the goal of the pilgrimage: the deliverance of Jerusalem. Hence the Gesta speaks of the crusade as the via Sancti Sepulchri or via deliberanda Sancti Sepulchri, IX, X, Bréhier, pp. 140, 170, Hag. Gesta, pp. 352, 396.
101. Evidence in connection with the oath will be cited later on. Suffice it to say that Fliche's judgment, that Raymond's refusal to take the oath at first points to the papal desire to create a papal state out of the conquests in Syria-Palestine is unfounded. However, more on this later. See Fliche, Histoire VIII, p. 298. See the Gesta, I, Bréhier, p. 32, Hag. Gesta, pp. 173-175.
102. The work of Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, was to show that the Crusade was for Urban a new opportunity for healing the schism. See pp. 179 ff. and 319 ff. especially. This view was sharply criticized by E. Kaspar in the Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXVI,

1926, p. 102 and W.Holtzmann in the Historische Zeitschrift, CXXXIV, 1926, pp. 98-100. A more cordial review by Halphen may be found in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, LXXXV, 1924, pp. 376-379. Krey in his article, "Urban's Crusade", agreed that reunion was the papal motive. Norden, op.cit., admitted the notion, pp. 46 ff.; Baldwin, in his article for the Polish Institute, op.cit., pp. 278 ff, seems to do so.

103. A.C.Krey, "Urban's Crusade", op.cit., p. 236.
104. The papal records for 1095-1098 were destroyed by Guibert. Riant, AOL, I, p. 107.
105. Printed in Hag. Epistulae, pp. 141-142, 146-149, AOL, I, No. 90, No. 91, pp. 152-155, 155-159.
106. Unlike Gregory VII, Urban would not even give the slightest appearance of exploiting the Greek predicament. As we have indicated, Simeon was no friend to the Latins. However he sent food to the crusaders when they were at Antioch. Albert, VI, 39, RHCocc, IV, p. 489.
107. His letter is in Hag. Epistulae, pp. 144-146, especially the conclusion.
108. Bréhier, L'Église, p. 61; Norden, op.cit., pp. 49-52.
109. It could be argued that this is due to the absence of Adhemar's restraining hand, his death occurring August 1, 1098. However, as we shall see, it was Raymond, the companion of Adhemar, who took the step. This is overlooked completely by Riant in his "Eclaircissements sur quelques points de l'histoire de l'Église de Bethléem-Ascalon" (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I, 1893), pp. 142-143.
110. This is supposition, but it seems likely in view of the previous judgments.
111. The Latins held firmly to their own usages, as would be expected. For example, at Antioch, they communicated "ad docus Romanae Ecclesiae". Raymond, XI, RHCocc, III, p. 259.
112. For the council at Bari, see the conclusion of the letter from Lucca to all the faithful, Hag. Epistulae, p. 167, and Mansi, XX, cc. 947-952. It is unfortunate that the acts of

the council have been lost. The accounts in Orderic Vitalis, VII, 12, X, 3, III, p. 217, IV, p. 15 do make Bari sound like an attempt to reunite the churches of East and West. However, there is little chance that any clergy from Constantinople were present. See Chalandon, Essai, pp. 259-260. A.C.Krey, "Urban's Crusade", pp. 237, 241 argues that the purpose of the councils of Bari and Rome was the reunion of the churches and also that the Pope found his plans frustrated by the anti-Byzantine attitudes of Bohemund, expressed in the letter which he and other crusaders wrote to him on 1 September 1098. Leib, op.cit. p. 269 argues that Urban had pinned all his hopes on Adhemar to effect church union. When he heard of his death, reported in the crusaders' letter, he summoned Bari to deal with theological problems which were endangering the religious peace between East and West. Daimbert was delegated to deal with these problems. Leib assumes, incorrectly, that Adhemar had engaged in reunion activities during the course of the crusade. There is no evidence for this. Secondly, to both Krey and Leib, it should be pointed out that the letter which the crusaders wrote probably did not arrive in Europe until after the end of the council. Further, as against Leib, it should be stated that Daimbert must have left with his fleet prior to October, 1098. They wintered at Laodicea, having pillaged the Greek islands during their travels. They would not have left Pisa so late in the year. There is no evidence which locates Daimbert at the council at Bari. Thus it is incorrect, in my judgment, to see Rome and Bari motivated by the papal desire to keep the peace between East and West. The letter did not arrive certainly until after Bari had closed. Secondly, there is no proof here for the assigning of the office of legate to Daimbert. As for the absorption of the Greek Christians into the Latin orbit, see Jules Gay, op.cit., pp. 545-552; Every, op.cit., p. 179.

113. Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance, pp. 331-334, appendix IV, has an excellent summary on the current Latin and Greek theories of the Procession of the Holy Spirit. Anselm was active at Bari. We have already referred to Anselm's writing against certain elements of Greek Christian faith and practice. Annales S. Disibodi, MGSS, XVII, p. 15, refers to his treatise of 1094 in defence of the Latin use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist. This treatise may be found in PL, 158, cc. 541-548 addressed to Walram, bishop of Naumberg in Prussia. See also his attitude further expressed in a letter to Bernard of St. Albans, PL, 159, cc. 752-754. As for the writings in defence of the Double Procession, Hildebert of Mans wrote to Anselm, recalling his eloquence at Bari, PL, 171, cc. 216-217. He asked for a statement of Anselm's refutation of the Greek arguments against the Latin faith. The correspondence may be found in PL, 159, cc. 195-196, PL, 171, cc. 218, 220-221. The treatise on the Holy Spirit may be found in PL, 158, cc. 285-326. Both works are mentioned by Sigebert of Gembloux in his De Scriptoribus Ecclesiae, PL, 160, c. 586. For Anselm's performance at Bari, Vitalis, X, 3, IV, p. 15 and Eadmer, Historia Novorum, (edited Martin Rule, London, 1884, Rolls Series, No. 81), pp. 104-106.

114. In a letter which Bohemund wrote to Paschal in 1106, and which we shall discuss at great length in another place, he said that Urban II had promised to come to the East and deal with the problem of heretics there. The Norman urged Paschal to fulfill the promise made by his predecessor. In another place, we shall examine this claim of Bohemund's, but it does perhaps tell us that the problem of church union was to the fore in 1098-1099. For the Rome council, see PL, 162, c. 644, the writings of Lambert of Arles, and Mansi, XX, cc. 961-970.
115. A working bibliography of the Crusade may be presented at this point. The distinguished volumes of Runciman and Grousset have been mentioned. Indispensable although a trifle out-dated is R.Röhricht, Geschichte des Königsreich Jerusalem, (Innsbruck, 1898) and the same writer's, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, (Innsbruck, 1901). The excellent handbook of L.Bréhier, L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen age. Les Croisades, has already been cited. F.Chalandon, Histoire de la Première Croisade, (Paris, 1925); H.Hagenmeyer, Chronologie de la Première Croisade and Chronologie du royaume de Jérusalem which appeared in vv. VI-XII of the Revue de l'Orient Latin and the first of which was published separately in Paris in 1902; D.C.Munro, The Kingdom of the Crusades, (New York and London, 1936); J.Longnon, Les Français d'Outremer au Moyen Age, (Paris, 1929); The work of Yewdale on Bohemund has been mentioned. C.W.David, Robert Curthose, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1920). R.L.Nicholson, Tancred, (Chicago, 1940). Special studies to be listed are: The Crusades and other historical essays, presented to Dana C.Munro, (edited by L.J.Pastow, New York, 1928); Carl Erdmann, Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens, (Stuttgart, 1935); W.B.Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East, (Cambridge, 1907); the great monograph of Cahen, La Syrie du nord, has been cited already. For the constitutional history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, see G.Dodu, Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques dans le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem, (Paris, 1894); J.L.LaMonte, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1932); H.Prutz, Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge, (Berlin, 1883); E.G.Rey, Les Colonies Franques de Syrie, (Paris, 1883); E.Bridery, La condition juridique des croisés et le privilège de Croix, (Paris, 1900); M.Villey, La Croisade, (Paris, 1942).
116. For Alexius' friendly treatment of the Peasants upon their arrival in the Empire, see Albert, I, 7, RHCocc., IV, p. 276; Gesta, I, Bréhier, p. 6, Hag. Gesta, pp. 113-114, especially N. 25; Alexiad; X, 5-6, Dawes, pp. 248-252, Leib, pp. 206-212. This describes the origin of the Crusade, attributing all to Peter's preaching. Standard accounts for the Peasants' Crusade are: Chalandon, Essai, pp. 166 ff.; Chalandon, Histoire de la Première Croisade, (Paris, 1925), pp. 61-78; S.Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 121-141; R.Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. 5-11; R.Röhricht, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, (Innsbruck, 1901), pp. 33-58; most readily available is F.Duncalf, "The Peasants' Crusade", (American Historical Review, XXVI, 1920-1921), pp. 440-453.

117. Alexiad, X, 6, Dawes, p. 251, Leib, II, pp. 211-212.
118. Orderic Vitalis, IX, 4, III, p. 482 represents fairly Alexius' friendly treatment of the peasants at the first. See also Albert, I, 13-15, RHCocc., IV, pp. 282-4. His well-intentioned advice to Peter is recorded in the Gesta, I, Bréhier, p. 6, Hag. Gesta, pp. 112-113, and in the Alexiad, X, 6, Dawes, p. 251, Leib, II, p. 210.
119. Gesta, II, Bréhier, p. 6, Hag. Gesta, pp. 113-114. Peter was at Constantinople, c. 1-7 August, 1096. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 59 - No. 61, pp. 32-33.
120. Gesta, I, Bréhier, p. 12, Hag. Gesta, pp. 129-130 says that Alexius was overjoyed at the decimation of Peter's forces. This should be set aside. See Hag. Gesta, p. 129, N. 77. However, the disaster marks the beginning of that Latin tendency to make Alexius the culprit in all the disasters suffered by the Crusaders. See Guibert, II, 9-10, RHCocc., IV, pp. 143, 146. Albert, on the other hand, knows that Alexius tried to rescue those he could from the infidel, I, 22, RHCocc., IV, p. 289. Also Alexiad, X, 6, Dawes, p. 252, Leib, edition, II, p. 212. Peter returned to Constantinople at the beginning of October, 1096. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 77, p. 40.
121. Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. 14-15; Chalandon, Essai, p. 163; Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 171, quite rightly says his first duty was exploitation of the Crusade for the defence of the Empire.
122. Alexiad, X, 5, Dawes, p. 250, Leib, II, p. 209.
123. In regard to Hugh of Vermandois, see Alexiad, X, 7, Dawes, p. 253, Leib, II, pp. 213-215; Baldric, I, 13, RHCocc., IV, p. 21; Guibert, II, 19, RHCocc., IV, p. 150; Chalandon, Essai, pp. 174-175.
124. For a sample of this light skirmishing, see Gesta, I, Bréhier, p. 22; Hag. Gesta, p. 167 and N. 53. Albert II, 8, RHCocc., IV, pp. 304-305 says that Godfrey began pillaging only when he heard of Alexius' treatment of Hugh. However, Albert here is attempting to "whitewash" the behaviour of the Latins on imperial territory. See however, the varying opinions of Chalandon, Essai, pp. 175-177; B.Kugler, Albert von Aachen, (Stuttgart, 1885), p. 18 and F.Krebs, Zur Kritik Albert von Aachen, (Münster, 1881), p. 23.
125. However, to many Greeks, the Crusades were the equal of an invasion by the barbarians. See Chalandon, Essai, pp. xxviii-xxix, when he has paraphrased John of Antioch. Theophylact of

Bulgaria spoke bitterly of Frankish behaviour, see his letter, in PG, 126, cc. 324-325. Also the judgments of D.Bikélas, La Grèce byzantine et moderne, (Paris, 1893), p. 29.

126. Alexius was painfully aware of this. See Alexiad, XIV, 4, Dawes, p. 372, Leib, edition, III, p. 160.

Fortunately they did not all arrive at Constantinople at the same time. Alexiad, X, 5, Dawes, pp. 249-250, Leib, edition, II, p. 208. Godfrey arrived in late December, the armies of Bohemund and Raymond in April, Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois in May. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 107, No. 142, No. 143, No. 149, pp. 51, 68-69, 71.

127. Glötz-Diehl IX, p. 7. It is interesting to watch the growth of anti-Byzantine feelings in the chroniclers. Towards the crusaders Alexius is described as using all the craft and subtlety of the devil. See Vitalis, IX, 6, III, p. 493, 497; Baldric, I, 14, RHCocc, IV, pp. 21-22; Albert, who describes Alexius' generosity to Peter, in II, 6 f; RHCocc, IV, pp. 303 ff emphasises the growing hostility between Alexius and Godfrey. Or again, Robert the Monk sympathized with Alexius for his sufferings at the hands of Peter's rabble, I, 6, RHCocc, III, p. 732, but then in regard to his dealings with the main body of crusaders he is seen as treacherous. II, 9, 15, RHCocc, III, pp. 743-744, 747. Raymond has many pejorative comments on Alexius. Example, I, RHCocc, III, p. 238. It is interesting to note that the Latin judgment on the Greek has modern defenders. Every, op.cit., p. 33, states that the Byzantines were morally weak in respect to telling the truth. Alexiad, XIV, 4; Dawes, pp. 372-374; Leib, III, pp. 160-163 is cited as an example. This is merely Anna's brilliantly vivid picture of Alexius' dealings with the Latins.

128. Fulcher, always impartial, saw this, I, 9, RHCocc, III, p. 332. But the rank and file thought it humiliating.

129. Stephen of Blois, writing to his wife Adela, speaks in the most glowing terms of Alexius' generosity. See the letter in Hag. Epistulae, pp. 138-140.

130. The nature of the oath and its significance have occasioned much dispute. For the sources, wherein the leaders took the oath and performed homage, see Tyre, II, 15, 16, 22, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 131-132, 137, 138, 149; RHCocc, I, pp. 94, 95-96, 106-107; Gesta, I-II, Bréhier, pp. 14-32, Hag. Gesta, pp. 140-176; Raymond, II, RHCocc, III, p. 238; Fulcher, I, 9; RHCocc, III, p. 332; Robert, II, 18; RHCocc, III, p. 749; Baldric, I, 12-21, RHCocc, IV, pp. 20-25; Guibert, III, 3-5, RHCocc, IV, pp. 153-156. Ekkehard refers to the oath in passing, RHCocc, V, part I, XIII-XIV, pp. 21-22, and in Hagenmeyer's edition,

pp. 143-144; Albert, II, 16 f, RHCoccc., IV, pp. 311 ff; Matthew of Edessa, RHCarmen, I, p. 27; Alexiad, X, 9, XI, 3, 9, Dawes, pp. 261, 275, 290, Leib, II, pp. 221-226, III, pp. 16-17, 39. In his letter of 1097 to the abbot of Monte Cassino, Alexius said of the crusaders and himself: "certificatum est meum imperium". Hag. Epistulae, pp. 56-57. Tancred, perhaps, evaded Alexius and the oath successfully. See Ralph of Caen, c. 12, RHCoccc., III, p. 613. Raymond of Toulouse at first refused on the basis of piety but not because, as we have noted, he was planning to turn all his conquests into a papal fief. He eventually took the oath but refused to do homage. See Raymond, II, RHCoccc., III, p. 238. Fulcher noted his refusal, I, 9, RHCoccc., III, p. 332, Hag. Fulcher, p. 178. Robert, Baldwin and Guibert agree with Raymond, RHCoccc., III, p. 749; RHCoccc., IV, pp. 25, 155. As for the Gesta, the same. Secondary works dealing with the oath are A.C.Krey, "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta and Its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade", (The Crusades and other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, edited by L.J.Paetow, New York, 1928), pp. 57-78, a most important article. See also Yewdale, op.cit., pp. 39-45; Runcimen, op.cit., I, pp. 149-171; Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. 14-31. It should be pointed out that Grousset accepted as genuine the passage in the Gesta which granted Bohemund possession of Antioch. So also does Charanis in his important article, "Aims of the Medieval Crusades and how they were viewed by Byzantium", (Church History, XXI, 1952), pp. 123-134, reference here p. 129. However, Yewdale and Krey are joined by E. Jamison, "Some Notes on the Anonymi Gesta Francorum with special reference to the Norman contingent from S. Italy and Sicily in the 1st Crusade", (Studies in French Literature and Medieval Literature presented to Professor M. K. Pope, Manchester, 1939). It would seem to me that Krey was the final word in their problem.

131. It has been claimed that the Emperor wished to exercise a vague suzerainty over the crusaders in Syria-Palestine. See Vasiliev, History, p. 408 and Chelandon, Essai, p. 165. However, in later years, Alexius seems only to have wanted the possession of Antioch.
132. The details of the treaty may be assembled from the following sources: Alexiad, X, 10-11, Dawes, pp. 262-268, Leib, II, pp. 227-236; Tyre, III, 12, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 157-168, RHCoccc., I, pp. 127-128; Gesta, II, Brehier, pp. 30-32, Hag. Gesta, p. 173, Yewdale, op.cit., p. 44, summarizes the treaty.
133. Anna was often quite fanciful in her portrayal of the Norman's dealings with Alexius, and her comments on Bohemund's intention must be treated with extreme care. Hence, in X, 9, Dawes,

p. 258, Leib, II, p. 221, Bohemund is represented as concocting a concerted attack on the capital. This is not supported elsewhere and the evidence runs quite to the contrary. Or again, every time the leaders hesitated to take the oath, Anna sees the hand of Bohemund, X, 10-11, Dawes, pp. 263-265, Leib, II, pp. 228-236.

134. Yewdale, op.cit., pp. 36-51 presents his hero without a blemish. The Gesta, II, Bréhier, p. 26, Hag. Gesta, pp. 164-167 is quite right in insisting that Bohemund had no designs on the empire. Hence the report in Albert II, 14, RHCOcc, IV, p. 309, can be set aside when it pictures Bohemund trying to persuade Godfrey to attack Constantinople.
135. Bréhier, L'Eglise, p. 75; Gesta, I, Bréhier, p. 32; Hag. Gesta, pp. 168-175.
136. Chalandon, Essai, pp. 177 ff, is particularly good when describing the imperial difficulties with Godfrey at Constantinople. Godfrey arrived at the capital on the twenty-third of December, 1096. The Gesta, I, gives an exact date, Bréhier, p. 14, Hag. Gesta, p. 140.
137. However, it is altogether unlikely if the leaders anticipated or even countenanced an attack upon Constantinople. On this point, Yewdale, op.cit., p. 42, is correct. See Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 149. Anna, while she recognized the simple faith of many, imagined constantly that many of the leaders planned to attack the capitol, X, 5, Dawes, p. 250, Leib, II, pp. 209-210. It is probably correct to say that the original fear of Bohemund extended itself to include the other leaders as the size, unruliness of the armies and the arrogance of its leaders, especially Godfrey, became apparent. Anna, in Alexiad, XI, 2, Dawes, p. 272, Leib, II, p. 11, is probably correct in saying that Alexius would not march with the armies to the East due to their size and unreliable temper.
138. The problem of when Raymond and Alexius became friends is most difficult. Two general attitudes are possible: Alexius and Raymond made friends in Constantinople in 1097 or on the other hand, Raymond only became firmly loyal to the Emperor when his territorial desires were frustrated by Bohemund's claims on Antioch for himself. Crossed by Bohemund, Raymond vented his pique by becoming an ardent imperialist and upholding Alexius' claim to the city. Anna X, II, Dawes, pp. 267-268, Leib, II, pp. 234-236, supports the former view. So also Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 250. For the second interpretation, see Yewdale, op.cit., pp. 45, 79.

139. If Anna is correct in her description of the origin of her father's friendship with Raymond, then also likely is her report that Alexis expressed his suspicions of Bohemund to Raymond, Alexiad X, II, Dawes, p. 267, Leib, II, p. 235.
140. Orderic Vitalis, years later, was to see the oath as bringing great harm to the Christians, IX, 6, III, pp. 498-499. Gesta, II, Bréhier, pp. 30-32, Hag. Gesta, pp. 169-175, stresses the humiliating intimidation of the crusaders by Alexis.
141. Duncalf, "The Pope's Plan", p. 50. Ralph of Caen, XI, RHCocc., III, pp. 612-613, saw the mailed fist behind Alexis' actions. Anna makes it plain Godfrey was compelled to take the oath although he considered it demeaning. Alexiad, X, 9, Dawes, Leib, II, pp. 225-226.
142. Alexiad, XI, 3, Dawes, p. 276, Leib, III, p. 18.
143. Dölger, II, No. 1207 and No. 1208. These letters may be seen in Hag. Epistulae, pp. 140-141, 152-153; AOL, I, No. 71, No. 89, No. 94, No. 101, No. 111, No. 112, pp. 136-140, 151-152, 160-161, 169-171, 180-181. See also the account in Peter the Deacon, MGSS, VII, p. 770. It may be that Riant has multiplied these letters beyond reason. The text of only two remain. It may also be that sometime after this, Ordericus wrote the Crusade leaders, attempting to restore harmony between Alexis and them, MGSS, VII, p. 774. It is true that the second does sound a bit like an apologia. See Hag. Epistulae, pp. 56-57.
144. On the siege and capture of Nicaea, Alexiad, XX, 2, Dawes, pp. 271-275, Leib, III, pp. 10-16. Nicaea was captured on 19 June, 1907. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 150, pp. 79-80.
145. Raymond, III, RHCocc., III, pp. 239-240; Gesta, II, Bréhier, pp. 40-42; Hag. Gesta, pp. 190-192; Baldric, I, 27, RHCocc., IV, pp. 30-31 and Guibert, III, 9-10, RHCocc., IV, pp. 159-160; Fulcher, I, 10, RHCocc., III, p. 33, Hag. Fulcher, p. 188. Orderic Vitalis damns Alexis for his procedure at Nicaea, IX, 7, III, pp. 504-507. However, Anselm of Ribemonte, writing to his metropolitan Manasses of Rheims, and Stephen of Blois were pleased with Alexis' treatment. See Hag. Epistulae, pp. 140, 145.
146. Albert, III, 19, RHCocc., IV, p. 352.
147. Yewdale, op.cit., p. 82.

148. Cahen, op.cit., pp. 207 ff. At this point, Baldwin's expedition to Edessa should be mentioned. See Albert, III, 19 f; RHCOcc., IV, pp. 352 ff. Albert also reports Tancred's abortive attempts to establish a principality in Cilicia, III, 5-6; RHCOcc., IV, pp. 342-343. These military excursions began in late September, 1097. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 187, p. 97.

149. The flight of Taticius remains a mystery. Yewdale, op.cit., pp. 58-63, pleads that Taticius genuinely defected through fear and treachery. In this he follows the Gesta as he does in other respects, adopting the Gesta's animosity against Alexius. The later editions of the Gesta repeated the slander: Guibert, IV, 10, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 175-176; Baldric, II, 13, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 44-45; the original is Gesta, VI, Bréhier, pp. 78-80, Hag. Gesta, pp. 261-264 and N. 12, pp. 263-265. Albert also agrees that fear drove him away, IV, 40, RHCOcc., IV, p. 417. Vitalis repeats the story also with great relish, IX, 9, III, p. 524. On the other side, Anna says in Alexiad., XI, 4, Dawes, pp. 277-279, Leib, III, pp. 19-22, that Bohemund approached Taticius and told him that the Latins blamed Alexius for stirring up the infidel as evidenced in the approach of Kerbogha and that therefore they were disposed to kill him, the imperial representative. Taticius, considering the famine in the armies, the strength of the fortifications and the approach of Kerbogha leaves for Cyprus and home. Following Anna, and laying therefore all the blame for Taticius' departure on Bohemund and Chalandon, Essai, pp. 200-203 and Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 224-225. The difficulty in all this arises in that for the Gesta, the Greeks were hostile, deceitful and cowardly. For Anna, Bohemund was the author of evil. Yewdale is insufficiently critical of the Gesta, and it is true that Chalandon and Runciman do not sift Anna's reporting as carefully as they should. The hostility of the Gesta and its successors is of such a nature as to render questionable their charge of cowardice. For an example of how far a Latin writer could go, see Raymond, VI, RHCOcc., III, p. 245, who has Taticius give over Tarsus, Adama and Maristra to Bohemund before his departure, an attempt to justify Bohemund's later aggressions. That he was resented by many of the Latins of the rank and file was plain to Taticius. However, he seems to have the confidence of many, particularly some of the leaders: Raymond, Godfrey, the two Roberts, and Stephen. See the tribute paid by Ralph, LIV, RHCOcc., III, pp. 646-647 to his activity during the siege. That he believed Bohemund's reports of Latin designs on his life, as reported by Anna, seems rather incredible. What is more likely is that Taticius and Bohemund did have secret conversations, known to Raymond, VI, RHCOcc., III, pp. 245-246 and that Bohemund convinced Taticius that he should withdraw to get help. An excellent argument could be made: the famine in the troops, Kerbogha, the strength of Antioch. Thus, in all good faith and honour, Taticius announced his intention to seek help and departed leaving, as a sign of his good faith, his small force and various siege machines which his imperial master had provided. That his explanation was

acceptable to many is shown by the determination of the leaders that Alexius should have first call on Antioch. Others, hating the Greeks in the first place, put it about that Taticius was a coward. This all played into the hands of Bohemund who defeated the aims of the Empire by guile and not by manipulating the fears of Taticius. See Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. 79-81.

150. Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 225.
151. Raymond, VI, RHCOcc., III, pp. 245-246; Gesta, VIII, Bréhier, pp. 100-104, Hag. Gesta, pp. 293-298; Baldric II, 19; RHCOcc., IV, pp. 52 ff. Yewdale, op.cit., pp. 58-63 is determined to defend Bohemund and asks us to believe, pp. 49-50, that Bohemund's desire for a principality and for Antioch began only upon the arrival of the Crusade in Cilicia. Judging from his subsequent behaviour and from his past in Italy, and from his lack of land, we may assume that he had had the idea of a principality in his mind since the beginning of the Crusade.
152. Gesta, VIII, Bréhier, p. 102, Hag. Gesta, pp. 293-297.
153. This English fleet arrived at Antioch on 4 March, 1098. See the letter of the people and clergy of Lucca, Hag. Epistulae, p. 165-166, and Raymond, VII, XVIII, RHCOcc., III, pp. 248, 290.
154. Gesta, X; Bréhier, p. 160, Hag. Gesta, pp. 382-383; AOL, I, No. 109, pp. 177-178. Vitalis records this, IX, 12, III, p. 571. Fulcher, I, 33, RHCOcc., III, p. 350; Hag. Fulcher, p. 258, and Albert, IV, 3, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 434-435 record Bohemund's alienation of Toulouse and Flanders, thus representing this mission as a counter-stroke against Bohemund's ambitions. This is dated July 1098. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 296, pp. 176-177. It was also an expression of loyalty to their oath and the Emperor. See the confidence in Alexius expressed by the leaders in their collective letter to the faithful, April 1098, Hag. Epistulae, p. 154.
155. Alexiad, XI, 6; Dawes, p. 282, Leib, III, p. 27.
156. Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 193-194; Chalandon, Essai, pp. 196-198.
157. Alexiad, XI, 6, Dawes, pp. 282-284, Leib, III, pp. 27-29. Gesta, IX, Bréhier, pp. 140-146, Hag. Gesta, pp. 353-362, has a circumstantial account of the discussion of Philomelion; Ralph of Caen, LXXII, RHCOcc., III, pp. 658-659; Albert, IV, 40-41, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 417-418; Orderic Vitalis, IX, 9,

III, p. 537, IX, 10, III, pp. 552-553. Baldric, III, 12, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 71-72; Guibert, V, 26-27, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 200-201. That Alexius had thought the Latins annihilated at Antioch is clearly stated in the Letter of Lucca to the faithful, Hag. Epistulae, p. 166. See Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. 136-140.

158. We may set aside as apocryphal that MSS of the Gesta which says that Alexius was told he would be murdered at Antioch. See Bréhier, Gesta, pp. 142-143, N. 1; Hag. Gesta, pp. 356-357, N. 13, Robert, VII, 20, RHCOcc., III, p. 837 says he retreated because he knew he had already violated the oath. This is merely part of the anti-Greek feeling which characterises Robert's work. Alexius acted correctly, relying on the information given by Stephen. His first duty was to his Empire.
159. See RR, No. 12 and No. 16, Caffaro reports the departure of this fleet from Genoa in July 1097 and the arrival (c). 30 November 1097. See the Liberatio, FSI, I, pp. 102-103, 108-109. Heyd, op.cit., I, pp. 134, 150. Their arrival is also recorded by Tyre, V, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 229, RHCOcc., I, p. 198 and Raymond, V, RHCOcc., III, p. 241.
160. This letter will be discussed more fully in another place. See Hag. Epistulae, p. 165: "tu vero nos filios per omnia tibi obediētes, pater piissime, debes separare ab iniusto imperatore, qui multa bona promiset nobis, sed minime fecit. Omnia enim mala et impedimenta quaecumque facere potuit, nobis fecit".
161. For these discussions over Antioch, see Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 258-259; Gesta, X, Bréhier, pp. 168-170, 178, Hag. Gesta, pp. 394-397, Raymond, XIV, RHCOcc., III, pp. 268-270; Cahen, op.cit., pp. 219-220. Albert V, 2, RHCOcc., IV, p. 434 says that Bohemund assumed the actual lordship of the city in spite of Raymond's opposition. The other leaders were hesitant, not wishing to violate their oath to the Emperor. Yewdale, op.cit., pp. 73-76 attempts to defend Bohemund's actions; Chalandon, Essai, pp. 205-206 defends Alexius and attacks Bohemund. See L.Bréhier, L'Eglise, p. 80.
162. Albert, V, 23, 36, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 449, 455 represents admirably the restiveness of the army and the difficulties which the leaders faced in their attempt to maintain the imperial alliance.
163. Raymond, XVI, XVIII, RHCOcc., III, pp. 277, 286; ACL, I, No. 105, pp. 174-175.

164. Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 255-256 has the best view on the capture of Laodicea from the Turks. Also W.B.Stevenson, op.cit., p. 25, N. 4; Yewdale, op.cit., pp. 87-89; C.W.David, op.cit., pp. 230-244 and Cahen, op.cit., pp. 222 ff.

165. The chronology here is obscure. See Dölger, II, No. 1211, No. 1212 and No. 1213, dated in the spring of 1099. Chalandon, Essai pp. xiii, xxiv, pp. 208-214, and Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 272-273; B.Kugler, Boemund and Tankred, pp. 59 ff., AOL, I, No. 121, No. 122, No. 125, pp. 188-190, 192; RR, No. 18; Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 361, p. 219-220. See also Alexiad, XI, 7, 9, Dawes, pp. 286-288, 290-292, Leib, III, pp. 32-36, 39-41. Anna's chronology is defective and her understanding of Raymond as being in charge of Laodicia at this time is incorrect. A Byzantine garrison had been there for some time. Raymond, XVIII, RHCocc., III, p. 286.

166. Anna recounts the Pisan raids on Greek islands and the inconclusive struggle with the fleet sent out to intercept them. Alexiad, XI, 10; Dawes, pp. 292-294; Leib, III, pp. 41-46. See also the account of their pillaging in the Annales Pisani, RISS (new), VI, II, p. 7; Gesta Triumphalia per Pisanos, RISS (new), VI, II, p. 89; Heyd, op.cit., I, p. 191. See Chalandon, Essai, pp. 215-216. When reproached for his attacks, Daimbert excused himself by blaming Bohemund who had represented the Greeks as false Christians who presented pilgrims, Albert, VI, 57, RHCocc., IV, p. 502.

167. For the sources dealing with the movement of Tancred against Laodicea and the subsequent clash with the other crusaders see: Alexiad, XI, 7, 10, Dawes, p. 288, p. 294-295, Leib, III, pp. 34-36, 45-46; Albert, VI, 55-60; RHCocc., IV, pp. 500-505; Tyre, IX, 13, X, 23; Krey-Babcock I, p. 399, 449; RHCocc., I, pp. 384-385, 436; Fulcher, II, 3, RHCocc., III, p. 407, Hag. Fulcher, pp. 459-460; Matthew of Edessa, RHCarmen., I, pp. 56-58; Caffaro, Liberatio, FSI, I, p. 111; Ralph, CXLIV-CXLVI, RHCocc., III, pp. 706-709. The incident illustrates that many Latins continued loyal to Alexius. The date for this is September-October, 1099. Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 430, pp. 268-269.

168. Ralph, CXLI, RHCocc., III, p. 706. See also Albert VIII, 40, RHCocc., IV, p. 582. He took advantage of the defeat of the Crusade of 1101 which prevented the Emperor from reinforcing his troops in Cilicia.

169. For John, see the next section of this thesis.

170. Browne, op.cit., pp. 39 ff. cites with effect the hatred with which the Orthodox were held by the Armenian and Syrian Churches.

171. From the patriarchal registers of Grumel, III, we cite the following mentions of Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem:
- No. 986, dated 1107-1108, concerns the later life of John IV, exiled Patriarch of Antioch. No. 987 concerns him also.
- No. 1004, concerns a Patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 1117-1118.
- No. 1038, dated 1156, concerns a Patriarch of Jerusalem named Nicholas.
- No. 1041, concerns the Patriarch of Jerusalem, dated 1157.
- No. 1087 mentions Athanasius, Patriarch of Antioch, dated c. 1169.
- No. 1109 refers to Nicephoras of Jerusalem, dated 1170.
- No. 1126, dated July 1173 refers to the Patriarchs Cyril and Nicephoras of Antioch and Jerusalem.
- No. 1132, dated January 1177, refers to Cyril, Patriarch of Antioch.
- No. 1170, No. 1178, dated September 1186, refers to the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch.
- Runciman, op.cit., II, p. 322, No. 1 thinks that these Patriarchs are fictional. The reasons he gives are insufficient.
172. Newdale, op.cit., p. 34.
173. Chalandon, Essai, p. 230.
174. Anna briefly recounts this expedition, Alexiad, XI, 8, Dawes, pp. 288-290, Leib, III, pp. 36-39. See Chalandon, Essai, pp. 224-229.
175. Dölger, II, No. 1212, wherein Alexius greets the dukes of Aquitaine and Bavaria as "sons". Albert thought their reception friendly enough, VIII, 2, RHCOcc, IV, pp. 559-560.
176. Ekkehard, XXIII, RHCOcc, V, I, pp. 29-30.
177. Albert VIII, 1-4, RHCOcc, IV, pp. 559-561. William of Aquitaine fired the suburbs of Adrianople. Ekkehard, XXIII, RHCOcc, V, 1, p. 30; Albert, VIII, 3, RHCOcc, IV, p. 560.
178. Ekkehard, XXIII, RHCOcc, V, 1, p. 30; Alexiad, XI, 8, Dawes, p. 286, Leib, III, p. 37 portrays Raymond as mediator between Alexius and the unruly Latins. Also Albert, VIII, 5, 7, RHCOcc, IV, pp. 561-564.
179. Alexiad, XI, 8, Dawes, p. 289, Leib, III, p. 37. Orderic Vitalis, X, 19, IV, p. 121 thought so. However his account is particularly unreliable at this point due to his unreasonable hate for the Greeks.

180. The Lombards were determined to rescue Bohemund despite the advice of the Greeks and Raymond. This led to ambush and annihilation. Albert, VIII, 7, RHCocc, IV, pp. 563-564.
181. Ekkehard, XXV-XXVI, RHCocc, V, I, pp. 31-32.
182. Dölger, II, No. 1216 and No. 1220, Alexiad, XI, 7, 2II, 1; Dawes, pp. 286-287, 300-304, Leib, III, pp. Cf., Chalandon, Essai, pp. xvii, 237-238 discussing the chronology. See H.A.R.Gibb, The Damascus Chronicle, (London, 1932), p. 42; Albert, IX, 39-40, RHCocc, IV, pp. 649-650. Orderic Vitalis knew of his ransoming activities, X, 22, IV, p. 138.
183. Alexiad, XI, 8, Dawes, p. 290, Leib, II, p. 38.
184. Matthew of Edessa in RHCarmen, I, pp. 56 ff.
185. H.A.R.Gibb, Damascus Chronicle, p. 80. On this see Krey, Neglected Passage, pp. 57-58. Hagenmeyer correctly dismisses the charges, Hag. Gesta, pp. 190-192, n. 50. Guibert, VII, 23; RHCocc, IV, 243 accepted the slander.
186. Cahen, op.cit., pp. 231-233. Albert states clearly that Alexius and Raymond were accused of delivering the Latins into the power of the Turks, VIII, 9, 46; RHCocc, IV, pp. 564, 584. Orderic Vitalis accepts the slander as we would expect, X, 19, IV, pp. 120 ff.
187. Tancred played upon the resentment of those who survived to assist him in his war against the Greeks, Albert, VIII, 40-42, RHCocc, IV, pp. 581-583. See Ralph, CXLIII, CXLIV, CXLVI, RHCocc, III, pp. 706-709.
188. Albert, VIII, 45-47; RHCocc, IV, pp. 584-585.
189. Albert, IX, 33-38; RHCocc, IV, pp. 610-614; C.f., Cahen, op.cit., pp. 234-235. This fact was known to Orderic Vitalis to whom it was but another example of Greek perfidy, X, 23, IV, pp. 140-141.
190. Alexiad, XI, 9, Dawes, pp. 290-292, Leib, III, pp. 39-41.
191. In RR, No. 30, we find that in the fall of 1099, the Venetians on their way to the East attacked Rhodes. AOL, I, No. 145, p. 204. The basic account is the De Translatione S. Nicolai, RHCocc, V, I, pp. 256-257.

192. Alexiad, XI, 11, Dawes, p. 295-296, Leib, III, pp. 46-48.
193. Alexiad, XI, 8, Dawes, p. 290, Leib, III, p. 38.
194. Alexiad, XI, 11, Dawes, p. 297, Leib, III, p. 49.
195. Alexiad, XI, 9-11, Dawes, pp. 292-297, Leib, III, pp. 39-49.
196. Alexiad, XI, 12, Dawes, pp. 297-299, Leib, III, pp. 50-52 wherein Anna repeats a charming legend. See also Fulcher, II, 26, RHCocc, III, p. 408, Hag. Fulcher, pp. 464-467. See also the Bari chronicle in Muratori, RISS, V, p. 155 and Romuald, Chronicon, RISS, (new), VII, I, p. 203.
197. The complete text of the treaty is in Alexiad, XIII, 12, Dawes, pp. 348-358, Leib, III, pp. 125-138. What is significant is that Alexis was disposed to control Antioch through vassalage and the Church. It is important that Alexis claimed the ancient Byzantine duchy of Antioch as his. This ran as far south as Tortosa. This will have important consequences in the reign of John Comnenus.
198. Alexiad, XIV, 2, Dawes, p. 362-363, Leib, III, pp. 146-147.
199. Ralph, CLVI, RHCocc., III, pp. 708-709; Albert X, 20, RHCocc., IV, p. 640; H.A.R.Gibb, Damascus Chronicle, p. 99; W.B. Stevenson, op.cit., pp. 82-83.
200. Alexiad, XIV, 2, Dawes, pp. 362-368, Leib, III, pp. 146-154. See Dölger, II, No. 1257 for the mission of Manuel Butumites to Baldwin of Jerusalem. Also No. 1258 and No. 1259, the last being a shipment of gold to tempt the King of Jerusalem. Also Albert XII, 7, RHCocc, IV, p. 693.
201. Baldwin was visited by the Greeks during his siege of Tyre. Baldwin failed to succumb either to Greek gold or the offer of a fleet for use in the siege. See Alexiad, XIV, 2, Dawes, pp. 365-367, Leib, III, pp. 148-153. Albert, XII, 4, 7, RHCocc., IV, pp. 690-693. See Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 93-94.
202. Raymond of Tripoli had died leaving his Syrian lands to the care of his cousin William Jordan who continued the alliance with Alexis. Alexiad, XI, 8, Dawes, p. 290, Leib, III, pp. 38-39; Dölger, II, No. 1223 and Chalandon, Essai, p. 238.

When Bertrand, Raymond's bastard, came to the East, he too was drawn into the imperial orbit, towards the end of 1108. Dölger, II, No. 1244; Albert, XI, 4, RHCOcc, IV, p. 664. When approached he promised obedience if Alexius were to come to Antioch. Alexiad XIV, 2, Dawes, pp. 364-365, Leib, III, p. 149. He died, however, and the Greek ambassadors had difficulty in recovering the money they had left in safe-keeping with Bertrand at Tripoli. Alexiad, XIV, 2, Dawes, p. 367, Leib, III, pp. 153-154.

203. See Dölger, II, No. 1251, dated 1110-1111. Cahen, op.cit., pp. 254, 261 lists the confirming Arabic sources.
204. Alexiad, XIV, 3-4, Dawes, pp. 368-371, Leib, III, pp. 154-159. Tancred rewarded the Pisans for their assistance in 1108. See RR, No. 53.
205. Albert identifies him, VIII, 41, RHCOcc, IV, p. 582. His see has been incorrectly described as Barcelona. Chalandon, Essai, p. 237; Leib, op.cit., pp. 273-274; Norden, op.cit., p. 70. Bergengar II of Barcelona never left his see. See Baudrillart's article "Barcelona" in VI, cc. 684-685 of the Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclesiastique. Further, Albert gives the impression that the see was Italian: "Manases de Barzenona, alii quoque episcopi Italiae".
206. Albert, VIII, 47-48, RHCOcc, IV, pp. 584-585. This mission to the Pope in Dölger, II, No. 1218, dated prior to August 1102. The synod is reported in Annales Beneventani MGSS, III, p. 183. Alexius ransomed a Frank who visited the Pope at this time but the papal reaction is unknown. See Orderic Vitalis, X, 22, IV, p. 138.
207. Alexiad, XII, 8, Dawes, pp. 317-318, Leib, III, pp. 79-80. We note also the important fact that a papal representative, Mauros of Amalfi, witnessed the signing of the treaty of September 1109, following upon Bohemund's defeat.
Alexiad, XIII, 12, Dawes, p. 357, Leib, III, p. 138.
208. In this connection we cite the treaty signed with Pisa in October, 1111. Its purpose was two-fold: to break the Venetian monopoly in the commercial life of the Empire and also to divide the hostile attacks of combined Pisan and Genoese fleets. Dölger, II, No. 1253, 1254, for the embassy to Pisa and the treaty. The text of the treaty is in Miklosich-Müller, III, pp. 9-11; Müller, pp. 43-45; JGR, III, p. 543; Chalandon Essai, pp. 258-259; Heyd, op.cit., I, pp. 193-194. For the threat of a combined Pisa-Genoa attack, Alexiad, XIV, 3, Dawes, p. 368, Leib, III, p. 154.

209. Dölger, II, No. 1261. See Meyer von Knonau, op.cit., VI, pp. 248-249; Chronica Mon. Casinensis, MGSS, VII, p. 785: "Alexius--strenuissimus de suo imperio viros cum litteris Roman direxit, per quas significabat se idem imperator primitus de iniuria et captivitate summi pontificis, a Romanorum imperatore sibi illata, nimium dolere. Deinde gratias agens collaudabat illos, quod viriliter contra eum stetissent nec illi ad votum cessissent, atque ob id, si animos illorum promptissimos ac paratissimos inveniret, prout sibi ab istis partibus iam dudum mandatum fuerat, vellet ipse, vel Iohannes filius eius, secundum morem antiquorum fidelium videlicet imperatorum a summo pontifice Romae coronam accipere".
210. Dölger, II, No. 1262. Alexius' good relations with the Abbot of Monte Cassino continued after the death of Oderisius in 1105.
211. Continuing in the Cassino account, "Romani autem se omnino paratissimos fore secundum voluntatem illius, per eosdem nuntios mandaverunt. Mense autem Magio elegerunt de suis ferme sexcentos, et direxerunt imperatori ad conducendum eum. Qui venientes Casinum, honorabiliter a nostro abbate recepti sunt, atque cum illis legatos ad imperatorem direxit, per quos servitium et orationem ei spondit. Igitur cum Constantino-polim reversi fuissent, et una cum Romanis eidem imperatori narrassent quod illis noster abbas fecisset, censuit imperator cum in loco amicorum habendum", etc. He also orders the Abbot to meet him at Durazzo.
212. Dölger, II, pp. 54-55.
213. Dölger, II, No. 1264.
214. Dölger, II, No. 1263; see Norden, op.cit., p. 90.
215. JL 6334, dated c.15 November 1112. The text is printed in JL, I, pp. 747-748 and in PL, 163, cc. 388-389.
216. PL, 163, c. 388: "Omnipotentis Dei dignationi et miserationi gratias agimus, quia cor vestrum ad reformandam catholicae Ecclesiae unitatem animare et confortare dignatus est, S. Spiritus Paracleti potentiam deprecantes, ut sicut in apostolis suis omnium gentium diversitates unire dignatus est, ita in nobis unitatis hujus operetur effectum. In quo nimirum negotio nobis quidem grandis est difficultas, quia nostrarum gentium diversitas non facile in unum potest convenire consensum".

217. We have no record of these papal mission^s, nor of the subject matter of letters.
218. Ibid., cc. 388-389: "Ceterum ex multis iam annorum curriculis adeo se civitatis regis presules cum clero suo preter omnem audientiam a Romane ecclesie caritate ac obedientia subtraxerunt, ut neque litteras ab apostolica sede directas suscipere, nec eius aposcrisariis communicare dignati sunt. Et nisi vestri imperii sapientia amoris circa nos et nuntios nostros dulcedinem demonstraret, omnimodo inter nos divisio permaneret, ut neque nos vestri, neque nos nostri notitiam haberetis, nec ulla inter nos hodie reconciliationis memoria gereretur".
219. Ibid., c. 389: "Mox per Dei gratiam apostolicarum sedium presules, et nostro et vestro cooperante studio, loco et tempore, quod statuerimus, convenire debebunt, ut communicatis consiliis secundum sanctarum rectitudinem scripturarum de medio questionum scandala resecantur. Cuius conventus locum vestre imminet prudentie deliberare, qui nostris ad vos convenientibus fratribus salubrior atque commodior sit". etc.
220. Was Chrysolanus a papal legate charged with the prosecution of church union? Runciman, to name only one, accepts this as so. See Runciman, op.cit., II, p. 137. Cardinal Caesar Baronius states this flatly. Paschal sent him to the East because of his knowledge of Greek. See Annales Ecclesiastici, (edited by A.Theiner, thirty-seven volumes, Barri-Ducis, Guerin, 1864-1883), XVIII, pp. 261-264. Here there is abundant material of his allocution and the Greek replies to his defence of characteristically Latin positions. See also PG, CXXVII, cc. 911-920 for his address before the Eastern Emperor. Others reports of this exchange may be found in L.Allatius, De consensione, II, 10, cc.626 ff.; A.K.Demetracopoulos, Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica, (Leipzig, 1866), I, pp. 12-15 for the replies of distinguished Greek theologians. However, to return to the question of Chrysolanus, Landulph of Milan, RIS (new), V, III, p. 19, reports only that Chrysolanus went to Jerusalem. His departure is related to the disorders in the see of Milan at this time. No papal letters remain which refer to this event. There is no mention of his visit to Constantinople in Anna Comnena. However, the traditional interpretation of the significance of his journey may be correct. ~~However~~^{Yes}, I cannot but feel that his theological exchanges with the Greeks may well have occurred spontaneously when the high-ranking Western prelate passed through Constantinople.
221. Anne was convinced that Rome did not possess the Primacy. For her the primacy was transferred from Rome to Constantinople where the imperial government was transferred and further that Chalcedon placed Constantinople in the highest position.

Her curious blindness to the plain meaning of the canons of Chalcedon, combined with her identification of temporal and spiritual supremacy in the person of the Emperor at Constantinople, is excellent illustration for our previous remarks on the theocratic character of Byzantine society, and the Caesaropapist role of its Emperor. Alexiad. I, 13, Dawes, p. 34, Leib, I, p. 48. See L. Allatius, De consensione, I, 17, cc. 245-262.

222. Malaterra, Historia Sicula, IV, 29, RISS (new), V, I, pp. 106-108. JL, 5706.
223. Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 310-320.
224. For example, during the Epirot war with Bohemund, Alexius was in communication with his sympathizers in southern Italy, Alexiad. XIII, 4, Dawes, p. 332, Leib, III, p. 101.
225. It is significant that nothing of these exchanges appear on the registers of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Perhaps this indicates that Alexius was acting independently of the Greek church. At any rate there is no need to blame the Greeks for the collapse of negotiations as do Fliche, History VIII, p. 490 and L. Bréhier, L'Eglise, p. 103. We should add here Dolger, II, No. 1274, dated in 1118, listing a mission of Alexius to Rome whose purpose remains unknown. The text is found in Louis Duchesne, Liber Pontificalis, (two volumes, Paris, 1886-1892) II, p. 305. See in this connection Meyer von Knonau, op.cit., VII, p. 50, A.1.
226. We remember that the embassy of Butumitos had failed and that Bertrand's son, Pons, sided with the Normans of Antioch against Alexius. Any hope of Tripoli as a centre of Byzantine influence was gone. See Alexiad. XIV, 2, Dawes, pp. 362-368, Leib, III, pp. 146-145. It is possible that in the last year of his life Alexius tried to accomplish by marriage what arms and diplomacy had failed to do. Vitalis reports that he tried to arrange a marriage between his son John and Roger of Antioch's daughter, Orderic Vitalis, XI, 28, IV, pp. 262 ff. The account is rendered suspect by the fact that John was already married. See Kinnamos, Epitome, I, 4, CSHB, p. 10. However, Dölger, II, No. 1275 gives the account some credence.
227. Hence the warnings given to his son by Alexius, referring to the encirclement of the Empire and the dishonour brought by the crusades. See P. Maas, "Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I", (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, XXII, 1913) pp. 357-358, lines 328-329.
228. The Turks also remained in control of central Asia Minor. See Alexiad. XIV, 5-6, XV, 1-6, Dawes, pp. 374-379, 390-408, Leib, III, pp. 164-172, 187-212.

Section Two:

THE ERECTION OF THE LATIN CHURCH IN SYRIA-PALESTINE

1. The Introduction of the Latin Episcopate.

Since bishops are required to make bishops our first task is to ascertain what members of the Latin episcopate were present in the original expedition, in itself no easy matter.¹ At the head of the list stands the name of Adhemar of Monteil, Bishop of Le Puy.²

Named as papal legate by Urban II, in December of 1095,³ Adhemar has the greatest claim to be regarded in a formal way as the head of the First Crusade.⁴ However, in this regard, Adhemar should not be seen as a kind of military "generalissimo",⁵ and the ecclesiastical influence in the course of the Crusade should not be exaggerated. In military matters, Adhemar was merely one leader among many. While the powers which he received from Urban II remain undefined, he was "rector" and "pastor" of the expedition,⁶ protector of the poor,⁷ skilful on the battlefield, courageous in attack and defence,⁸ who exhorted the pilgrims in moments of doubt and despair,⁹ who forced the princes to maintain common council and unanimity in action.¹⁰ In the control of the selfish ambitions of the princes, and above all, in the maintenance of the friendly relations with Eastern Christians,¹¹ Adhemar was irreplaceable. His death on 1 August, 1098, brought a genuine sense of loss and sorrow to the crusaders.¹² Not only this, his influence, as we shall see, lived on after him in connection with disputes which were to arise, beginning in 1112, concerning the boundaries between the Principality of Antioch and the Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The second name to be added to the list of Latin bishops is that of William of Orange, associated with the Crusade since its inception in France.¹³ As the companion of Adhemar,¹⁴ William shared in a subordinate capacity the duties which were laid upon Adhemar.¹⁵ Therefore, when Adhemar died, it was natural that on William the mantle of spiritual leadership would descend.

Here we must be cautious. The sources seem to be agreed on the fact that William inherited the office and duties of Adhemar.¹⁶ However, when the crusaders announced to the Pope in 1098 that Adhemar had died, no mention was made of William.¹⁷ Further, it is plain that although the office of legate had not been clearly defined at this stage of its development as an instrument of papal policy, it is clear that the office could not be assumed without appointment and direct confirmation by the Holy See.¹⁸ Thus, there were many who did not regard William as clothed with the same authority which Adhemar had possessed. Hence, although a pious and well-intentioned man,¹⁹ William was not as effective as the Bishop of Le Puy.

Tyre is probably most accurate when he says that William held the office of papal legate and did the best that he could with it. However, he could not prevent the growing lack of discipline among the crusaders. Nor could he check the increasingly selfish ambition of some of the leaders. He was powerless against the incipient racial and religious intolerance which was appearing slowly among the rank and file in the armies. With the death of William of Orange, the clergy themselves fell into general disrepute, indulging in a series of petty intrigues, some of which shall be described later.²⁰ More and more, what little ecclesiastical influence remained became concentrated in the hands of lesser clergy

such as Arnulf of Normandy,²¹ chaplain to Robert of Normandy, and Peter of Narbonne.²² We shall refer to these men in another place, especially the former who became one of the most important figures in the early history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The third name is that of Arnulf, Bishop of Marturana in Calabria. Occupying his see for some thirty years before the crusade, Arnulf joined the army of Bohemund.²³ He proved to be a notable cause of dissension among the crusaders. He used his position in the Norman forces, which may well have been that of Tancred's chaplain,²⁴ to advance his own fortunes. When the town of Bethlehem was seized, Arnulf took possession of the church, intending to raise it to episcopal rank although Bethlehem was by tradition merely a parish in the diocese of Ascalon. As participant in the party politics surrounding the election of a patriarch in Jerusalem, Arnulf merits at least in part the derogatory opinions which Tyre has heaped upon him.²⁵ In an action with the infidel near Ascalon, c.10 August 1099, he disappeared. Either death or perpetual imprisonment²⁶ by the heathen seems to have been his fate.

Many have accepted Helias of Bari as present on the First Crusade. I would not do so.²⁷ On the other hand, we can include the name of Otto of Hohenstaufen, Bishop of Strassbourg. Bernold, the reliable and accurate chronicler of this period, reports his travels. Otto, a schismatic, accompanied Godfrey to the East and returned in 1100.²⁸ However, there is no confirmation of Bernold's report in the Crusade sources.

We can be certain of the presence of a bishop of Apt in the province of Narbonne. We know something of his activities in the Holy Land, but I remain uncertain as to his name.²⁹ Two others

may be mentioned briefly Odo of Bayeux, who took part, perhaps for political reasons, in the crusade, dying at Palermo.³⁰ He was buried there by his companion in the pilgrimage, Gilbert, Bishop of Evreux, who at once returned home. Evidence, which shows that he was home by 13 November 1099, indicates that he did not finish the expedition.³¹

Doubtful is the presence of the pious bishop and reformer, Bonfillius of Poligno.³² According to the Acta Sanctorum, he departed for the Holy Land with papal approval, remained for ten years as a hermit and then returned home. The account, a hagiography written (c.) 1235, remains dubious. There is no further evidence to support the account. Equally doubtful is the presence of the saintly Peter of Anagni. Hagenmeyer accepted his presence but the critique by Holtzman of the documents seems to be decisive.³³ I incline to reject these two names from the list.

There are two other possibilities. However, here the difficulties of identification are so great that the reader is referred to the notes where he will find an attempt to solve the problem. Following my conclusions expressed therein, I accept the presence of a bishop of Roscinolo whose name is uncertain and also of Gerard, Bishop of Ariano.³⁴

I cannot claim any finality for the list of bishops which I have presented. The most thorough previous examinations have been indecisive or, in my judgment, not sufficiently critical.³⁵ I would accept the following as being present in the armies upon their arrival in Syria in 1098: Adhemar, William of Orange, Arnulf of Marturana, Otto of Strassbourg, the bishop of Apt, Gerard of Ariano and a bishop of Roscinolo. Be this as it may, we must underscore

the fact that apart from Adhemar, William and Arnulf, the role played by the bishops on the crusade was an inconsiderable one. This must be remembered if we are ever tempted to depict the Crusade as an expedition dominated by ecclesiastics.

True, the Church had sponsored the expedition and the presence of the bishops on the crusade was the sign that this expedition was no mere temporal conquest but the expression of a militant Christendom. However, despite the excellent influence of Adhemar and other clerics on the crusaders, the expedition depended ultimately for its success upon the knight and the prince. Accordingly we shall see that it was the layman who took the initiative in the introduction of the Latin Church into the East.

It is important to remember that the establishment of the Latin Church in the East was made easier by the fact that the crusaders were received enthusiastically by the indigenous Christian population.³⁶ Singing hymns, carrying religious symbols which testified to their joy, even betraying their Turkish overlords,³⁷ the native Christians of the East rejoiced in their liberation. As for the crusaders, there was in general no doubt that these natives were faithful Christians. At the first, few worried over theological differences.³⁸ Native Christian and Latin united to pray for victory.³⁹ Services were often bi-lingual.⁴⁰ If tension with the Greeks had arisen because of the crusaders' misunderstanding of the actions of Alexius and because of Alexius' suspicion of Latinism and objectives, there seems at first, on the other hand, to have been little tension between the Latins and the liberated Christians of the East. Thus, when Godfrey died after a year's reign as the Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre, the mourning of the Eastern Christians for their liberator was sincere and profound.⁴¹

The days of the irksome and degrading status of the "dhemnis" seemed to be over.⁴² Thus, all things required for the introduction of the Latin Church into Syria-Palestine were at hand. However, we must turn back to the matter of papal policy, concerning which we have already spoken at some length.

We have already discussed the Papacy in relation to the First Crusade, how Urban decided to open a new front in the war against the infidel, setting forth as the aim of the expedition, the liberation of Jerusalem and the defence of the Eastern Christians. We have noted also that while he gave the crusaders a goal quite independent of the needs of Alexius I, he did counsel Adhemar to tread softly where the Greek church was involved. However, we insisted that church union was not a primary objective for the crusade. Further questions remain to be investigated.

Although the records of Clermont were destroyed in 1098, it would seem likely that Urban wished not only the ecclesiastical fabric of the Eastern Church to be restored but also that he envisaged a permanent occupation of the Holy Land through the introduction of the lay power and the erection of Latin principalities in Syria-Palestine.

We must stress here the fact that the evidence is not all that we would like. However when the various versions of the celebrated sermon at Clermont are examined, it seems safe to conclude that Urban assumed permanent acquisition of enemy territory by the crusaders.⁴³ Thus the Pope held out to the faithful not only eternal but also temporal rewards. While, as we know, many of the crusaders returned home having fulfilled their vows, which in themselves did not call for permanent residence in the East, others like

Raymond and Godfrey remained in the East, having at the beginning of the Crusade, disposed of their own lands in the West.

Thus the scramble for principalities began as soon as the crusaders approached Antioch, and no one put forward any objections. Further, we shall see that it was Raymond who took the step of introducing the Latin episcopate south of Antioch. When in later years, ~~when~~ a controversy broke out over the boundary lines between the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem, Paschal II cited a decree of Urban II at the council of Clermont which ran that whenever the leaders of the expedition conquered territory from the infidel, that the restored churches, purged of "heathen rites", should belong to their principalities.⁴⁴ I cannot but feel that in Urban's plea for the liberation of the Eastern churches there was, at least implicitly, the notion not only of the erection of a Latin hierarchy in the East but also the foundation of temporal principalities in the re-conquered territory. While, we have written above that the Pope wished the rights of the Greek church respected, no one brought forward an objection, based on papal authority, to the introduction of Latin spiritual and temporal authority in the East.⁴⁵

It should be remembered that there is always a tendency among scholars to make Urban's plans for the crusade over-precise. Thus while we can think it likely that Urban looked for a restored church with Latin bishops, due respect to Greek rights having been given, and for the establishment of lay rule in the East, there is little if any evidence to show us just what steps he took to effect these purposes. Thus, when the crusaders arrived in the East, they found that they had combined to make a Christian re-conquest of Palestine without any agreement as to the future division of the country.

Urban, in all probability did not undertake to present the crusaders with any clear-cut plan of action in regard to the introduction of the episcopate and the temporal rule of the area. He left this to Adhemar to do when the time came. There is evidence which leads us to believe that Adhemar, faced with Baldwin's fait-accompli at Edessa and Bohemund's design upon Antioch, reiterated the papal decree which envisaged the restoration of the ecclesiastical fabric of the eastern churches and the erection of Latin rule in Syria-Palestine.⁴⁶

A further point develops from this. At this point can we say that Urban looked for the creation in the East of a theocratic state or at the least a feudal state which would be bound to the Papacy by ties of vassalage? For example, it has been suggested that Raymond refused to take the oath of fealty to Alexius because he knew that the Papacy had in mind the establishment of a vassal state in the East.⁴⁷ However, in reply to this, there is no evidence to support this idea in the documents pertaining to the Crusade in 1095-1096. Further, we cannot imagine Urban being so certain of the success of the expedition as to add to his public utterances in favour of the expedition a notion which might well displease many. Further, in the events which followed the capture of Jerusalem, we shall see that the Papacy rejected categorically the notion of a theocratic state. Further, against the suggestion in regard to a theocratic state, Raymond himself tried to found a secular feudal state in the East. As for the question of papal vassalage over the Latin principalities in the East, we shall leave this to later discussion. Suffice it to point out that Palestine was not a part of the Donation of Constantine, upon which the Papacy had based its

claim to suzerainty in Spain, for example.⁴⁸ There is nothing in the evidence prior to 1099 which clearly indicates that the Papacy was interested in setting up strict lines of vassalage between Rome and the East. As for Raymond, we can see combined in him his obstinate piety, his zeal to free the Holy Places, moderated by his knowledge that the papal attitude towards the Greek Empire and Church was one of moderation and friendly consideration. Hence, he did not refuse the oath out of loyalty to the papal desire to establish a vassal state in the East.⁴⁹

Let us return to the crusades. Adhemar, advised by the Pope to tread softly where the Greek Church was concerned did his job well. As we have shown, his conciliatory attitude elicited willing co-operation from the Greek hierarchy of the East. Not only this, Adhemar found some support at first among the crusaders for their friendly policy towards the Greeks. Thus, good relations were preserved to some degree through the year 1098.⁵⁰ On the other hand, Adhemar was able, as we have shown, to direct according to the papal wishes, the increasing desire on the part of the crusaders to erect for themselves Latin principalities in the East.

At first, all went well. John was restored at Antioch. The Latins recognized his claim to his see having admired also his constancy under torture and persecution by the infidel. We can be sure that Adhemar played a great part in this restoration. In his turn, although no friend to Latin interpretations of Christian faith and practice, John unquestionably regarded the Latins as members of the one true Church.⁵¹

Adhemar died 1 August, 1098. As we have shown, no one could take his place. Further, the anti-Greek sentiment, encouraged no

doubt in part by Bohemund, was growing. The Christ of Stephen of Valence's vision referred to the Latins as good Christians, as opposed to the heretics, i.e., the Greeks, Syrians and others.⁵² Peter Bartholomew's heavenly visitors demanded the election of a Latin patriarch and that the Latins should have nothing to do with the Eastern Christians.⁵³ Bohemund was busy establishing his power with the Genoese.⁵⁴ Not only this, when the crusaders wrote Urban in September, 1098, he added his own views to the letter.

This letter,⁵⁵ announcing their victories from Nicaea to Antioch, recounts also Bohemund's success in obtaining possession of the city. However, towards the end of the letter, the hostile intent of Bohemund appears. Antioch has been subjected to the Roman religion, no mention being made of the restoration of John.⁵⁶ After recalling the death of Adhemar, the Pope is called upon to complete his supreme role as organiser and preacher of the crusade by coming to the East to occupy the chair which was Peter's first see.⁵⁷ Again no mention of John. Further, while they have defeated the Turks, they have not defeated the heretics, Greeks, Armenians, Syriacs and Jacobites. The Pope is again urged to come and eradicate these heresies. The letter lapses at the end into the first person. Again, Urban is summoned to advise and direct those whom he had sent on the crusade and also to deliver them from the wicked emperor, i.e., Alexius.⁵⁸

Thus, John was faced with converging hostile forces. Not only did Bohemund and many crusaders hate him for racial and religious reasons, for the fact that his continued presence in the city was a threat to Bohemund's authority, but also he was hated by the Armenians and other native Christians who had always despised the

Greek Church as the ecclesiastical arm of imperial tyranny.⁵⁹ Thus, while Tyre pictures John, during his two years in office, restoring the episcopate in his jurisdiction,⁶⁰ there is every reason to believe that he found himself unable to exercise his power in the face of the hostility of Bohemund and others.

It soon became painfully evident that John could not rule in Antioch. Further, the voices could not be stifled which declared that he would give the city to the Emperor. Hence, in the year 1100, John left the city for Constantinople, a victim, not of theological controversy, but of Norman ambition and the hatred of Latin and native Christians.⁶¹

Bohemund thus, by 1100 had full control of the city. He could play upon the many religious factions of the city,⁶² thus advancing his power and rendering the ~~orthodox~~ ^{GREEK} Christians helpless. The Greek Christians and others thus could be absorbed into a Latin and papal milieu.⁶³ Perhaps he even thought Urban might come to the East.⁶⁴ At any rate, he was left free to govern the principality as he willed.

What is more important for us is that the racial and cultural antagonism against the Greeks on the part of the Latins, the influence of Bohemund and his slanders against Alexius, the death of Adhemar, and the papal desire to restore the ecclesiastical fabric of Syria-Palestine, probably through the introduction of the Latin episcopate and the establishment of a Latin temporal power in the East, - all these render the next developments inevitable. In September of 1098, Raymond of St. Gilles captured the town of Albara, present-day Kefr-el-Bara. Upon the advice of his chaplains, aided by the opinion of the army, he chose Peter from his entourage to be

bishop of Albara and to hold the city for the Christian cause. A priest of southern France, Peter is praised by the sources for his devotion and uprightness of life. Raymond set aside one-half of the town for the support of the bishop, rendering thanks to God that there was now a Latin bishop in the East. Ordered by Raymond to Antioch for consecration, Peter eventually received the archiepiscopal see of Apamea, together with the pall, symbolising metropolitan jurisdiction, at the hands of Bernard, first Latin patriarch of Antioch, who re-organized the patriarchate of Antioch.⁶⁵

Several things should be noted here. The initiative in the restoration of the episcopate was taken by a layman, acting in conjunction with his advisers, clerical and lay. The importance of the layman in the life of the Latin hierarchy appears here at the very outset of the history of the Latin Church in Syria-Palestine. Further, the initiative came from Raymond, who had been closer to Urban and Adhemar than any other leader. I think that this is final proof of Urban's intention to have the Latin episcopate restored in the East. However, it must be mentioned that many of the crusaders wanted a Latin as such who would rule over them as their pastor,⁶⁶ The growing racial antagonism here coincides with papal aims and objectives. One final matter. We remain uncertain as to who consecrated Peter. Almost all the authorities think that the patriarch of Antioch accomplished this.⁶⁷ Direct evidence is lacking. I, in view of the growing antagonism between Greek and Latin, am inclined to think that the consecration was performed by other Latin bishops who were still at Antioch. However, this is not to say that a full scale schism was presupposed by the Latin crusaders. We merely once again insist that the forces making for continued estrangement were at work and that in the end they were to triumph.

In the first week of June, the Latins arrived at the village of Ramleh, whose great church contained the relics of the martyr St. George.⁶⁸ Another bishop was chosen to hold the captured town, Robert, priest from the diocese of Rouen. The Norman bishop-elect was granted the usual tithes for the support of his church.⁶⁹ One final instance will illustrate the freedom which the crusaders were now enjoying in the introduction of a Latin hierarchy into Palestine. On or about 7 June, 1099, Tancred occupied the town of Bethlehem. Greeted warmly by the Greek and Syrian Christians, the Normans placed their banner over the great church of St. Mary. The church of Bethlehem, a parish in the diocese of Ascalon, directly dependent upon the see of Jerusalem, had supported for many years a group of Latin monks.⁷⁰ The church was an excellent structure, and the possibility of having a great shrine for pilgrims seems to have occurred to Arnulf, Bishop of Marturana. His seizure of the Bethlehem church does not occur until after the capture of Jerusalem, but it seemed good to mention this here, not only for the subject in hand, but also because Arnulf's position in Bethlehem bears heavily on the party politics surrounding the election of a Jerusalem patriarch.

It might be well to pause for a moment to consider the comment made by Babcock and Krey in their edition of William of Tyre.⁷¹ They suggested that the crusaders felt in the beginning that a single ecclesiastical organization of Greek and Latin prelates might serve for the East. This is, I think, going too far. John was restored in Antioch due to respect for the canons of the Church, due to the fact that many felt that Antioch belonged to Alexius, Bohemund notwithstanding, and therefore a Greek prelate

should be placed in charge, and also because the Pope had ordered respect for the feelings of the Greek church. This remained an exception. Latin bishops were placed in Palestine to restore the fabric of a church which, as long as the Latins held the area for Christ, would be Latin in character. The claims of the Greeks did not extend beyond Antioch. Solidarity of racial feeling was increasing. So also was the resentment of the Greeks, thanks to Bohemund. Once again, we must insist that it is significant that Raymond took the first step. Thus we may conclude that the re-establishment of a Latin hierarchy in the East was but the logical development of the papal plan for a Latin reconquest of the Holy places although it still remains that Urban probably did not settle the question of the hierarchy ahead of time in his own mind, except to indicate that he wished that no unnecessary estrangement with the Greek church result from the Latin re-conquest.

Thus prior to the capture of Jerusalem at least two bishoprics had been restored to Syria-Palestine. We should recall that in both of these towns, the original episcopal line had died out. There were no Greek bishops to restore, as in the case of Antioch. Nonetheless we must not see in this merely an attempt to restore the fabric of the Church. It was the Roman church that was introduced into these eastern sees. As we have noted, from Raymond, the restoration at Albara was in order that in the East the Latins might have a Roman bishop to rule them. Further, it should be remarked that September, 1098 - July 1099 sees a continued growth of anti-Greek feeling, thanks in large measure to the ambition of Bohemund. We should grant that this feeling manifested itself largely in indifference to the Emperor and to his claim to Antioch. Nonetheless,

this has bearing on the entire problem. When all this is added to our contention that it was Urban's will to restore the ecclesiastical fabric of the East, then these actions by the crusaders become natural and intelligible. Bohemund had added his own comments to the letter which he and the other Crusaders had written to Urban in September of 1098. We have already remarked on the hostile remarks directed against "the heretics" and the "unjust emperor". We have mentioned that Bohemund asked the pontiff to come to the East to take possession of Antioch, Peter's first see, to put down the heretics and to give, as the author of the crusade, advice and counsel to the crusaders.⁷² As we have remarked, this was in the air. What is important is that this anti-Greek temper was shared by many, and further that many also thought that Urban would perhaps visit the East to set all things in order. That he would sanction the introduction of the Latin hierarchy was undoubtedly believed by a majority of the crusaders.

2. The Patriarchal See of Jerusalem.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem at this time was the aged Simeon.⁷⁴ At the time of the siege of Antioch, anticipating the horrors of a siege of Jerusalem by the crusaders and intending to raise funds for the Christians in Jerusalem, he left his see for Cyprus.⁷⁵ As we have mentioned, he joined Adhemar in sending an encyclical to the West, appealing for continual support of the crusade.⁷⁶ According to Albert of Aachen, he died at Cyprus.⁷⁷ Simeon probably expected to be restored to his see. Whether or not this would have occurred, we shall not know although I am inclined to think that such would have been unlikely, considering the forces making for the introduction of the Latin episcopate into Syria-Palestine.⁷⁸

The city was captured on 15 July, 1099. After eight days devoted to the pious extermination of the heathen and to rendering homage at the shrines, the crusaders turned their attention to the government of Jerusalem. Their first impulse was towards the election of a lay ruler for the city. This did not go uncontested. A small party of clerics insisted that the patriarch be chosen first, threatening that if the lay ruler was chosen first of all, they would regard his election as invalid.⁷⁹

The leader of this clerical party was Arnulf of Marturana. It is difficult to discern the true issues at stake here. Writing many years later, with several generations of temporal and spiritual controversy intervening, William of Tyre quite naturally saw this squabble as a struggle between the spiritual and the temporal powers. We shall discuss the relations between the two powers in the East at a later point. Suffice it to say now that up to this point, such had not appeared in the course of the crusade. Further, it is more likely in that the antagonism arose, not from rivalry between priest and layman, but from an antagonism existing between various crusade groups and also from the ambition of the Bishop of Marturana.⁸⁰

Arnulf wished to preserve to his own use the church of Bethlehem whose rich possibilities as a shrine were plain to him. If a lay ruler were chosen first, Arnulf faced the chance that the lands conquered might be apportioned in a way unfavourable to his designs on Bethlehem. Therefore he was attempting to have the patriarch elected first of all, a man who would be his creation and who would reward his episcopal supporter with the shrine of Christ's Nativity. This was the purpose of the Bishop of Marturana, a man "without honour" according to Tyre.⁸¹ He wished to place on the

patriarchal throne a sub-deacon, Arnulf of Chocques in Flanders, chaplain to Robert Curthose of Normandy. The son of a priest, a man of brilliance and education, but whose morals were not of the best, Arnulf had been a hero of the expedition, proving his courage and ability as a leader. So popular had he become that, as we have noted, the rumour was circulating that Adhemar had named him legate on his death bed. Arnulf was supported also by the Dukes of Normandy and Flanders and also the Normans of southern Italy. However, it should be said that canonically, Arnulf was an improper candidate for the exalted see of Jerusalem.⁸² I repeat that this was not a squabble between the spiritual and the temporal, but rather the attempt of one party to gain control of the church of Jerusalem in order to further its own private ends, chiefly the confirmation of the Bishop of Marturana in possession of the church of Bethlehem.

Despite the intrigues of Marturana, the temporal authority was given first to Godfrey of Bouillon. Guided by piety and respect for his heavenly King, he took the title "Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre".⁸³ Arnulf was chosen Patriarch shortly thereafter, thanks to his popularity with the large mass of crusaders. He enjoyed his dignity for only a short time and then he was deprived of the patriarchal throne.⁸⁴ What is significant for us is that he busied himself in removing the Greek Christians and others from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, installing Latin canons in the church, and using force to secure possession of the relics of the city, especially the True Cross.⁸⁵ The Greek church thus was finding it increasingly difficult to live independently under the Latins.

As for Marturana, he seized the Basilica of Bethlehem for himself. This act of usurpation was not recognized, and, as we have written, shortly thereafter he disappeared forever.⁸⁶

Latin Christianity, continued to spread in the reconquered areas. Godfrey had been accompanied to the East by monks. These he settled in the valley of Jehosaphat, founding there the Monastery of St. Mary's.⁸⁷ In addition to canons placed in the Holy Sepulchre,⁸⁸ he placed them also in the Temple⁸⁹ and in the Basilica in Bethlehem.⁹⁰

A new figure appears on the scene. In September of 1099 a Pisan fleet arrived at Laodicea, commanded by the archbishop of Pisa, Daimbert.⁹¹ Since 1088 as bishop, in 1091 Daimbert's jurisdiction had been extended, at the request of Matilda of Tuscany, over the island of Corsica, reconquered from the infidel. In 1092 he had received the rank of archbishop. A strong supporter of Urban and his mild version of Hildebrandine policy, Daimbert may have represented Urban at the court of Alfonso of Spain. Equally significant from our point of view is that he accompanied Urban on his journey through France in 1095-1096.⁹² On his own initiative, he raised a fleet of 120 vessels, representing the city of Pisa, and set sail some time in 1098 for the East.⁹³

Was Daimbert a papal legate? Bernold seems to support the notion that he was named legate by the Pope to succeed Adhemar, dead on 1 August, 1098. However, the direction towards which the bulk of the evidence moves is that while Daimbert received the papal commission to go to the Holy Land, he was not a papal legate per se.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, this should not obscure the fact that Daimbert did have some kind of papal sanction, which fact Daimbert was to use to great effect.

Having pillaged on their way the Greek islands of Leucas, Cephalonia, Zanto and Corfu, the Pisans arrived to find Laodicea

under siege by the forces of Bohemund. They were quickly persuaded to take part in the siege of the Greeks, a move no doubt relished by them, fresh as they were from victories over their ancient commercial rival.⁹⁵ Matters were complicated by the arrival of Raymond of Toulouse and other leaders, who regarded Bohemund's attack on the Greeks as treason, and of Baldwin of Edessa who was going to Jerusalem on a Christmas pilgrimage. Daimbert posed as mediator. Their conflicting opinions reconciled for the time being, the siege was abandoned and all left for Jerusalem.⁹⁶

It is from this moment that an alliance of great consequence was cemented between Bohemund and the Pisan Archbishop. Reasons can be suggested. First, the Norman hold on Antioch was insecure. There were a large group of crusaders who thought that his possession of Antioch had defrauded the emperor of his just rights under the oath which all had taken in Constantinople. Secondly, Alexius was bound to make some attempt to recover the principality. Bohemund needed sea power to protect Antioch and its supply lines. He needed allies. Had he not asked for papal assistance in the letter of 1098?⁹⁷

Daimbert had a fleet. Daimbert had some kind of papal blessing. He was also the highest ranking Latin prelate in the Holy Land. Further, the Pisans hated Byzantium for its power and its wealth. On Daimbert's part, the alliance would secure to his beloved Pisa a strong position in the new Latin trade markets in the East. Perhaps it might also satisfy the ambition of the archbishop who was not only learned, pious, but also extremely ambitious. The alliance of churchman and Bohemund becomes intelligible. The steps of the negotiations are not clear, but by the time they had reached Jerusalem, a few days before Christmas, an understanding had been reached.⁹⁸

No hint of this is contained in the letter written to the Pope by Daimbert, Godfrey and Raymond.⁹⁹ The fearsome journey to Antioch, the capture of the city, the counter-siege, the discord among the princes, are graphically described. Jerusalem is taken. The writers describe the victory of Ascalon, the meeting of the counts at Laodicea with Bohemund and the Pisan fleet although the true purpose of the meeting of these forces is omitted. The writers did not wish the Pope to know that the Pisans and Bohemund had attacked the Greeks in Laodicea and also that the other leaders, threatening civil war, had forced them to give up the siege. Daimbert, however, is presented in the role of mediator. Thanks to his efforts, all decided to return to Jerusalem. The entire Latin church is invited to join in the adulation of the crusaders. They are asked to be kind to those returning to their homes. This last request was perhaps the immediate purpose of the letter.¹⁰⁰

The significance of this letter for us lies in the fact that there was no allusion to the hostility which had arisen against the Greeks on the part of the Pisans and the Norman Bohemund, further proof that Urban had not, and did not, wish the crusade to estrange the two churches. Nor are there any hostile references to Alexius. Further, nowhere in the letter does Daimbert describe himself as legate. Accordingly we may again state that while Daimbert had the papal blessing for his expedition to the East, his actions cannot be interpreted as expression of papal policy.

In Jerusalem, Bohemund and Daimbert proceeded to the execution of a grand design, having first paid their devotions at the Holy Places. Their arrival in the Holy City had created a new centre of power. Arnulf, the Patriarch, had no supporters left.

Marturana had disappeared. The Provencals had hated him from the start. His protectors, the counts of Normandy and Flanders, had returned home. Doubt, as to the canonical correctness of his election had grown apace.¹⁰¹

Further, the position of the crusaders in Jerusalem was desperate, especially in regard to manpower. It may be that they had even considered an evacuation of the city.¹⁰² Further, the support of the crusaders from the sea was in doubt. The Genoese had arrived, but their support was not certain. Further, a Venetian fleet, known to be enroute from Rhodes, had not yet arrived.¹⁰³ Godfrey needed therefore additional support, within and without. Bohemund had troops, popularity and prestige. Daimbert had a fleet and ecclesiastical prestige. Had not his undertaking received papal sanction? Had not he been with Urban in the early days just before the Crusade? Godfrey, a man whose piety was to reach legendary proportions,¹⁰⁴ could not resist the power and authority represented by Daimbert. As for Arnulf, he was helpless. Removed from his see,¹⁰⁵ he became Archdeacon of the church of Jerusalem and Daimbert its Patriarch.¹⁰⁶ This was accomplished within the octave of Christmas, 1099. That this was accomplished with the aid of Bohemund is beyond question.¹⁰⁷

In his turn, Bohemund now proceeded to realize some of his plans. Remembering that his father, Robert Guiscard, had obtained papal sanction for his conquests in south Italy through becoming the vassal of Pope Leo IX, he decided that Daimbert should invest him with the principality of Antioch. Thus almost immediately after his enthronement, Daimbert invested Bohemund and Godfrey with their temporal sovereignty over Antioch and Jerusalem

respectivwly. Tyre says that this was done by the two lords out of respect to Him whose vice-regent they believed the Patriarch to be.¹⁰⁸ As Krey and Babcock correctly point out, this is something of an idealisation.¹⁰⁹ Fulcher has a report of the ceremony although he says that they received their lands from Daimbert out of the love of God.¹¹⁰

Bohemund's motive is clear: he must protect his principality against Greek claims. Daimbert's piously ambitious character could be used to Norman advantage.¹¹¹ Further, Daimbert had shown himself to be no friend to the Greeks.¹¹² Thus in exchange for assistance in the patriarchal election, Daimbert would give the guarantee of the Latin church to Bohemund's acquisition of Antioch.¹¹³ As for Godfrey, his piety and military weakness dictated that he enter into this spiritual vassalage to the Potriarch of Jerusalem.

A full discussion of Daimbert's motives which lie behind this event must be postponed. Nowhere in the discussion is Daimbert represented as acting on the papal behalf.¹¹⁴ It may be, however, that if Daimbert raised doubts as to the papal attitude in this matter that Bohemund reassured him with reminders as to the Norman-papal vassalage existing in south Italy.

Bohemund was not finished. Daimbert proceeded to the consecration of four bishops: ¹¹⁵Benedict of Edessa, ¹¹⁶Roger of Tarsus, Bartholomew of Mamistra, ¹¹⁷and Bernard of Arthusia. The last named was to prove important in the ecclesiastical life of the Holy Land. A native of Valence in the Dauphiné, Bernard had been chaplain to Adhemar. For a short time he served the see of Arethusia, one of the suffragan sees in the patriarchate of Antioch, and with the withdrawal of John, he was translated to Antioch, ruling there as Patriarch until his death in 1136.¹¹⁸

Three of these new bishops fall within the Patriarchate of Antioch where still the Greek Patriarch held sway at this time. Why did Daimbert usurp the rights of John of Antioch? For the simple reason that Bohemund, wished to fill the church of Antioch with Latins and therefore force the Greek Patriarch away. No wonder John found that he could not be Patriarch to the Latins of Antioch. The consecration of these bishops is but another facet in the Norman plan to establish their control of the principality.

We must insist again that in all of this Daimbert did not act as papal legate. Papal authority was not invoked to cover his actions, his enthronement as Patriarch, the granting of fiefs, the consecration of new Latin bishops.¹¹⁹ Daimbert knew well that he was far from Rome, far from any effective control or supervision. Not adverse to his own preferment, anxious for the advancement in the fortunes of his beloved Pisa, Daimbert had acted as an independent agent, hoping to present the Pope with a fait accompli.

Thus it was that the original papal motivations, insofar as we can discern them, the natural feeling of the Latins who wanted their own bishops, the increasingly strained relations between Greek and Latin and the ambition of Bohemund and Daimbert, all conspired to bring about the establishment of the Latin power, spiritual and temporal, in Syria-Palestine.

It would not be fair to say that the Roman church was completely ignorant of the actions of her sons in these matters in the Holy Land. However, it was only when the success of the Crusade was definitely established that the Papacy took definite steps to ensure the proper conduct of ecclesiastical affairs in the East.

This is borne out in a letter which Paschal II wrote to the crusaders on the fourth of May, 1100.¹²⁰ Attributing their victory to the providence of God, Paschal rejoices that they have seen the sacred relics, that they have worshipped in the Holy places. The Eastern Church, after long captivity, has to a great extent been restored to her ancient liberty.¹²¹ The crusaders are urged to keep faith in those higher aims and purposes which are conducive to their salvation.

Paschal remarks that he has refrained from writing them many things. Therefore he sends Mauritius of Porto who, as his legate, will strengthen them with the consolations which are Blessed Peter's, a fitting thing for those who had undertaken the pilgrimage through the vicariate of Peter. Mauritius' chief concern as legate is for the freedom of the church, the observance of all canonical regulations. He is to be obeyed.¹²² A papal absolution closes the letter.

If our previous judgments are correct, the Papacy now for the first time since Adhemar took steps to insure the proper conduct of ~~duct~~ ecclesiastical affairs. The Pope had waited upon developments. We note no reference in this letter to Daimbert as legate, no reference to the Holy Land as a papal state, no injunctions as to the establishment of a theocracy in the Holy Land. Paschal, as we shall show, did not count on the ambition of Daimbert. Knowing nothing of Daimbert's behaviour, he had been pleased over his election as Patriarch replacing Arnulf who "by the craft of simony had presumed to intrude himself into the see of Jerusalem".¹²³

3. The Ambition of Daimbert.

The papal letter and the legate Mauritius did not arrive until 16 April 1101.¹²⁴ By that time much had happened. Daimbert,

whose intrigues had brought him to the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem, now began to reveal the full scope of his ambition. In the first place, he continued Arnulf's policy of latinizing the church of Jerusalem, only with greater power. He wished to remove all the non-Romans from their monasteries whether they were Greek or Syrians. In this he was checked by a manifestation of divine judgment when the vigil lights of the church of the Holy Sepulchre went out on the eve of Easter, 1101. Thereafter, there was no persecution of the Eastern Christians who were absorbed into the Latin milieu and left alone, as long as they recognized the Roman primacy and the authority of their Latin ecclesiastical superiors.¹²⁵

However, Daimbert had other dreams, ranging far beyond this. He had not been present on the First Crusade to observe the close interaction between the spiritual and temporal powers.¹²⁶ He only knew that he was the patriarch of the holiest church in Christendom, that much public opinion looked to the Church as the ultimate authority in the Holy Land, since the Crusade had been church-inspired and the Holy Land itself was the common patrimony of all Christians. Further, Daimbert knew something probably of the Eastern theory of the patriarchate which made the patriarch supreme in his own realm, subject only to the judgment of his fellow patriarchs in general council. He was therefore not to be satisfied with his position as exercising a vague spiritual suzerainty over the city. He would not even be satisfied with the position which his Greek predecessor Simeon had held.¹²⁷ He looked for little opposition to his plans. Godfrey was pious, devoted to the Church,¹²⁸ and whose position in the city was difficult.¹²⁹ The fleet of Daimbert was still an important factor due to Godfrey's inability to keep the supply lines

open to the Holy City.¹³⁰ When Daimbert demanded the control of the traditional patriarchal quarter of Jerusalem and also a quarter of the port of Jaffa, Godfrey protested against the latter because he, a poor man, needed the money which Jaffa would bring from merchants and pilgrims to sustain his struggle against the heathen.¹³¹ However, he had no choice. On 2 February, Daimbert exacted from Godfrey a quarter of the port of Jaffa. That this was demanded first of all indicates that ambition went hand in hand with greed in the Patriarch, as subsequent events will show.

However, this was but the first step. Daimbert now gave full reign to his ambition. A vision arose. The eastern concept of an independent patriarchate was not enough. Daimbert saw himself as the prince-patriarch of a theocratic state, where he, by now having totally set aside the claims of Rome,¹³² would rule as the head of the mother of all churches, rich in offerings from pilgrims, secure as ruler of the Holy Places. Hence his next step was to force Godfrey into complete surrender. He succeeded.

On Easter Sunday of 1100, Godfrey surrendered the entire city and its port into the hands of Daimbert. With becoming generosity, the Patriarch showed him some consideration, knowing that Godfrey was a poor man. He was allowed to keep the city and citadel of Jerusalem in his control and also his own personal possession in Jaffa until such time as the Lord would permit him to conquer cities which would serve as compensation for that which he had surrendered. If he died without heir, which was likely considering his advanced age, then the entire city and its port would pass into the hands of Daimbert without delay.¹³³ Daimbert's pious ambition had reached its climax. He had reduced Godfrey to the status of a genuine vassal

who would fight for the defence of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its Patriarch. When Godfrey died on 18 July 1100, Daimbert looked forward to complete possession and control of Jerusalem and Jaffa.¹³⁴ His theocratic dreams were realized.¹³⁵

After his death, however, Daimbert found that all was not as easy as he had supposed. Disorder broke out in the city, and the Patriarch found that he could not control the situation.¹³⁶ The rule of Jerusalem and the entire kingdom was offered to Godfrey's kinsman, Baldwin of Edessa. In the midst of his distress, the Patriarch turned to Bohemund for aid and assistance. He pleaded Bohemund's previous assistance to himself in the securing of the patriarchal throne. He asked the Norman, on his allegiance to him as suzerain, to prevent Baldwin from coming to the city, by force if necessary. Unfortunately for Daimbert, the letter fell into the hands of Raymond's troops at Laodicea.¹³⁷ Its contents were soon common knowledge. Daimbert found himself caught in the fires of thwarted ambition. Godfrey's followers resented Daimbert and his greed. Arnulf fomented trouble for Daimbert, perhaps even to the point of urging Baldwin to come to Jerusalem.¹³⁸ A further defeat for the Patriarch came when Bohemund was captured, c. 15 August, 1100.¹³⁹

In the first week of October, Baldwin said farewell to Edessa, the principality he had obtained through greed, ambition, and friendship with the Armenians.¹⁴⁰ When he arrived at the Holy City, the Patriarch refused to join in the welcome accorded to him by the inhabitants. Although there was outward reconciliation, Daimbert remained withdrawn from the public gaze.¹⁴¹ Ostensibly he was devoting himself to meditation and prayers, actually he

awaited the development of events. Probably he had also heard of the arrival of a papal legate with the Genoese fleet which was wintering in Laodicea.¹⁴² For the time all must seem serene. Therefore he anointed and crowned Baldwin in the great church at Bethlehem.¹⁴³ If the sources are examined with care we shall find that while Baldwin promised peace and justice to the church and the people, he did not renew the territorial agreements of Godfrey, nor did he do homage to Daimbert, promising only to be the perpetual servant and defender of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁴⁴ Daimbert was patriarch, nothing more.¹⁴⁵ For a time the Patriarch seemed to acquiesce in the new order.

Daimbert was right to be cautious. The legate Mauritius had not been idle during the winter months in Laodicea. There was the problem of the disposition of Antioch. The legate, in company with his Genoese friends, urged Tancred to assume the responsibilities of the principate there. He also encouraged Baldwin to take up the inheritance which was his in Jerusalem, the count of Edessa passing through the town on his way to Jerusalem.¹⁴⁶ Mauritius was probably unaware of the ambition of Daimbert, but his encouragement of Baldwin at this juncture probably made the Patriarch fear more and more for his position. This also lends additional reason for the Patriarch's withdrawal to his monastery during the opening months of Baldwin's reign. He feared the machinations of Arnulf and the power of Baldwin. In addition, there was now the real possibility that he might become involved in difficulties with the legate from Rome.

On April 15-16, 1101, the Genoese fleet, bearing the papal legate, arrived at Jaffa. They were met by Baldwin. It may well be conjectured that Baldwin was concerned to secure the help of the

Genoese, knowing well Godfrey's difficulties with the heathen on the one hand and Daimbert on the other, due to the lack of a fleet. Perhaps he also wished to secure the good favours of the legate. A treaty with the Genoese was signed and the crown was thus allied with the arch-enemies of Pisa.¹⁴⁷ They then proceeded to Jerusalem where the King and the papal legate were joined by Daimbert.

It was just before Eastertide. All three made their devotions together, but the harmony was short lived.¹⁴⁸ In the first place, Baldwin hated Daimbert for his exploitation of his brother Godfrey. Secondly he knew of the letter which Daimbert had written to Bohemund, counselling Baldwin's murder if such were necessary. In all this hatred he was, no doubt, encouraged by Arnulf and by those native Christians who hated the Patriarch for his arrogance and bigotry.¹⁴⁹ Hence when Mauritius arrived, Baldwin confronted him with complaints of a serious nature against Daimbert. Perhaps he also confronted the legate with information as to Daimbert's past behaviour in the see of Jerusalem, action which Baldwin hoped would not be pleasing to Rome.

The legate was also confronted with Daimbert's letter which made the Patriarch virtually guilty of lese-majesty. Others joined in the attack. He had dispersed the sacred relics; he had been unworthy of his office. We note that no one questioned the canonical legality of his election. Pending further investigation, the legate suspended Daimbert.¹⁵⁰ Hence when the festivities of Holy Saturday arrived, the legate performed the ceremonies, having forbidden the Patriarch to exercise his office.¹⁵¹ However, Daimbert, surprised and stunned by this rejection, approached Baldwin. He had become a subject of scandal, he pleaded. Had he not anointed Baldwin?

However, the royal heart was softened by an offer of money since Baldwin's financial condition was difficult.¹⁵²

Baldwin then approached Mauritius. He pointed out the scandal of Daimbert's removal to the pilgrims and the degradation of Christian honour among the pagans. He asked for Daimbert's restoration.¹⁵³ Mauritius assented, and Daimbert was permitted to celebrate at the solemn Mass of Easter day.¹⁵⁴ We note in all of this that Daimbert said nothing about his see as "the queen of the nations". The dreams of an independent patriarchate, superior to all other sees, of a church state ruled by himself, were forgotten. If anything, Daimbert seems to have tried to impress the legate with a strong "papalist" line which he had not shown prior to this occasion. When in May, all went to the siege of Caesarea, Daimbert referred to Jerusalem as the property of Blessed Peter. The crusaders were described as the vicars of blessed Peter.¹⁵⁵

Perhaps the legate was disturbed by the intransigence of Baldwin. Perhaps he was encouraged by the humble submissiveness of the Patriarch. However, for a time it seemed as if Daimbert would weather the storm. Baldwin was notably successful in the field. Arnulf was taken;¹⁵⁶ Caesarea was captured and a new archbishop was provided for the city.¹⁵⁷

In all of these activities, Daimbert played an important part.¹⁵⁸ However, the peace was soon broken. Baldwin, needing money, approached the Patriarch who responded with a gift of, he claimed, all that he had.¹⁵⁹ However, his enemies, notably Arnulf, convinced the king this was not so, and Baldwin berated Daimbert for refusing to use the offerings of the faithful to the Jerusalem church to defend the kingdom.¹⁶⁰ Daimbert, thinking that he had

won the support of the legate, granted some concessions but in general stood firm.¹⁶¹ When, however, Baldwin confronted Daimbert and Mauritius at their ease, berated them for their self-indulgence when the rest of the crusaders were suffering, the King was told by Daimbert that the Church could do what it wished with its own.¹⁶² Mauritius was helpless. He only urged peace and reconciliation.¹⁶³ He knew that Baldwin's complaints were just, but Daimbert's defence had a canonical authenticity that could not be denied. At the end, however, Baldwin was able to best the Patriarch in the argument who found himself constrained to give more money for military support of the kingdom.¹⁶⁴

However, Daimbert's greed proved to be his undoing. When an offering arrived from Roger of Sicily, which was to be divided in thirds, one for the canons of the Sepulchre, another for the Hospital and the rest for the king and his army, Daimbert took the entire sum for himself.¹⁶⁵ When this was brought before Baldwin, Mauritius could not hesitate. Daimbert was removed from office.¹⁶⁶ Mauritius now became acting head of the church while the King continued to uncover Daimbert's hoardings of money. Daimbert spent the winter in Jaffa and then repaired to Antioch where a warm welcome from Tancred awaited him.¹⁶⁷

The first act of the drama was over. What happened to the legate is not clear. Probably Albert is correct in reporting his death in the Holy Land, perhaps in the year 1102.¹⁶⁸

To understand these events we must recognize the seriousness of Baldwin's situation. Many pilgrims had gone home. The crusade of 1101 brought little strength to the kingdom. The climate had made its inroads on the Latins. To survive the Franks must secure

the seacoast and continue the conquests inland. Money was necessary to pay soldiers. Hence we can sympathise with Baldwin's determination to keep a firm control over the Church, especially over her finances, which could contribute so much to the survival of the Latins in the Holy Land.

What is important for us is that Mauritius did not attempt to resist Baldwin's claims. He gave no special acceptance to those "papalist" phrases which Daimbert had used to win his friendship. The phrases themselves were used by all when they described the Holy Land as the "special inheritance of Christ" or the crusader as the "soldier of Christ".¹⁶⁹ Mauritius did not regard Baldwin as a papal vassal. He ruled by divine right.¹⁷⁰ There was no mention of the favour or grace of St. Peter in this connection.

All in all, we can see in Mauritius' behaviour the pattern which was to govern the relations between the Papacy and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The pattern was what we might call a careful pragmatism. It is to the credit of Paschal's legate that he dealt only in the realm of practical church politics, endeavouring primarily to insure the proper observance of ecclesiastical discipline and to assist in the prosecution of the war against the infidel. We shall see, as the study progresses, that the Papacy was not interested in increasing the spiritual authority at the expense of the temporal. Mauritius saw that the practical exigencies of the Christian reconquest in the Holy Land could not be ignored. Upon the lay lord depended the defence of the shrines of Christendom. It was clear to Mauritius, and it was to be clear to succeeding popes and their representatives, that the ambition of such men as Daimbert would lead only to the complete destruction of the Christian re-conquest

of the East. There was to be no revival of the eastern patriarchate notion within the Roman orbit; there was to be no church state, no papal fief. The Patriarch, in the eyes of the Papacy, was to be little more than a primate. Granted that the Patriarch of Jerusalem was the occupant of a most exalted see, we shall see that the Roman church made no canonical exception which would distinguish it from other primatial sees such as Canterbury.¹⁷¹

Two other matters are to be briefly noted. If the evidence of Caffaro is correct, Mauritius accepted the Norman rule in Antioch by lending his support to Tancred's rule during Bohemund's captivity. This is important for the relations between the Greek and Latin churches. Further, we note that most of his energy was directed towards the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the first sign of the papal preference of Jerusalem to Antioch.

Let us return to the King and his Patriarch. Daimbert was in Antioch with Tancred where he enjoyed both honour and protection.¹⁷² Baldwin to the south was busy against the infidel. However, the scandal of the continuing absence of Daimbert was felt. When success did not attend the Christian cause in the field, the higher clergy, notably Gerard of Mount Tabor and Baldwin of Caesarea, who felt perhaps some loyalty to their Patriarch, indicated that if the King were reconciled to Daimbert, the cause of the Cross would advance victoriously.¹⁷³ Baldwin agreed that peace with God was necessary, and he swore that he would make peace with Daimbert when the Patriarch had purged himself canonically before the Pope and the entire church of his crimes.¹⁷⁴

However, when in 1102, Baldwin was hard pressed by the infidel, he appealed to Tancred and Baldwin de Bourg for aid.¹⁷⁵

With the relief expedition came Daimbert who was at first repelled by the King. The Antioch princes, seeing this, made Daimbert's reinstatement a condition for their assistance. Baldwin outwardly acquiesced to their demand saying that he would submit the question of Daimbert to their judgment after the attack on Ascalon. He probably had in mind the new legate, Cardinal Robert of Paris, who had come out to the East after the death of Mauritius, perhaps at the invitation of the King and certainly at papal direction, to continue the purification of the Eastern church and, above all, to settle the quarrel between Daimbert and Baldwin.¹⁷⁶

Temporarily, Daimbert was thus restored to his chair.¹⁷⁷ However the council before the legate opened almost at once. The entire hierarchy of the Jerusalem church, including the six greater abbots, were all present before Robert. So also were the pilgrim bishops of Laon and Piacenza. From the north came two bishops who had been consecrated by Daimbert, Roger of Tarsus and Bartholomew of Mamistra. When the legate had taken his seat, the accusations began, presented by the best witnesses, especially Baldwin, Archbishop of Caesarea, Robert of Ramleh, Arnulf and other clergy. Daimbert was accused of simony, of the murder of Greek Christians in the islands of the Ionian Sea, of treason to Baldwin, of embezzling funds given by the faithful for the maintenance of the Crusade.¹⁷⁸ The charges were well supported. The hate of Arnulf and Baldwin had continued unabated. So too perhaps his unpopularity with native Christians influenced the course of events. Robert had no alternative but deposition. Tancred, although he accepted the sentence, took Daimbert home to Antioch.¹⁷⁹ There he was well treated again, Bernard of Antioch giving him the great church of St. George. The sentence

of deposition and anathema seems to have been ignored by the patriarchate of Antioch since the evidence indicates that Daimbert took part in many public functions.¹⁸⁰ In Jerusalem, the legate advised the King to take prompt action to fill the patriarchal chair. By an election of clergy and people, the simple priest, Ebremar, was chosen and constituted Patriarch.¹⁸¹ As for Daimbert, he participated with the Norman forces in the siege of Haran,¹⁸² and when Bohemund was released in May, 1103, thanks to the generosity of the Armenian Kogh Vahil, Baldwin du Bourg and Bernard of Antioch, Daimbert and he found that they still had much in common.¹⁸³

As we have seen in the first part of this section, Bohemund returned from captivity to face the demands of Alexius. The Moslem victory of 1104 had almost destroyed the Christian power in Syria.¹⁸⁴ As for the Greeks, their success threatened the Normans by land and sea. Knowing that little help could be expected from Jerusalem, Bohemund journeyed to the West, arriving at Bari in 1105. His companion was Daimbert, on his way to plead his cause in Rome. Patriarch and Norman prince were allied once more.

As we have said, after the deposition of Daimbert, Baldwin and Arnulf had named Ebremar, a priest, Patriarch of Jerusalem. A Flemming, from the diocese of Arras,¹⁸⁵ he had been a member of the original expedition. An intimate of Lambert of Arras,¹⁸⁶ Ebremar won respect for his piety, humility and generosity to the poor. On the other hand, the sources agree that he was a man of great intellectual simplicity, stemming perhaps from his lack of education.¹⁸⁷ It is likely that this last quality brought him to the patriarchate since as a tool in the hands of Baldwin and Arnulf, there would be no trouble for the crown from an ambitious patriarch.

Enthroned sometime in the fall of 1102,¹⁸⁸ Ebremer at first was of great assistance to the Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁸⁹

Despite the fact that he had been deposed by a legate and that another had been set in his place by the same legate, Daimbert recovered his church. He had rendered great services to the crusade movement as the companion of Urban II in France in 1095-1086, and as the leader of a Pisan fleet to the Holy Land. Most important, Daimbert claimed he had been deprived of his see due to the active and persistent hostility of the King of Jerusalem. This last charge was too much for the post-Hildebrandine Papacy.¹⁹⁰ In a synod held in March of 1105, Daimbert was restored to the throne of Jerusalem. Ebremer was removed. Yet because of the favour of the legate Robert, with whose help he had been seated in the Church of Jerusalem, Ebremer was preserved in his episcopal rank. He would be permitted to exercise the same if called upon by any church whose see was vacant. Further, he could be called to the see of Jerusalem upon the death of Daimbert, if this were the wish of the Church. Thus, did Paschal give justice to Daimbert and also preserve the honour of his legate.¹⁹¹

Having accepted this date given by Rozière and Jaffé for the synodical action, a serious difficulty arises. Tyre says that Daimbert, armed with letters ordering his restoration, did not live to see Jerusalem again. Awaiting a ship in Sicily, he died there on 16 June. Tyre says that he had been Patriarch for four years and in exile for three. This would lead us to date Daimbert's death, 16 June, 1107.¹⁹²

We turn now to the papal letter, which has been cited in the notes, which summarises the presentation given so far and relates additional developments. Dated 4 December, 1107, Paschal professes

himself alarmed by the scandals of the Jerusalem church, occasioned first by Daimbert and then by Ebremar. The scandals are all the more serious since the Jerusalem church, set in the "midst of many nations", should set an example to these of Christian faith and Latin purity.¹⁹³ He calls to their mind the "conspiracy" directed against Daimbert. Robert had been sent out to deal with the matter. This confirms what we have said above. The legate deposed Daimbert because, as the Pope says, he seemed to be lacking in judgment. Probably this was the legate's judgment on Daimbert's ambition and greed.¹⁹⁴ The Pope also knows that thanks to the favour of the legate, Ebremar was elected Patriarch.¹⁹⁵ However, when Daimbert arrived in Rome, he pleaded that he had been removed out of fear of the King. Therefore he sought judgment in Rome.¹⁹⁶

As we know from Fulcher and Tyre, Daimbert also pleaded the hate of Baldwin as the chief reason for his removal.¹⁹⁷ This was too much for Paschal. Besides, Daimbert's services to Urban and the Crusade, which we have mentioned, could not be forgotten. Paschal, therefore, proceeded to restore Daimbert to his see at a synod in the Lateran.¹⁹⁸ Ebremar was removed from his see but kept in his episcopal rank, thus able to rule over another church if called to do so, or even over the Jerusalem church if called to do so after the death of Daimbert. However, before they could learn of this decision by papal letters, Daimbert died.¹⁹⁹ That the Papacy wrote the letters which eventually reached the Holy Land informing the Latins of Daimbert's re-instatement and Ebremar's removal seems clearly indicated, and this confirms the action of Rozière and Jaffé in placing the report of this synod in March, 1105. Not only this, it seems logical to place Daimbert's death in June 1105, since the

papal letter indicates the short lapse of time between his death and the papal decision.²⁰⁰ Then later on, Ebremar and Arnulf appeared before the Pope. According to Fulcher, Ebremar made his journey in 1107 and this the papal letter confirms.²⁰¹ Now, continues Paschal, both Ebremar and Arnulf have appeared before him with their supporters. They bear letters which are mutually contradictory.²⁰² Ebremar has letters from the King, the chapter and the episcopate asking that he be given the pall and the privileges due to him as Patriarch.²⁰³ On the other hand, Arnulf has letters from the chapter, ^{the} King and the episcopate which accuse Ebremar of ignoring the sentence of 1105 and asking for his removal.²⁰⁴ Ebremar has accused the archdeacon and his supporters of disobedience since he alleges that after Daimbert's death, after learning of the synodical sentence, that they had chosen him as "father and bishop". Ebremar has shown his letters which are dated after the information had been received concerning the sentence of the Lateran council, letters asking for his pall and confirmation as Patriarch.²⁰⁵ Arnulf has replied, contesting the letters. They had been given before certain knowledge of the synod's decision of 1105 had been obtained. Therefore, Arnulf has demanded his removal and his letters from king, chapter and bishops support his demand.²⁰⁶ Although witnesses swore that Ebremar had been chosen bishop with full knowledge of the synodical decision, Paschal proved indecisive.²⁰⁷ He decided to send a legate who would ascertain the truth. If he discovered that Ebremar had been elected upon the receipt of the synodical decree, they were to receive him as their lawful patriarch. If not, then they were to end the scandalous situation and choose a new Patriarch.²⁰⁸ Thus the contending parties returned early in 1108,

and the legate Gibelin of Arles was not far behind. Ebremar found that the opposition to him remained unabated.²⁰⁹ When Gibelin, a man of age and experience arrived in the East, he proceeded to summon a synod.²¹⁰ To complete the story, it is merely necessary to add that Ebremar's election was declared invalid and Gibelin was chosen Patriarch.²¹¹ The former was given the see of Caesarea which he held until 1129-1130.²¹²

Yet why had all this happened? Why had Arnulf and Baldwin turned against their own creation? Further, was the action of Gibelin just? The answers cannot be given with certainty. As for Gibelin, we may say that it may well be that when the Jerusalem church heard of the death of Daimbert and Rome's decision that they did not bother to go through the formality of a second election of Ebremar. Thus probably Gibelin acted within the canons. As for Arnulf and Baldwin, it may be that Ebremar developed into a stronger Patriarch than they had planned. Or on the other hand, perhaps he proved to be such a nonentity that they concluded the Church must have stronger leadership. Whatever the reason, I would suggest that Arnulf and Baldwin in 1107 decided to get rid of Ebremar by challenging the validity of his tenure of office. They found that they perhaps had a basis of accusation in that, as I have suggested, the Church had not gone through the formality of re-electing Ebremar to the see of Jerusalem upon learning of the restoration of Daimbert and his death subsequent to this. As for the election of Gibelin, Tyre says, with his usual hatred for Arnulf, that Arnulf chose him because Gibelin was old and decrepit, i.e., Arnulf hoped to be his successor.

While the facts of the case shall never be known entirely, certain impressions do remain. First, we note that the papal control

of the Church in the East could not prevent a series of scandals in the holiest see of Christendom. Secondly, we are struck by the difficulty which the Popes had in judging cases of appeal, since the facts of the case were always presented by the parties to the appeal and therefore with little guarantee of veracity. It was easy for Daimbert to plead that an unscrupulous monarch had deprived him of his see. The ambition and greed of the Patriarch were not considered. One final observation. Paschal was often hesitant in making decisions. However, on the basis of the case presented by Daimbert, he had little choice but restoration. However, Paschal had shown before his conviction that the Church should tread softly where the feelings of the King of Jerusalem were concerned. Thus when the issue was in doubt, he left it to a legate to ascertain the political and ecclesiastical tensions in Palestine. Therefore, the entire episode is merely another case of papal deference to the temporal power in the Holy Land.

However, while I have commented on Paschal's indecisiveness, it should not blind us to the wisdom which the Papacy had displayed in this matter. If the Crusade had been the result of Urban's vision and daring, the Latin Church of the East owed its existence to the layman whose sword had wrested the Holy Places from the infidel. Therefore in the East, as elsewhere in Western Europe, the two swords, priest and lord, were inextricably bound with each other.²¹³ The Papacy knew well that with the power of the layman reduced by ecclesiastical arrogance the Christian re-conquest would disappear before the infidel. On the other hand, the freedom of the Church in her own sphere was to be preserved. To realize both of these aims, Paschal and his legates had laboured. Thus their policy seems at times contradictory and inconsistent.

The interaction of the two powers may be seen by consulting a few texts of the Assizes of Jerusalem, the work of Jean d'Ibelin.²¹⁴ In this we see the Patriarch of Jerusalem not only as the chief spiritual lord of the kingdom²¹⁵ but also one of the chief advisers to the King of Jerusalem.²¹⁶ Not only this, the Patriarch often administered the realm in the royal absence.²¹⁷ Further, the close interaction of the two powers is shown in the coronation rite when the monarch swore to defend the Holy Church, its Patriarch, clergy, its rights and possessions.²¹⁸ In his turn, the Patriarch swore to the King, as his subject, loyalty and aid, saving his order and the Roman Church.²¹⁹ The interaction thus set up was in general to function well, save for the trouble caused by Daimbert and, as we shall see later on, by Patriarch Stephen. Thus if the Patriarch was consulted in regard to the election of the monarch,²²⁰ he was in his turn a member of the royal High Court. If the Church preserved its canonical freedom in elections and other immunities,²²¹ then the monarch had great influence in the assignment of benefices and the right of confirmation on episcopal elections.²²² Not only this, he could choose one from two nominees for the patriarchate of Jerusalem when these had been chosen by the chapter of the Holy Sepulchre.²²³ On the other hand, the Patriarch of Jerusalem crowned the King of Jerusalem.²²⁴

The Patriarch of Jerusalem had to be confirmed by Rome as we already know from Ebremer's plea on his own behalf before Paschal. Rome did not wish Jerusalem to return to its old status as an independent patriarchate. We shall also see that the suffragan metropolitans of the patriarchal see of Jerusalem also sought their confirmation and palls at Rome, much at times to the annoyance of the Patriarch.

Nonetheless, so far we have discovered no evidence that the Papacy regarded the King of Jerusalem as its vassal. Nor do we find, after the abortive attempt of Daimbert, that the Jerusalem Patriarch regarded himself as the suzerain of the monarch. We repeat that if anything the Papacy showed herself overly sensitive to the claims of the royal prerogative. This will be borne out by the subsequent pages of this thesis.

4. The Erection of the See of Bethlehem.

A man of sincere piety and nobility of character,²²⁵ Gibelin did not wish the honour of the patriarch ~~etc.~~^{at} as we know from his letters to his own clergy and suffragans of the archiepiscopal church at Arles.²²⁶ Indeed the Pope had to exert pressure upon him to accept the high office.²²⁷ Associated with the crusading movement for many years through the counts of Toulouse,²²⁸ the unfortunate old man was forced to do his duty, mindful that the heat and the strain of the life would soon be fatal to one of his advanced years.

We remember that Arnulf of Marturana's attempt to seize the church of Bethlehem had been abortive. The Church continued there with its Augustinian canons and prior, under the direct supervision of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem.²²⁹ However it now seemed good to the spiritual and temporal powers of Jerusalem that the shrine of the Nativity be given its own bishop. The decree for the creation of the see is preserved in Tyre.²³⁰

Issued by Baldwin of Jerusalem, it begins with a brief history of the Christian re-conquest. Baldwin discloses then that he has long wished to raise Bethlehem to the rank of an episcopal see. He approached the archdeacon and chapter of the Jerusalem church since there was no Patriarch of Jerusalem. They agreed to

the royal wish, and the Archdeacon Arnulf and Archard, a deacon, took ship to Rome to obtain papal sanction. Paschal agreed and sent Gibelin of Arles after them to deal with the matter. We know that the mission of Gibelin was concerned also with the patriarchate of Jerusalem itself.²³¹

According to the decree, upon his arrival in the East, Gibelin did all according to the royal wish. He created Bethlehem an episcopal see. He made Ascalon, a parish in its diocese, thus reversing the ancient order. Further, Aschetinus, precentor in the Holy Sepulchre, had been chosen by royal wish, the chapter, nobles and people assenting, to be the first bishop of Ascalon. He was now made Bishop of Bethlehem and given lands worthy of his charge.²³² The royal decree enumerates the possessions of the new see. At the close, Gibelin is described as patriarch-elect.²³³ In all of this, we see the ascendancy of the royal power over the spiritual power.²³⁴ The Papacy realized that the King was the defender of the Holy Sepulchre and that his importance should be recognized. However, an even more striking demonstration of the royal power was yet to come, arising out of the gradual extension of the Latin power in Syria-Palestine.

Prior to 1109, Tripoli had been a crusade state in embryo. The Count of Cerdagne had administered the lands of the deceased Count of Toulouse until in 1108 Raymond's bastard, Bertrand, arrived from the West. In the ensuing contest of rights and privileges, the County was divided between Jordan who was a vassal of Antioch, and Bertrand who, to bolster his rights, had accepted Baldwin's suzerainty. In 1109-1110, the force of the Latins captured Jebail, Tripoli, Beirut and Sidon. The death of William Jordan resulted

in the unification of the lands of Tripoli under Bertrand, thus uniting them to the crown of Jerusalem.²³⁵ This was not pleasing to the princes of Antioch who had looked forward to Tripoli becoming a fief of their principality.

The relation of the crown of Jerusalem to the principality of Antioch was a relationship of the loosest sort of suzerainty.²³⁶ Bohemund had regarded himself as a sovereign prince. Tancred was little disposed to recognize Jerusalem as his suzerain. Antioch had its own courts and customs, and most important for us, its own patriarchal throne. However when the power of the King in Jerusalem was great and that of the rulers of Antioch was weak, the King was to all intents and purposes the overlord of the entire Latin establishment in the East. Tripoli was a fief of Jerusalem from the beginning but Jerusalem's influence in Antioch was dependent upon the balance of power and the will of the Antioch nobility.

What is important for us, however, is that Bertrand's homage to Baldwin for Tripoli, thus incorporating Tripoli into the kingdom as a fief of the crown, was to raise endless trouble between the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. In the early centuries of the Church, the patriarchate of Antioch had far outshone the patriarchate of Jerusalem in prestige and power. Jerusalem emerged only into the position of the fifth sister among the patriarchates of Rome, Constantinople, Antioch and Alexandria in the fourth century. The memory of that superiority was present in the minds of the Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch. The patriarchate of Antioch had run in its jurisdiction as far as south of Tyre and Damascus. While Tyre was not to be captured until 1124, Tortosa, Tripoli, Botrun, Jebail, Beirut, Sidon were all in the hands of the Latins

at this time and, more important, under the suzerainty of Jerusalem, Tripoli's overlord. Who would control the churches of these cities? Probably Gibelin realised this and prodded Baldwin to take steps to protect the Jerusalem church against any humiliation. It is unfortunate that we do not know precisely how the episcopate was restored in these cities. The latest research done on the county of Tripoli suggests that Raymond of Toulouse had envisaged an independent church organisation under Tripoli which would be of metropolitical rank. That a bishop had been provided for Tripoli and the other cities is certain, but we cannot be sure of how they were consecrated and to whom, if anyone, they had owed their allegiance. The evidence suggests that perhaps Antioch had exercised some metropolitical control over these churches, Tripoli, Tortosa, Jebail, Botrun, Sidon and Beirut which were all within the ancient limits of the patriarchate of Antioch. The Jerusalem Patriarch seeing this, and anxious to extend his jurisdiction, had probably decided to end, in a way satisfactory to his own ambitions, the conflict in jurisdictions: temporally speaking, Tripoli was under Jerusalem, spiritually, it may well have been under Antioch at this time. Perhaps the power of the Antioch patriarchate had been exercised even farther to the south, to Beirut, Sidon and Acre. The Jerusalem Church was in a difficult position. Tripoli was only a fief, bound by the loose ties of suzerainty to Jerusalem. Not only this, Tripoli had acknowledged, if only in the vaguest fashion, the suzerainty of Alexius I.²³⁷

Therefore, according to Tyre, Baldwin made representations to Rome, the tenor of which was that whatever towns and provinces he might recover from the heathen would be placed under the

jurisdiction of the Church of Jerusalem. Paschal responded favourably. On 8 June, 1111, he issued two bulls, to the Patriarch and to the King of Jerusalem respectively. In the letter to Gibelin, Paschal declares that it is a wise thing to change ecclesiastical boundaries if the course of events renders it necessary. With candour the Pope remarks, - and we may imagine the confusion of the Curia in regard to the boundaries of episcopal sees in faraway places, - that the long occupation by the heathen has confused the ecclesiastical divisions established in ancient times. However, the Pope declares that we must keep abreast with the operation of Providence, manifested in the Christian re-conquest in the East. Therefore to the Church and Patriarch of Jerusalem are granted the cities which divine grace has or shall restore through the power of the King of Jerusalem and his armies. It is fitting that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre obtain the honours won by its servants. Liberated from the heathen, the Church of Jerusalem is to be exalted all the more abundantly by the Christians. The letter to Baldwin follows much the same argument although here the Pope justifies his action on the basis of the state of existing confusion in ecclesiastical boundaries. Also he indicates that he wishes to reward Baldwin for his labours on behalf of the Jerusalem church. Therefore those cities which he has or shall recapture are to be placed under the Church of Jerusalem, and its bishops are to be obedient to the Jerusalem Patriarch.²³⁸

Thus the Papacy gave carte-blanche to the expansionist tendencies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and to its patriarchate. Nowhere in these letters do we see any thought or concern given to the patriarchate of Antioch. The papal decision reflects the

importance given by the Papacy to the welfare of the see of Jerusalem. This is, of course, what we might expect. Jerusalem was the shrine of Christendom and the Papacy felt itself obligated to exalt that shrine. Secondly, we may point out that this is but another example of papal deference to royal power. Baldwin had played a decisive role in the issuing of these decrees.

Nonethelesa, the papal indifference to Antioch commands attention. Can we suggest reasons? Perhaps it could be suggested that the Papacy was acting with an eye to the fact that Bohemund had recognized the Byzantine suzerainty over Antioch after his defeat by Alexius in 1108. Further, at that time, he had agreed to the introduction of a Greek patriarch into Antioch. On paper, therefore, Antioch was part of the Oecumene and therefore within the ecclesiastical orbit of the East. Further perhaps the Pope knew that Bertrand of Tripoli had had dealings with the Emperor Alexius which also gave the Greeks a claim, admittedly nebulous, over his lands.²³⁹ Perhaps then by this assignment of churches to the see of Jerusalem the Papacy was removing episcopal sees out from under a patriarchate which might in the future pass under Greek domination.

All this is mere supposition. There is no evidence to support these suggestions. However perhaps we can set it in a wider context when we reach the next section of our thesis.

Further it could be argued that this action on the part of the Papacy was designed to destroy utterly any remaining trace of the Eastern conception of the patriarchate. Further it could be added that Antioch had been the first see of Peter and therefore had associations which might some day prove to be sources of controversy with the Roman church. It is all the more significant that

the supremacy of Rome informs this papal decision throughout. Thus the Roman church lavished power upon the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Thus the Papacy gratified the will of the monarch. Thus Baldwin and Gibelin thought they could cease to worry about the ambitions of Antioch, its Patriarch and its Prince, in regard to the County of Tripoli and its churches. The patriarchate of Antioch seemed about to lose much of its ancient glory and prestige.

However it is possible to misinterpret this action of the Papacy, seeing in it a declaration of spiritual suzerainty, an action which indicated that the Latin establishment in the East was considered by the Pope to be a vassal state of the Apostolic See. No such thing obtained at this time. That the Papacy had a special interest in the East and indeed considered itself especially responsible for the Christian re-conquest in the Holy Land cannot be denied. Yet to use the description of a vassal state is incorrect and misleading. The papal decree related to ecclesiastical matters. The lines of vassalage which the Papacy had constructed in Spain and southern France²⁴⁰ were not created by this decree vis-à-vis the Holy Land. So far we have found no confirmation of the royal title by the Pope. Beyond the isolated example of Godfrey and Daimbert, we find no example of a royal homage to the Patriarch for his Kingdom. The King was the vassal of the Sepulchre, not of its Patriarch and not of the Papacy.²⁴¹ This is not to deny the Papacy's special concern for the Holy Land and its special responsibility for its welfare. We have referred often to the great role played by the Papacy in the crusade. However, if the crusaders were summoned by Blessed Peter, they were the representatives of Western Christendom. Hence Baldwin regarded himself as fighting the infidel on behalf, not only

of the Papacy, but also on behalf of the German Emperor and the Kings of France and England.²⁴²

5. The Patriarchate of Arnulf.

With the favour shown by the Papacy to the King of Jerusalem, we are not surprised to find that the reign of Gibelin as patriarch brings a new level of amicability between spiritual and temporal authorities in Jerusalem. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre at last attained the peace and harmony appropriate to its dignity and necessary to its preservation as a Christian shrine. The spell was soon broken. Gibelin, the peacemaker,²⁴³ died in April of 1112.²⁴⁴ Baldwin might well lament his death for a new scandal was to break over the Church.²⁴⁵ Arnulf, who had waited for twelve years for the patriarchal throne, was not to be denied. Although the election of the sometime Patriarch and Archdeacon of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was done with great alacrity and unanimity,²⁴⁶ his reign was to be a stormy one.

We have already mentioned Arnulf's talents:²⁴⁷ a hero of the original expedition, a gifted speaker who inspired the multitude, Archdeacon of the Church of Jerusalem, Chancellor of the realm and intimate of Baldwin. His power had been great. He had helped to drive Baimbert from his see and had prevented Ebrenar from retaining his patriarchal throne.

Many, such as William of Tyro in later years, hated him. To these, he was the source of the strife which had disrupted the life of the Jerusalem church. He was the "instigator of many wicked deeds" in the mind of Baldwin I of Jerusalem. These enemies were blind to Arnulf's talents. They taxed him with his low birth. He was the son of a priest, disqualified canonically for ordination.

He was unchaste. He dealt in high-handed fashion with property belonging to the Church of Jerusalem. He had given to Eustache of Sidon and Caesarea, a man who had married his niece, several church dependencies.²⁴⁸ As evil genius to Baldwin, he arranged the fraudulent marriage of the widow Adelaide of Sicily to the King in 1113. The widow of Roger of Sicily, Adelaide was wealthy and the kingdom of Jerusalem needed money. Through Arnulf, a marriage agreement was made between Adelaide and Baldwin. The fact that Baldwin had a wife living in Edessa was withheld from the countess.²⁴⁹ The fraudulent marriage was a great source of scandal in East and West.

Thus did the character and conduct of Arnulf cause dissension and scandal. The news of this reached the Pope in Rome. The situation seemed to be so serious that the pontiff dispatched Berengar of Orange to the East as his legate. Berengar listened to the complaints presented against Arnulf and deposed him. Arnulf at once took ship to appeal the case.²⁵⁰ The papal letter which reviews the evidence and gives the papal decision will complete the picture.

Writing from Piperno in July 19, 1116, Paschal addressed his decision to the bishops, abbots, priors, clergy, king, nobles and people of Jerusalem.²⁵¹ He acknowledges that he had heard rumours and reports from men, whose testimony was reliable, of the various scandals and disorders which had arisen in the Jerusalem church due to the conduct of Arnulf. He sent a legate to the East to deal with the problem. The legate heard Arnulf reproached for his low birth, for his unchastity, and for the fact that he had brought against the hierarchy of the Church the hostility of the monarch.²⁵² The Patriarch had been driven to Rome by all this trouble.²⁵³ It is important to mention that the Pope does not

refer at all to the deposition of Arnulf by the legate although it is fair to say that this is assumed throughout the letters.

The supporters of Arnulf, armed with letters from King and clergy, stress the disordered condition of the Church of Jerusalem, and appealing for apostolic mercy, request that a dispensation be given Arnulf and that he be kept in his see. Paschal acknowledged that he had kept the matter hanging fire for some time, hoping that the legate would return from the East to give a first hand report. On the other hand, the Patriarch and his supporters accuse the legate of acting on insufficient testimony and also ignoring Arnulf's right to appeal the decision of Rome.²⁵⁴ The legate had not appeared to bring further information. Therefore Paschal has taken counsel with his advisers, discussing the matter as far as they were able, considering what information they had to go on. Finally, Aschetinus of Bethlehen, Hu-h, abbot of St. Mary's in the valley of Jehosaphat, Arnulf, prior of the church of Mt. Sion, Peter and William, canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, who had journeyed to Rome to support the Patriarch, swore on the Gospels that for the sake of peace in the Jerusalem church, they chose Arnulf to be Patriarch freely, without any pressure from the King.²⁵⁵ Arnulf also has sworn that he is innocent of the imputed crimes. As for his birth, the Pope sets this aside, mindful of the great services which Arnulf had rendered the cause of the Crusade. Charity covers a multitude of sins. Arnulf was therefore restored to his see and given the pall which is his as metropolitan. He received the papal blessing, and the Pope commanded his church to render him due canonical obedience.²⁵⁶

At the close of the letter, Paschal orders the two women with

whom Arnulf had been implicated to be put away. Further Ebremar and his accomplices are disavowed by the pontiff.²⁵⁷ Arnulf returned to the Holy Land, there to possess his see until his death, 28 April, 1118.²⁵⁸

If we were to believe William of Tyre, Arnulf regained his see through liberal bribery and a smooth tongue.²⁵⁹ That Arnulf was a clever speaker cannot be doubted. As for the charge of bribery, this was the common charge of men of the twelfth century when cases presented to Rome for a decision did not go according to their wishes. Besides, Tyre had little love for the Papacy.²⁶⁰

In reviewing the incident, we see once again the difficulties which the Papacy constantly faced in the settling of matters of discipline at such a distance from the scene of the dispute. The dependency of the Pope on the action of the legate is clearly marked. Equally marked is that the Papacy as often as not during our investigations disavowed the decisions of its legates. Further this event is but another example of the Papacy's determination to deal with the situation in a way at once canonical and yet adapted to the situation at hand. The troubles of the Jerusalem church and the obvious value of Arnulf to the cause, led Paschal to waive the matter of his parentage. As for his unchastity, although the papal letter gives us reason to believe that there were ample grounds for the charge, the Pope accepted Arnulf's protestations of innocence. In this, and in the decision to retain Arnulf, Paschal commands our admiration.

However there are more significant things to be discussed. In reviewing the history of the Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem we see an instructive pattern. Daimbert's reign was stormy because of his ambition which would have reduced to a name the temporal power

in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. He was replaced by Ebremar who showed no interest in continuing such policies. Ebremar was unseated either because, we conjectured, he proved to be a stronger leader than was to the taste of Arnulf who as archdeacon wished to rule the Church through a weak patriarch or he proved such a nonentity as to be undesirable. Gibelin restored peace and harmony, apparently by respecting the power of the Crown and even more through an honest desire to bring peace and order to the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers in Jerusalem. Arnulf, who throughout this period had shown himself the aider and abettor of the king, was sure to continue these policies.

Nonetheless, we must not forget that there had been in the Kingdom of Jerusalem from the start a group who thought that the ruling power should be primarily the spiritual power. These had appeared from time to time, ironically enough first in the hasty election of Arnulf in 1099, and then in the ambitions of Daimbert who, despite his unpopularity, had not been without support. It is possible that Ebremar may have developed these opinions during the course of his reign, and it may be suggested with even more certainty that after his deposition and removal to the see of Caesarea that he had seen in this wrong merely another illustration of the evil of temporal predominance exemplified by the Patriarch Arnulf. Hence he had conspired against Arnulf and led a party against him, accusing him of many crimes and especially of being the puppet of the king. Ebremar had gained the ear of the legate who then deposed Arnulf.

If there is any truth in this reconstruction, it is highly instructive that the Papacy, once assured that Arnulf was the choice

of the church as Patriarch, brushed his deposition aside. If the Papacy had desired a priest to rule in the East, this would have been the great opportunity to achieve such an aim through the removal of Arnulf, the former chancellor of the realm and the known confidant of Baldwin I. Paschal refused to do so once the canons of the Church had been satisfied as to Arnulf's election. Ebremer and his followers were set aside. The shortcomings of Arnulf, moral in character, were forgiven with true magnanimity.

Thus with the papal blessings, Arnulf and Baldwin were left in charge of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The partnership did not last very long. Baldwin died in the spring of 1118. The funeral was Palm Sunday, the 7th of April. The Patriarch, officiating at the rites for his master, seems to have been taken ill during the ceremony. His strength lasted long enough to anoint Baldwin II, but his illness proved to be fatal, c. 28 April 1118.²⁶¹ The collaboration of priest and monarch was unbroken, even in death.

6. The Controversy Between Antioch and Jerusalem.

We have discussed already the two papal letters which granted to the Jerusalem church all the lands and towns which the King of Jerusalem might recover from the infidel. We have hinted also that the evidence might lead us to feel that the Papacy was more interested in Jerusalem than in Antioch. For this we advanced some reasons, notably the greater importance of Jerusalem for Christendom, Antioch's uncertain status in regard to the Greek Empire and Church, and finally possible papal suspicion of Antioch because of its Petrine associations. A great deal of this was, of course, conjecture.

The papal indifference to Antioch appears subtly in the events of the year 1111. In this year, Paschal II was subjected to

the deepest humiliation at the hands of Henry V of Germany. This victory over the Church aroused much of the West to fury, and the papal legates busied themselves in arousing the Church to a rejection of these papal concessions which had been extorted by the Emperor of Germany. Such activities of the legates extended to the Holy Land. Cono, cardinal bishop of Palestrina, called upon the Jerusalem church to support Paschal against Henry, and the Church responded with the German's condemnation. Complete obedience and aid were promised to Paschal. What is significant is that the legate called upon the Jerusalem church for this display of support for Paschal. There is no indication that he visited Antioch for a similar purpose or that Antioch was called upon to join in the condemnation.²⁶²

In Antioch, the Patriarch was still Bernard of Valence, whom Bohemund had installed in 1100 to replace John IV.²⁶³ In the spiritual and temporal life of the Principality, the Patriarch had a great position, much as, it would seem, was accorded to the Patriarch of Jerusalem.²⁶⁴ Bernard worked well with Bohemund and Tancred. Here there was no question of the reaction of a church state with a prince-patriarch at the head of it although we shall see that in 1136 the Patriarch Ralph was to attempt such a creation.²⁶⁵ Here also the Prince had great influence in the apportionment of ecclesiastical benefices. In his turn, the Patriarch participated in all the political and military aspects of the Principality. We know already that he assisted in the ransoming of Bohemund. When treaties were accorded the Genoese and Pisans, we find his presence in the documents. He was often mediator between the many factions of the Principality.²⁶⁶

If Bernard proved to be the able collaborator with the aims and objections of the temporal power he also proved to be the organizer of the Latin patriarchate of Antioch. Wherever possible he consecrated new bishops, thus restoring the ecclesiastical fabric of the Church in Syria.²⁶⁷ What is more germane to our topic is that he wished to extend his jurisdiction to the churches which had once belonged to his see during the early days of Christianity. It was this which provoked him to reply to the papal decision in regard to the Church of Jerusalem.

When the report of the papal letters, granting to the Jerusalem church the conquests of Baldwin reached Antioch, Bernard seems to have complained to Rome. Bernard's reaction was a strong one, and the Papacy was forced to pacify the church of Antioch. This is the papal letter of 8 August 1112.

The letter opens significantly enough with the statement that while the ~~See~~ of the death of Peter is pre-eminent among all others, there has been heretofore a bond of strong affection between the ~~Sees~~ of Antioch and Rome since Peter rendered them both illustrious.²⁶⁸ The presence of the infidel has interfered with the unity which had existed between the two heads of the Church.²⁶⁹ However Antioch has been restored to Christian rule, and unity and love should unite Paschal and Bernard. Paschal does not intend to dishonour the Church of Antioch. The burden of the papal defence is to plead uncertainty as to the boundaries of parishes and the limits of dioceses and also confusion in regard to the names of cities and other places in the East. Paschal also urges his correspondent that he meant no malice towards the Church of Antioch but had acted only to preserve the peace between the churches of Antioch and Jerusalem.²⁷⁰



Thus many soft words were directed towards Bernard of Antioch. They were not enough. The Papacy had given no practical limit to the expansions of the Church of Jerusalem, assuming perhaps, and if so, greatly in error, that unanimity prevailed between the two Christian states in the East. The see of Antioch remained resentful and suspicious. Antioch was weak in comparison with the power and aggressiveness of Baldwin and Arnulf.

In February of 1113, Paschal held a synod in Benevento. The proceedings of the synod are lost to us. However, at the close of the sessions, there was a sudden interruption which is preserved for us by an eye-witness account written many years after the event. Two travel-stained emissaries arrived from the East, Pons, canon of the Church of Antioch and Roland, legate from the Patriarch.²⁷³ Prostrating themselves before the Pope, they asked that justice be done to the Prince of Antioch, Roger, and Bernard, Patriarch of Antioch. They accused Arnulf of Jerusalem and his royal master of usurping possessions which by right belonged to the Principality and Church of Antioch. They reminded the Pope of the vast extent of the Antioch patriarchate in the days before the infidel had conquered the East. Further, the legates may have claimed the support of Adhemar for their claim, as the notes indicate. Thus they asked for justice against the Patriarch and King of Jerusalem.²⁷⁴

Paschal again displayed his personal charm. He declared that while he was not used to giving such an important decision on such short notice, he was nonetheless aware of the great distance the legates had travelled and the even greater distance they had yet to go before they reached home. He repeated the decision of Urban and stated flatly that he could not alter the decree of his predecessor.

The legates, perhaps expecting more than this, were reduced to silence and soon departed.²⁷⁵

There is nothing in the evidence to indicate that the legates felt that Paschal had supported their plea. Quite the contrary. The decree of Urban at Clermont and the decree of Paschal had not taken into account the ancient patriarchal boundaries. Of course, the Papacy had some defence in that the ancient boundaries were confused by the long occupation by the infidel. Nonetheless, the Papacy realized now what the situation was and the basis for the protests of Antioch. A slight change in policy therefore can be noted in the following.

In the next month the Papacy tried to bring peace with a new letter to the Patriarch of Antioch.²⁷⁶ Again Bernard was exhorted not to be disturbed by what Paschal had written in 1111 to Jerusalem. He was asked to regard the inner meaning of the letter. Paschal explains his concession: whatever cities recovered from the infidel by Baldwin were to belong to him and the Jerusalem church, provided that their ancient standing in the organisation of dioceses was unknown. But if he recovered a church to which definite territories could be assigned, and whose limits and holdings had not been confused with the passage of time and the tyranny of the heathen, then these lands and see were to be apportioned in their ancient order. Therefore, if Baldwin captured a city which clearly belonged as of old to Antioch, then it should be surrendered to the Principality and Patriarch of Antioch. The letter closes with a statement of basic papal policy: the dignity of a church is not to be reduced for the sake of the power of princes; the power of a prince is not to be reduced for the sake of an ecclesiastical dignity.²⁷⁷ Thus

~~this~~ the Pope tried to repair the effects of his concession. All was now made to hang on whether or not a city's place in the diocesan organization of the East could be clearly determined. The original concession was thus being reduced in scope by closer definition.

A similar letter was directed to Baldwin of Jerusalem.²⁷⁸ Paschal informs him that the privilege which he had granted had disturbed the Patriarch of Antioch. The latter had complained that the Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the connivance of the King, had attacked the rights of churches which had in ancient times been under the jurisdiction of Antioch. The position of Antioch must be preserved. Such invasions must cease. Each church should enjoy the full use of territories belonging to it by right. The constitutions of the fathers are inviolable. Paschal closes repeating his basic policy which has been stated above. Departure from this would disturb the Church in the East, and the Papacy was therefore against such procedures.²⁷⁹

The letter to Baldwin is sharp in tone, and it is clear that Paschal was attempting to moderate the wrath of Antioch through re-definition and reconsideration of his original decree.²⁸⁰ The Papacy was in a difficult position. Urban II at Clermont had decreed that as the leaders of the expedition took lands from the infidel, the churches in those areas should pertain to their principalities. Not only this Paschal had granted to the Church of Jerusalem all land recovered by the King of Jerusalem. Neither Urban nor Paschal seem to have been aware of the fact that the extent of the lay power might not coincide with the ancient boundaries established between dioceses. Urban can be excused because

he had no precise plan formulated for the restoration of the ecclesiastical fabric in the East. He wished the fabric restored, and it is likely that he anticipated the establishment of the lay power in the East, but he was too wise to attempt to formulate a plan which would meet all contingencies. Paschal, as our studies show, gives every indication of having little precise information over the geography in the East. Further, the great distance reduced effective papal power considerably.²⁸¹ Thus the Papacy was confronted with the problem that arose out of the fact that in the fourth century, Antioch had been the great patriarchal see in Asia Minor, with far greater extent in jurisdiction than Jerusalem. In the twelfth century, Jerusalem was far stronger than Antioch and by arms and successful diplomacy had extended her suzerainty far into the ancient domains of the patriarchate of Antioch. Of course, Roger and Bernard of Antioch were determined to preserve the integrity of the patriarchate of Antioch for both religious and political reasons. Antioch would not forget how it had lost out to Jerusalem for the suzerainty of Tripoli.

We have noted before the deference which the Papacy had displayed towards the royal power in Jerusalem. In connection with the concession to Baldwin, the Papacy had been clearly following the lead of the King of Jerusalem and the Patriarch. The entire event illustrates once again the falsity of thinking that the kingdom of Jerusalem was a papal state. The rearrangement of the ancient diocese was presented to the Papacy as an ecclesiastical matter although it can hardly be claimed that the motives of Baldwin were purely religious and ecclesiastical. We have also suggested that Jerusalem was favoured by the Papacy for her greater significance,

for the uncertain status of Antioch in relation to the Greeks and because of a Roman fear that Antioch might some day resurrect the theory of an independent patriarchate, buttressed by the fact that Antioch ~~Antioch~~ had been Peter's first see. The actions of Iaschal show how little regard the Papacy had for the Eastern theory of the patriarchate. In fact, as this dissertation shall show, the attitude on the part of Rome towards Antioch did stimulate notions of independence and even of superiority in the minds of the Patriarch of Antioch.

On the other hand, Paschal saw that he had set aside the ancient boundaries in his donation to the Church of Jerusalem. When confronted with Bernard's protests, he retreated. Uncertain the Papacy tried to draw the teeth of the concession by re-definition, and yet the Pope would not rescind the decree of Urban nor would he withdraw his own decree. Perhaps Paschal was uncertain of treating Antioch as just another bishop of primatial rank. Certainly he was anxious to please the kingdom of Jerusalem and exalt the Holy City. Hence he tried a compromise. Neither the spiritual power nor the temporal power were to suffer at the hands of each other. Had the temporal powers in the East been in harmony and peace, had their military strength been equal, had the Patriarchs of the two great sees been men of moderation and not quite so intent upon the preservation of the integrity of their sees, the compromise formula of Paschal might have worked. However, it was to prove a resounding failure, and his successors stood, without compromise, behind the exaltation of the power of the Jerusalem patriarchate. The claims of Antioch were to be set aside completely. Antioch in its turn, refused to surrender its control of certain bishoprics awarded by

by papal decree to Jerusalem. Further, its patriarchs, despite one great humiliation, seem to have gone their own way, heedless of Rome, which continued its policy of favouring Jerusalem. All this shall be shown in the rest of this thesis.

7. The Hospital of St. John.

At the conclusion of this section, we should mention the foundation of the two great military orders which were to become one of the great factors in the crusade movements of Western Christendom.²⁸² The recipients of the gifts of the faithful and of the offerings of pilgrims, these two great foundations, along with other monastic foundations in the Latin Orient, were to grow in size and power until, as historians have described it, the Latin establishments of the East were to become "church-ridden states".²⁸³ A quick perusal of Röhrich's Regesta and of Delaville le Roulx's magnificent Cartulaire will reveal the rapid growth in wealth and power of the Orders of the Hospital and the Temple. We do not intend to give a history of the two orders.²⁸⁴ The first to appear in time was the Hospital. About the year 1070, the citizen merchants of Amalfi established, with the patronage of the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt, a monastery and convent, containing a small hostel for pilgrims, in Jerusalem. The establishment was dedicated to St. John the Almoner, Patriarch of Alexandria. The hostel itself, staffed by Benedictines from south Italy, was the recipient of gifts gathered by the Amalfi merchants on their travels. At the time of the capture of the city, Gerard, prior of the hospital, was in the army of the Crusaders. His courage and sanctity endeared him to the Latins and thus the Hospital became popular with crusaders and other pilgrims.²⁸⁵ Its possession and privileges began

to increase.²⁸⁶ Especially important are the exemptions from tithes which begin at this time.²⁸⁷

In 1113, the Papacy took cognizance of the rapid growth of the Order. At the request of Gerard, Paschal confirmed with apostolic authority the existence of the Hospital, taking it and its possessions, past, present and future, under the protection of Blessed Peter. Further, their various exemptions from local episcopal tithes were confirmed. Not only this, they were given the right to levy tithes on their own possessions where the local episcopate had exempted them from their own episcopal tithes. Gerard was declared Master of all their houses, in the East as well as in the West.²⁸⁸ Thus the process was begun which would eventually remove the Order from all local episcopal control, making it subject to the Pope alone.

Sometime about 1120, the Order underwent a profound change: it became military in character although the humanitarian note of its original foundation was never lost. This transformation was due in large part to the efforts of Raymond du Puy who had before him the example of the foundation of the Temple.

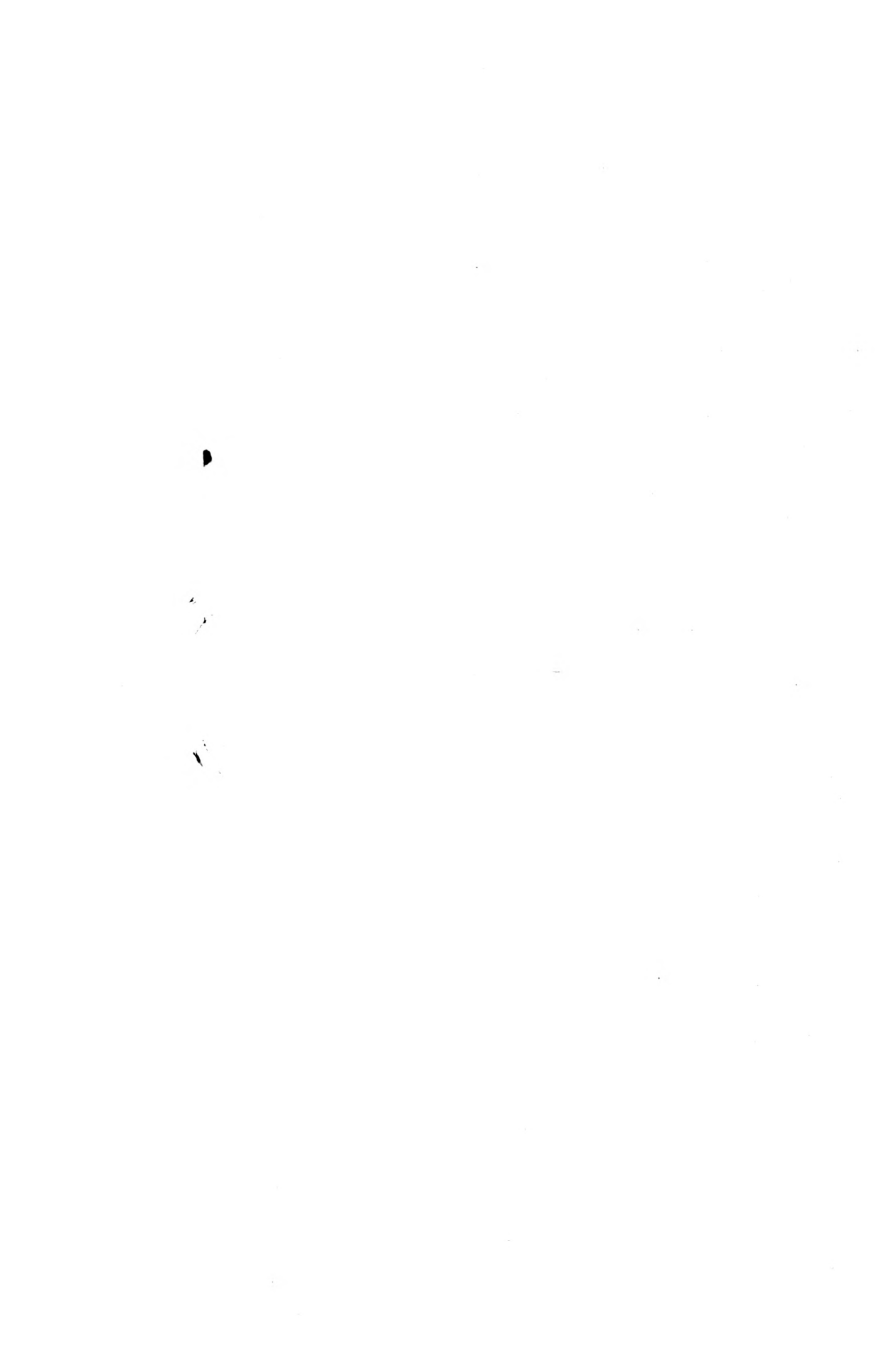
In the year 1118, Hugh of Payens and Godfrey of St. Omer and other knights vowed themselves before the Patriarch of Jerusalem that they would devote themselves to the service of God through protection of pilgrims by the patrol of the highways leading to Jerusalem. They also agreed to live as regular canons and were assigned a temporary dwelling in the royal palace, adjacent to the Temple. It is important to notice that this military order received the support of the crown, providing as it did a small standing army for the defence of the realm.²⁸⁹

Raymond, guided by this example and seeing well the need for a kind of police force serving the military intents of the realm and protecting the pilgrim routes to and from the Holy Places, guided the Hospital into this new military orientation.²⁹⁰ Both Orders were to prosper, as we shall see, under the patronage of the Papacy and others. The time would come when their great wealth and power would be such as to cause dissension and strife within the Church in the East.²⁹¹

FOOTNOTES:

1. The ecclesiastical history of the Latins in the East has yet to be written. For the occupants of the various Latin sees, the third volume of Michel Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, (Paris, 1740) is still indispensable. Then there are the lists compiled by Röhricht in his article "Syria Sacra", (Zeitschrift des deutschen Palastinaverains, X, 1887), pp. 1-43, and the well-known reference work, largely derived from Le Quien of P.B.Gams, Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae, (second edition, Leipzig, 1931). Of great value are the two articles of L. de Mas Latrie, "Les Patriarches Latins de Jérusalem" and "Les Patriarches Latins d'Antioche" (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I-II, 1893-1894); F.Kühn, Geschichte der ersten lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem, (Leipzig, 1886); E.Hampel, Untersuchungen über das lateinische Patriarchat von Jerusalem (1099-1118); Paul Riant, Etude sur l'Histoire de l'Eglise de Bethléem, (two volumes, Genoa, 1889-1896) and his "Eclaircissements sur quelques points de l'histoire de l'Eglise de Bethléem - Ascalon," (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I, 1893). See also E.G.Rey, Les Colonies Franques de Syrie, (Paris, 1883); the Marquis de Vogüé, Les Eglises de la Terre Sainte, (Paris, 1860); the edition by E.G.Rey of Du Cange's Les Familles d'Outre-Mer, (Paris, 1869).

For a working bibliography for this section, the following should be mentioned: M.W.Baldwin, "Ecclesiastical developments in the Twelfth Century Crusaders' State of Tripoli", (Catholic Historical Review, XXII, 1936-1937), pp. 149-171.; L.Bréhier, L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age: Les Croisades, (Paris, 1921); C.Cahen, La Syrie du Nord à l'Epoque des Croisades, (Paris, 1940); F.Chalandon, Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile, (two volumes, Paris, 1907) and the same author's Histoire de la Première Croisade, (Paris, 1925); C.W.David, Robert Curthose, (Cambridge, 1920); G.Dodu, Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques dans le Royaume Latin de Jérusalem, (Paris, 1894); R.Grousset, Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem, (three volumes, Paris, 1934-1936); J.Hansen, Das Problem eines Kirchenstaates in Jerusalem, (Luxembourg, 1928); A.C.Krey, The First Crusade, (Princeton, 1925); B.Kugler, Boemund und Tankred, Fürsten von Antiochen, (Tubingen, 1862) and Albert von Aachen, (Stuttgart, 1885); John La Monte, Fudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, (Cambridge, Mass., 1932) and "La Papauté et les Croisades", (Renaissance, II-III, 1945), pp. 154-167; B.Leib, Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIème siècle, (Paris, 1924); D.C.Munro, The Kingdom of the Crusaders, (New York, 1936); J.Richard, Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie Toulousaine, (Paris, 1945); S.Runciman, A History of the Crusades, (three volumes, Cambridge, 1952-1954); W.B.Stevenson, The Crusaders in the East, (Cambridge, 1907); M.Villey, La Croisade, (Paris, 1942). The fundamental survey of the Latin kingdom remains that of R.Röhricht, Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem, (Innsbruck, 1898). Indispensable also are the collection of documents by E.de Roziere, Cartulaire de l'Eglise du S.Sepulchre de Jérusalem, (Paris, 1849), printed also in PL,



155, cc. 1105-1262; this is not as complete as the Paris publication, and the chronological investigations of H. Hagenmeyer, "Chronologie de la Première Croisade et du royaume de Jérusalem", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, VI-XII, Paris, 1898-1911).

2. Fulcher, I, II, RHCOcc, III, p. 335 and Hag.Fulcher, p. 196, mentions four bishops in addition to Adhemar. For a survey of the activities of the clergy and an attempt to establish the list of bishops, see W. Porges, "The Clergy, the Poor, and the non-Combatants on the First Crusade", (Speculum, XXI, 1946), pp. 1-23.
3. See the letter of Urban to Flanders, Hag.Epistulae, p. 136. His office is referred to by the crusaders in their letter to Urban in September, 1098, Hag.Epistulae, p. 164. So also in the letter which Simeon of Jerusalem and Adhemar wrote to the faithful in the West, Hag.Epistulae, p. 141.
4. W.B. Stevenson, op.cit., p. 9.
5. Guibert, II, 5, RHCOcc, IV, p. 140 does not know his name. Albert, II, 20, RHCOcc, IV, p. 313 introduces Adhemar without assigning him the position of papal legate.
6. Gesta, X, Bréhier, p. 166, Hag.Gesta, p. 389; Orderie Vitalis has a most flattering description of Adhemar, IX, 2; III, p. 469.
7. Ibid., Bréhier, p. 166, Hag.Gesta, pp. 390-391.
8. For a vivid re-creation of his courage at Dory ^{LAECUM} ~~Lacon~~, see Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 186. For his action during the counter-siege of Antioch, see Albert, III, 52, RHCOcc, IV, p. 426.
9. Fulcher, I, 22, RHCOcc, III, p. 348, Hag.Fulcher, p. 252: "Qui, vir apostolicus, benigne semper populum confortabat et in Domino roborabat". Albert, II, 27, III, 32, RHCOcc, IV, pp. 320, 361.
10. This is illustrated by the oath which Adhemar compelled the leaders to take at Antioch.
11. Of this we have already spoken. See Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 252-253.

12. Typical expressions of grief are in the Gesta, X, Bréhier, p. 166, Hag.Gesta, p. 390; the letter of the crusaders to Urban in September, 1098, Hag.Epistulae, p. 164. See also Vitalis, IX, 12, III, pp. 574-575; Raymond, XIII, RHCocc., III, p. 262.
13. Basic account of William's activities is found in Caffaro, Liberatio, FSI, I, pp. 101-102. The Gallia Christiana, I, cc. 770-772 has a concise Vita. In his preaching he was accompanied by St. Hugh of Chateaufort. See AASS for 1 April, pp. 35-36. Urban sent them to Genoa in July, 1096. See Riant in AOL, I, pp. 119-120, Hag.Epistulae, pp. 307-308, n.39, and 411-412, n.27.
14. The author of the Vita in the Gallia Christiana stresses the close relationship, I, c. 771.
15. He took the cross at Clermont with Raymond and Adhemar.
16. The notable exception is the Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen who insists that the office passed at the command of Adhemar to Arnulf of Chocques. The stereotyped language makes this suspect. Ralph of Caen, XCIV, RHCocc., III, p. 673: "sic me doctrinae vobis quum papa ministrum tradidit Urbanus, sic vobis hunc ego trado". Tradidit Arnulfum, nulli hoc in agone secundum. "Filius hic, inquiet, meus est dilectus, in ipso est mihi complacitum, vos aures vertite ad ipsum". The language is not only too formal to be accurate, but also it is too redolent of the Vulgate to be accepted as authentic.
17. Hag.Epistulae, pp. 161-165.
18. For the legateship after the death of Adhemar, see Hag.Gesta, p. 391, n. 45.
19. Tyre, IX, 1, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 381, RHCocc., I, p. 365.
20. William died at Maara. Tyre, IX, 1, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 381, RHCocc., I, p. 365. This occurred December 1098 - January 1099. See Hag.Epistulae, p. 411, n. 27, when Hagenmeyer comments on the letter which Manassos of Rheims wrote to Lambert of Arles, requesting his prayers for the souls of Adhemar and the Bishop of Orange. See JL, 4710, 5561, which confirm the death of William in the East. See also Orderic Vitalis, IX, 13, III, p. 582, and Gesta, X, Bréhier, p. 173, Hag.Gesta, p. 409; Raymond, XX, RHCocc., III, p. 301.

21. Thus Arnulf led the three days fast before the walls of Jerusalem, Albert, VI, 8, RHCOcc., IV, p. 470. For additional material on Arnulf, see C.W.David, op.cit., pp. 217-220.
22. Concerning Peter, see Porges, op.cit., pp. 8-9, 23, n. 32.
23. Tyre introduces IX, 1, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 380-381, RHCOcc., I, p. 365. Krey-Babcock assign him the see of Matera and Acerenza. I think this is an error. Gams, op.cit., p. 843, who follows Ughelli, lists an Arnulf who held the see of Acerenza from 1066 to 1101, the dates being a trifle uncertain. Ughelli, Italia Sacra, (nine volumes, Rome, 1644-1662), VII, cc. 38 ff. Gregory used Arnulf in his dealings with the Normans. In the next century, when Acerenza was depopulated by war, Matera was given to the archiepiscopal see in order to provide it with a suitable cathedral. However, this is not our Arnulf who is listed by Ughelli, op.cit., IX, cc. 357 ff. There are other references which refer to a bishop of Marturana. Gesta, X, Brehier, p. 210, Hag.Gesta, p. 487; Tudebodus in RHCOcc., III, p. 112; Raymond, XX, RHCOcc., III, pp. 301-302; Ralph, CX, RHCOcc., III, p. 685. Gams, op.cit., p. 894, when listing Marturana bishops does not give Arnulf's name although the reference in Ughelli is clear. Hagenmeyer in his edition of the Gesta, p. 481, n. 14, identified Matera with Marturana as did Krey and Babcock. The churches are quite distinct.
24. A suggestion of Krey-Babcock, I, p. 380, n. 2. For Tyre's opinion see the reference already cited and also IX, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 384, RHCOcc., I, p. 369. Hagenmeyer, in n. 30, p. 487, of his edition of the Gesta, thinks that the name is suspicious, being too similar to Arnulf of Chocques, a priest and Norman whom our Arnulf tried to raise to the patriarchal throne of Jerusalem. I see, however, no reason to discount his name.
25. See the already cited references in Tyre to the activities of Arnulf during the patriarchal election in Jerusalem, and the testimony of Raymond, XX-XXI, RHCOcc., III, pp. 301-302.
26. A minor error by Krey and Babcock is briefly noted. In Tyre IX, 11, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 395, RHCOcc., I, p. 379, before the battle near Ascalon, the translators report that a bishop gave the blessing. We might suppose this to be Arnulf. Unfortunately, in the text of the RHCOcc., I, p. 379 the word "episcopi" is used. As for his disappearance, Brehier, in his edition of the Gesta, pp. 210-211, especially n. 5, p. 211, comments on the dispute surrounding his fate. Tyre, IX:12, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 397, RHCOcc., I, p. 382, reports his disappearance. He professes ignorance as to his fate but remarks that he was never seen again. Hag.Gesta, p. 488, nn. 33, and 35, tries to

elucidate the mystery without result. Baldric of Dol says that he was captured and sold into slavery and that he did not appear again. See Baldric, IV, 18, RHCOcc., IV, p. 107. The provincials expressed their hatred by remarking that his disappearance from the land of the living was a sign of divine vengeance. Raymond, XXI, RHCOcc., III, p. 302.

27. Bartolf of Nagis mentions his doubts concerning the Lance at Antioch, RHCOcc., III, p. 507. However, Ughelli, op.cit., VII, cc. 862-865 indicates his presence at the Bari council in October, 1098 and so does Mansi, XX, cc. 947 ff. The reference in Bartolf seems unreliable, his chronology being more confused than usual at this point. He knew that some important ecclesiastics had doubted the Lance, and I think, inserted the phrase "episcopus Barenensis". No other source mentions his presence. Therefore I cannot include him as a member of the original expedition. However, Hagenmeyer did. Hag. Fulcher, p. 196, n. 31.

28. Bernold, MGSS, V, pp. 466-467, says Otto returned from the East as schismatic as ever. H.Hagenmeyer, "Etude sur la Chronique de Zimmern", AOL, II, p. 22, lists him as present. So does the evidence collected in the Gallia Christiana, V, c. 796.

29. The see is Apt, not Agde as some have supposed. However, the identification is difficult. According to Gams, op.cit., p. 492, the bishop of Apt in 1095 was Isoard, succeeded by Bertrand in 1102. The Gallia Christiana, ~~op.cit.~~, I, cc. 356-357 gives pertinent information concerning Isoard but fails to mention his presence on the Crusade. A.C.Krey, in his The First Crusade, p. 201, thought it was Agde. The evidence in Gams, op.cit., p. 477 and in the Gallia Christiana, VI, cc. 673 ff, concerning the bishops of Agde makes this unlikely. The place name, given in Raymond, XIII, XVII, RHCOcc., III, pp. 265, 282, as "Attensis", makes Apt the more likely see.

30. Orderic Vitalis, VIII, 1, III, p. 266; Guibert, VII, 15, RHCOcc., IV, p. 232, and Gams, op.cit., p. 507.

31. Orderic Vitalis, IX, 3-4, X, 10, III, pp. 470, 493, IV p. 65. See C.W.David, op.cit., p. 223. We have no record of Gilbert's release from his vows by Urban II.

32. The basic account is in the AASS, 27 September, VII, p. 489-490. The account pictures the reformer and saint travelling by ship to the Holy Land and there assuming the life of a hermit until ordered by heavenly voices to return to the West. There are no circumstantial details which would support Forges' defence of the account's authenticity, claiming for the author of this Vita a critical ability which he does not possess. Forges, op.cit., p. 22, n. 15.

33. The AASS, 3 August, I, p. 238, account is faulty in chronology, the material there not being, as its author claimed, based on a contemporary account of Peter's life. Hag.Fulcher, p. 196, n. 30, accepts his presence. However, the deficiencies of this account in the Acta and the silence of the other documents is all but conclusive. See the critique of W. Holtzmann, "Studien zur Orientpolitik des Reformpapsttums und zur Entstehung des ersten Kreuzzuges", (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, XXII, 1924-1925), p. 171, nn. 3, 4, and Leib, op.cit., p. 84, n. 6.
34. The problem here is of such difficulty that it is difficult to know where to begin. In Hag.Epistulae, p. 156, we find Bohemund's Genoese privilege of 14 July, 1098. The first signature printed is "signum episcopi Adriani". RR, No. 12, prints "episcopus Adrianus". Hagenmeyer in his notes, p. 310, refused to identify the name. If the place name is Adria, Gams, op.cit., p. 652 lists a James who succeeded to the see in 1091, dying in 1104. Ughelli, op.cit. II, p. 397 confirms this, adding nothing of use to us. Thus, the investigation draws a blank at this point. There is another point of attack.

In the Gesta, I, Bréhier, p. 20, Hag.Gesta, pp. 154-155, we find the words "ot comes de Russinolo cum fratribus suis". This is found in a list of those who accompanied Bohemund to the East. The place-name could be Ronciglione, to the north-west of Rome, Rossano in Calabria, Rousillon in France, or finally Roscignolo near Salerno in Apulia. Considering the composition of Bohemund's army, the most likely possibilities are Rossano and Roscignolo in Apulia. (Löhricht, in his history of the First Crusade, p. 71, n. 4, could not decide).

But who were the count's brothers? In the Historia Sacri Belli, RHCoc., III, p. 176, we find this later version of the Gesta, "Goffridus, comes de Rossilione, et episcopus, et Girardus frater ejus, et episcopus de Ariano". The author reports the death of the bishop of "Rossilione" later on before the walls of Antioch, RHCoc., III, p. 189. There he is described as "honestissimus et prudentissimus". The passage was used by Peter the Deacon in the Cassino chronicle, MGSS, VII, p. 766 and by Vitalis, IX, 4, III, p. 487. Their report is "Goffridus comes de Ruscilione, et episcopus, et Girardus frater ejus, episcopus de Ariano". Le Prevost said that at this point in Vitalis that the text was corrupt and should be read "Goffridus, comes de Rossilione, et Girardus, frater ejus, episcopus de Ariano".

Unfortunately, the Gesta implies he had two brothers. It seems safer to say that there was a bishop of Roscignolo who went to the East with his brother, the count of Roscignolo. His name is uncertain. Further, there was another brother named Gerard who was bishop of Ariano.

At this time, according to Gams, op.cit., p. 917, Rossano had no bishop since the city had been completely disrupted by the Saracen invasions of many years before. See Ughelli, op.cit., IX, p. 379. As for Roscinolo, while it seems the most likely, I can find little information concerning it since it is not listed in Gams.

Ariano is different, Gams, op.cit., p. 852, tells us that Sarulus held the see from 1082 to 1097 and that Gerard came to the chair in 1098. Ughelli, op.cit., VIII, p. 302, says that in 1098 Gerard of Ariano with his brother, the count of "Ruscillione", went to the Holy Land with other distinguished men.

Here the date 1098 brings difficulties. However, Ughelli was not clear as to the termination of Sarulus' episcopate. Fulcher, I, 33, RHCOcc., III, p. 365, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 326-328, refers to a bishop from Apulia who was with Bohemund, Daimbert and Baldwin at Laodicea in November, 1099, accompanying these persons to Jerusalem. ".....conque Gibellum transissemus, Boamundum in tentoriis suis hospitatum ante oppidum quoddam, Valenium nominatum, adsecuti sumus. erat cum eo archiepiscopus quidam Pisanus, nomine Daibertus, qui cum quibusdam Tuscis et Italis Laodiciae portui navigans applicuerat, et ibi nos expectabant, nobiscum ituri. aderatque quidam episcopus de Apulia, cum domno Balduino erat tertius".

Tyre, IX, 14, RHCOcc., I, p. 386, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 401 picked up this account, altering it so that it looks as if the bishop from Ariano in Apulia had arrived in the East with Daimbert: "Applicaverant autem per eosdem dies apud Laodiceam Syriae homines de Italia, inter quos erat vir literatus et prudens, religiosus quoque valde et honestatis amicus, dominus Daimbertus, Pisanorum archiepiscopus; quidam quoque de Apulia episcopus Arianensis". Guibert, VII, 39, RHCOcc., IV, p. 255, knows only of the presence of a bishop from Apulia in Laodicea. Hagenmeyer in his edition of Fulcher left the problem undecided.

If it were true that the bishop had come west with Daimbert, we would have to set aside the reports in the Historia belli sacri, Peter the Deacon, Vitalis, and leave unidentified the brothers of the count of Roscignolo in the Gesta. Of course we could allow that Gerard had let his brothers, the count and the bishop, go on without him, eventually joining Daimbert at some undetermined point during the Pisan voyage to the East. However if this were so, then we cannot identify the "episcopus Adrianus" of the donation with the "episcopus de Ariano". This identification I think we are justified in making. Therefore I am inclined to think that Gerard was in the East long before the arrival of Daimbert at Laodicea.

I incline to the easier reconstruction: the count of Roscinolo, his brothers, the bishop of Roscignolo and Gerard, bishop of Ariano, went to the East with Bohemund in 1096. The first two fell before the walls of Antioch. Gerard, not alone, stayed with Bohemund and signed the Genoese privilege. So far we have

set aside only the uncertain evidence of Ughelli who thought that Gerard became bishop in 1098. We have also chosen the account of Peter the Deacon as a middle road between the account of the Historia belli sacri and Le Prevost's somewhat arbitrary suggested emendation to the text of Vitalis. Further we have dropped the "d" from "episcopus Adrianus" on the charter as printed by Hagenmeyer. Finally we read Fulcher in such a way as to indicate that Gerard was merely one of the group at Laodicea and that he had not come to the East with Daimbert. Tyre has performed here a skilful conflation, adding the name Gerard, locating his see at Ariano, adding from Fulcher the general locale of Apulia, and interpreting Fulcher in such a way as to make him the companion of Daimbert.

Hence the conclusion in the text to include a bishop of Roscignolo and Gerard of Ariano in our episcopal list. However, the difficulties in this identification are plain. I find some comfort in that Rühricht, Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, p. 71, n. 15 agrees with my final conclusion.

35. Hag.Fulcher, p. 196, n. 30, and pp. 327-328, n. 24 and Porgas, op.cit., pp. 21-23 do not attempt to solve the problems of identification.
36. For the indigenous populations, see Hag.Gesta, p. 244, n. 19 and Hag.Fulcher, p. 368. Tyre has an excellent picture of the reception given to the crusaders, VIII, 21, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 373-374, RHCOcc., I, pp. 356-357.
37. Tyre, IV, 7, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 196, RHCOcc., I, pp. 161-162.
38. Albert has a picture of religious harmony, V, 1, RHCOcc., IV, p. 433, existing at first in Antioch. Matthew of Edessa also indicates close harmony existing at this time, RHCarmen, I, pp. 45, 52, 54-55, 70-71.
39. Gesta, X, Bréhier, p. 210, Hag.Gesta, p. 439, and Fulcher, II, 5, RHCOcc., III, p. 378, Hag.Fulcher, p. 368.
40. Fulcher, III, 18, RHCOcc., III, p. 451, Hag.Fulcher, p. 665.
41. Ekkehard, XX, RHCOcc., V, 1, p. 27; Albert VII, 21, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 520-521.
42. P.K.Hitti, A History of the Arabs, (London, 1937) pp. 352-356.
43. Dana C.Munro, "The Speech of Pope Urban II at Clermont", (American Historical Review, XI, 1906), pp. 231-242, here, pp. 239, 242.

44. The evidence here is of the greatest importance. The decree as preserved in Pflugk-Harttung, Acta, II, p. 205, and as summarised by RR, No. 72, may be as follows: "Urbanum II in concilio illo Claromontano decrevisse, ut quicunque principes provincias vel civitates gentilibus cepissent, eliminatis gentium ritibus, eorum principatibus ecclesiae restitutae pertinerent". Fulcher has another version: "Nam in concilio Alvernensi tam authentico et nominatissimo constitutum unanimi adsensu fuit, ut quaecumque civitas, mari magno transito, a paganorum posset executi iugo, sine contradictione perenniter obtineretur". Fulcher, III, 34, RHCOcc., III, p. 466, Hag. Fulcher, pp. 740-741. The former stresses more the proper re-establishment of the churches although it assumes the sense of Fulcher, i.e. that the Pope promised to the victors their due share in the spoils, the erection of their own principalities in the East. This evidence will be analysed at a later point in the thesis in another connection.
45. While, once again complete evidence is lacking, I cannot but agree with W.B.Stevenson, op.cit., p. 10 who states flatly that the goal of the first crusade was the establishment of the Latin power in Syria-Palestine.
46. Fulcher adds to the above quotation that the decree of Clermont was confirmed at Antioch: "hoc etiam in Antiocheno concilio, episcopo Podiensi magistrante, replicatum et concessum ab omnibus est". Fulcher, III, 34, RHCOcc., III, p. 466, Hag. Fulcher, p. 741. As the report stands in Fulcher, we can accept it. However, we shall see that this was emended in later years to suit the purposes of the Patriarch of Antioch.
47. A.Fliche, La Réforme Grégorienne et la Reconquête Chrétienne, (1057-1123), (volume VIII of Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, edited by A.Fliche, V.Martin, and E.Jarry, Paris, 1950) pp. 287-288, 297-298. Fliche, p. 500, contends that Adhemar's death ruined the papal plan to extend its suzerainty in the East. This work will be referred to as Fliche, Histoire, VIII.
48. A.Fliche, History VIII, pp. 114-116, 124. See Villey, op.cit., pp. 56 ff.
49. See La Monte's judgments on this point, in support of my own views, "La Papauté", pp. 158-159.
50. The letter which the crusaders wrote in July, 1098, to the faithful shows this. Hag.Epistulae, pp. 153-155; AOL, I, No. 107, pp. 175-176.

51. On John, see LeQuien, Oriens Christianus, II, cc. 756-757. Albert, V, 1, RHCOcc., IV, p. 433. See Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 237. Albert gives us a picture of perfect unanimity between the Greek and Latin clergy at the ceremonies of purification and restoration of the basilica of St. Peter. Because of this, we cannot think of this ceremony as a "reconciliation" of Antioch to Rome. Probably, Adhemar and John regarded each other as schismatics, not heretics. However, at this stage the problem had not yet become acute.
52. Raymond, XI, RHCOcc., III, pp. 255-256; Gesta, IX, Bréhier, pp. 128-132, Hag.Gesta, pp. 335-341.
53. Raymond, XIII, RHCOcc., III, pp. 262-264. Peter hated Adhemar for his scepticism over the Lance and thus attacked his ecclesiastical policies. Part of these antagonisms grew out of the fact that the crusaders' sufferings had been exploited by the natives, viz., the ruinous food prices during the siege of Antioch, Baldric, II, 12, RHCOcc., IV, p. 43 and Guibert, IV, 5, RHCOcc., IV, p. 172.
54. The charters, Hag.Epistulae, pp. 155-156.
55. Hag.Epistulae, pp. 161-165; ACL, I, No. 146, pp. 151-183.
56. Hag.Epistulae, p. 164: "...et ita Dominus noster Jesus Christus totam civitatem Antiochiam Romanae religioni ac fidei mancipavit".
57. Hag.Epistulae, p. 164.
58. Hag.Epistulae, p. 165.
59. Kemal ad-Din, in the RHCOr., III, p. 577; Michael the Syrian, II, pp. 412-413. For the Latins and the Armenians, Every, The Byzantine Patriarchate, (London, 1947), pp. 180-181.
60. Tyre, VI, 23, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 297, RHCOcc., I, pp. 274-275. No names survive of these bishops. Nor is there any reason to suppose he consecrated the new Latin bishops.
61. Every, op.cit., p. 164, suggests that a double patriarchate was in view, one for Greeks and another for Latins. There is no evidence at all for this. The consecration of the bishop of Albara no doubt showed John that eventually he would be the only Greek in the patriarchate of Antioch. So also the

consecrations, arranged by Bohemund, on Christmas Day, 1099. Vitalis, X, 23, IV, pp. 141-142, has a somewhat garbled story: John refused to sanction the Latin rite. When Bohemund was captured, the populace accused him of planning to deliver the city to the Emperor. John left to become a hermit. Bohemund in prison is delighted and nominates Bernard of Arethusia to the see. We can accept the charge of treason as a malicious rumour in circulation against John but little else of the account. Tyre, VI, 23, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 297, RHCocc., I, p. 274 glosses over the affair, declaring that John resigned his see voluntarily and left the city. Tyre was, of course, anxious to prove the legitimacy of the Latin patriarchal line in Antioch. John left under pressure, if not actual force. Further it should be said that John resigned his see in Constantinople. See Leib, "Deux Inédits Byzantines sur les Azymites au debut du XII^e siecle", (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, II, 3, No. 9, Rome, 1924), pp. 59-69 and V. Benechewitch, Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Graecorum qui ui Monasterio S. Catharinae in Monte Sinai Asservantur (St. Petersburg, 1911), p. 279 and V. Grumel, "Les Patriarches d'Antioch du nom de Jiau", (Echos d'Orient, XXXII, 1930), pp. 286-298.

62. Cahen, op.cit., pp. 187-188 on the diversified religious structure of Antioch.
63. Cahen, op.cit., pp. 331-334 ff.
64. The letter which Bohemund wrote to Paschal in 1106 hints of this. See Holtzmann's edition of this in the Neues Archiv, I, (1935) p. 280. This letter will be discussed later in greater detail.
65. Gesta, X, Bréhier, pp. 166-168, Hag.Gesta, pp. 393-394; Raymond, XIV, RHCocc., III, p. 266; Baldric, II, 23, RHCocc., IV, p. 83; Guibert, VI, 14, RHCocc., IV, p. 210; Vitalis, IX, 12, III, pp. 575-576. He was elevated to the archiepiscopal see c. 1112. Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", p. 11; Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 316.
66. Raymond, XIV, RHCocc., III, p. 266, says this explicitly: "atque Deo multas gratias protulit, quod episcopum Romanum in orientali Ecclesia habere voluit, per sui administrationem".
67. L.de MasLatrie, "Les Patriarches Latins d'Antioche", pp. 192-193, suggests that he was consecrated by Bernard of Arethusia. However, Bernard was not consecrated by this time. Every, op.cit., p. 163 and Bréhier, in the Gesta, n. 3, pp. 168-169, say that he was consecrated by John. So does Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 257.

68. Gesta, X, Bréhier, p. 192, Hag.Gesta, pp. 446, 448, nn. 22-27; Raymond, XIX, RHCocc., III, p. 292; Albert, V, 42, RHCocc., IV, p. 461. Also Le Quien, op.cit., III, c. 1271. Fulcher, I, 25, RHCocc., III, Hag.Fulcher, p. 277; Hagenmeyer, Chronologie, No. 382.

69. Orderic Vitalis, IX, 14, III, p. 595 knows of the event and remarks in this connection that the crusaders did as Urban had ordered. Once again we remain in doubt concerning the bishop's consecrators.

70. On the capture of Bethlehem, Raymond, XX, RHCocc., III, p. 295; Albert, V, 44-45, RHCocc., IV, pp. 461-462 and Fulcher, I, 25, RHCocc., III, ^{pp. 354-355} and Hag.Fulcher, pp. 278-281. The great study of Riant on the church of Bethlehem has already been cited. See I, pp. 11-12 for his comment on this event. In volume II, p. 75, Riant discusses these monks and in his article "Eclaircissements", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I, 1893), p. 497.

71. William of Tyre, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 297, n. 16.

72. Hag.Epistulae, pp. 164-165.

73. Porges, op.cit., p. 5, agrees.

74. Albert, I, 2, 3, 5, VI, 39; RHCocc., IV, pp. 271-273, 489; Anonymi Rhenani Historia, RHCocc., V, II, p. 439; Le Quien, op.cit., II, cc. 498-500; the De Reliquiis of the Monachus Scaphusensis, RHCocc., V, I, pp. 336-337.

75. When Simeon left Jerusalem is uncertain. Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 78 says he left in 1095 due to disorders in the city. His evidence for this assertion is not clear. I would rely on the evidence of the Monachus Scaphusensis, RHCocc., V, I, pp. 336-337. Also Tyre, VIII, 23, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 376-377 and RHCocc., I, pp. 359-360.

76. We should not forget that Simeon was definitely opposed to certain elements of Latin Christian faith and practise.

77. Albert, VI, 39, RHCocc., IV, p. 489. He died probably at the time of the siege of the city. Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 288; Every, op.cit., p. 159. Mansi XX, cc. 1103-1114 mentions his presence at a synod in Constantinople. However this should be dated prior to the First Crusade.

78. It might be said that Runciman assumes too easily that Simeon would have been restored. Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 290-291. We are uncertain as to the exact date of his death and whether or not the news of this event had reached Jerusalem at this time. None of the eyewitness sources, the Gesta, Raymond and Fulcher, report his death, nor do these indicate that the crusaders gave his claims a moment's thought. We should remember also that John had been on the ground when the question of restoration came up in Antioch. Simeon was not.
79. Tyre, IX, 1, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 379, RHCocc., I, pp. 364-365. Raymond agrees, XX, RHCocc., III, p. 301. Fulcher, I, 30, RHCocc., III, p. 361, Hug.Fulcher, p. 308 says that the crusaders wished to wait upon the wishes of the Roman Pope. This is incorrect if only in that they eventually chose Arnulf as patriarch. Further, the usual procedure would have been an election and then confirmation from Rome. However, it may be that Fulcher is reporting a suggestion which became current during the intrigues surrounding the enthronement of Arnulf as patriarch. Such a procedure would be proper in the case of a disputed election.
80. Tyre, IX, 1, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 379-381, RHCocc., I, pp. 564-566. William strongly disapproved of the action, ascribing it to spiritual pride. William's account is based on Raymond, XX-XXI, RHCocc., III, pp. 301-302. It is clear that there were two factions among the clergy, one headed by the bishop of Albara and the other by Marturana. Krey-Babcock, I, p. 380, n. 1 claim that it is difficult to know which group wished the patriarchal election to take place first. Raymond, p. 302, explicitly declares that Marturana was the "incentor and administrator" of the entire matter. True, Raymond does not think much of Albara, p. 301, "Sic itaque bonis sublati, humiliter se clerus agebat, praeter episcopus Albariensem et alios quosdam". This may mean that Albara and others were behaving arrogantly. Or it may mean that, with Adhemar and William gone, the clergy pursued a more insignificant role, with the exception of Albara and others. Tyre interpreted Raymond this way, praising Albara, op.cit. However, it should be pointed out that Raymond had no love for Albara who betrayed the count of Toulouse, XX, RHCocc., III, p. 301. Further, Krey-Babcock point out that Arnulf of Chocques did not believe in the independence or superiority of the spiritual power as we shall show. Therefore, Arnulf being Marturana's protege, we cannot ascribe to the latter the initiative in demanding a patriarchal election before the temporal election. Raymond's witness, however, is clear and we are forced to conclude that the clerical party which demanded the priority of spiritual concerns, was merely the creation of the ambitions of Marturana. That it was merely a matter of personal ambition and not of principle is illustrated by Arnulf's subsequent actions as the sustainer of the temporal power in Jerusalem. Further, Raymond's account reveals the importance of the factions in all of this. The Provençals were against Arnulf as Raymond's

slandrous reports show: XXI, RHCOcc., III, p. 302 where Arnulf's immoralities are described as subject material for bawdy songs. We remember also, in connection with the above argument that Albara was the creation of the Provencals and thus was spokesman for their hatred for the Flemings and Normans who supported Arnulf and were opposed to Raymond of Toulouse's election to the position of temporal ruler in Jerusalem, Raymond, XX, RHCOcc., IV, p. 301.

81. Tyre, IX, 1, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 380-381, RHCOcc., I, pp. 365-366.

82. Raymond hated him, XXI, RHCOcc., III, p. 302. The Gesta speaks of him in the most flattering terms, X, Bréhier, p. 208, Hag. Gesta, pp. 481-482. Albert, VI, 8, 39, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 470, 489 is most favourable as to his eloquence and learning, for his ability to inspire the crusaders. So also, Guibert, VII, 15, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 231 ff, who has a long biography, and Baldric, IV, 16, RHCOcc., IV, p. 105. His enemies spoke of his immorality, the fact that he was only a sub-deacon and, most of all, that he was a priest's son. Raymond probably hated him the most because he had doubted the authenticity of the Lance discovered at Antioch by the Provencals. It was Arnulf's doubts that had provoked Peter Bartholomew's tragic ordeal by fire. Raymond, XVII-XVIII, RHCOcc., III, pp. 279-288; Fulcher, I, 13, RHCOcc., III, pp. 238-241, Hag. Fulcher, pp. 235-241; Albert, V, 13, RHCOcc., IV, p. 452. For the bogus report of Adhemar's death bed commission, Ralph, XCIV, RHCOcc., III, p. 673. Ralph dedicated the Gesta Tancredi to Arnulf. For additional information on Arnulf, see C.W. David, op.cit., pp. 217-220; Hag. Epistulae, pp. 408-412; Hag. Gesta, pp. 478-481, the notes; Runcimen, op.cit., I, pp. 289-295.

83. Fulcher, I, 30, RHCOcc., III, pp. 361, Hag. Fulcher, pp. 307-308; Gesta, X, Bréhier, p. 206, Hag. Gesta, pp. 478 ff; Raymond, XX, RHCOcc., III, p. 301; Albert, VI, 33, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 485-486; Tyre IX, 2, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 382-383, RHCOcc., I, pp. 366-367. Caffaro says he was placed in "tutela et custodia", of the city, FSI, I, pp. 110-111. So also Ekkehard, XX, RHCOcc., V, I, p. 26. As for the title, it has been claimed by he adopted it because the Church was still the supreme force, Dodu, op.cit., p. 345, or even because he recognized the claim of the Papacy to Jerusalem as a state of the church, La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, p. 4 and Charles Moeller, "Godefroid de Bouillon et l'Avourie du Saint-Sépulchre" (Mélanges Godfried Kurth, Leipzig, 1908), pp. 3-23 passim. This question will be discussed shortly. However, it should be noted here that the sources do not support this contention, that Arnulf never posed as Godfrey's superior and finally that the status of Papal vassal did not prevent the use of the royal title. That Godfrey was assuming a responsibility, which can only be called royal, for the city is plain. The Gesta speaks

of the "principem civitatis" for the defence of the Christians and defeat of the Turks. Fulcher's phrase is "regni principem". Raymond used the word "regnum". Albert says: "dominium urbis et custodiam Dominici Sepulchri". Ernoul, much later, as with Tyre, ascribes his reluctance to assume the diadem to his piety, edited by L.de Mas Latrie, p. 5. This is repeated by Ivelin. See RHCLois, I, p. 22. Tyre has much pious material on Godfrey, IX, 2-11, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 381-395, RHCOcc., I, pp. 360-380.

84. Manasses' letter to Lambert of Arles speaks of his unanimous election, Hag.Epistulae, p. 176. Every, op.cit., p. 159, determined to prove his point that the crusaders regarded Simeon as the rightful Patriarch of Jerusalem, speaks of Arnulf as only an administrator. The evidence runs against this contention. Arnulf was chosen and enthroned patriarch, with or without the knowledge of Simeon's death in Cyprus.
85. Raymond, XXI, RHCOcc., III, p. 302; Tyre IX, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 384-385, RHCOcc., I, p. 369. Arnulf also wrote to Manasses of Rheims as Patriarch of Jerusalem. AOL, I, No. 139, pp. 198-199. See Röhricht, Geschichte des ersten Kruzz~~Pages~~, pp. 197-199.
86. Riant, Études, I, pp. 11-12; Raymond, XX, RHCOcc., III, p. 301.
87. Tyre, IX, 9, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 392, RHCOcc., I, pp. 376-377. Baldwin, who had come with Godfrey, became first Abbot and in 1101 first Latin archbishop of Caesarea. See Guibert, IV, 17, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 182-183; Porges, op.cit., p. 22, n. 10, Hag.Ekk., pp. 192-194, nn. 7-8; Hag.Fulcher, p. 405 - n. 4; Tyre IX, 9, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 392, n. 24.
88. Gerard, Abbot of Allerheiligen in Schaffhausen, was chosen first prior. Bernold, MGSS, V, p. 467. See Röhricht "Syria Sacra", p. 42.
89. Tyre, IX, 9, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 392, RHCOcc., I, pp. 376-377.
90. Riant, Études, I, pp. 11-12.
91. It is unfortunate that we have no monograph on Daimbert of Pisa. See Röhricht "Syria Sacra", p. 7.
92. For a list of those who accompanied Urban through France, Hag.Gesta, n. 10, p. 103. Albert refers to charges of speculation levelled at Daimbert during his Spanish legation. VII, 7, RHCOcc., IV, p. 512.

93. Albert, VI, 56, RHCocc., IV, p. 501, emphasizes that Daimbert raised a fleet upon hearing reports of Latin progress in the East. However the Annales Pisani show the Papal influence in all of this. RISS (new), VI, II, p. 7.
94. Hagenmeyer thought Daimbert was a legate: Hag.Epistulae, p. 372; Hag.Ekk, p. 185, n. 18; Hag.Fulcher, p. 327, n. 23. So also Fliche, History VIII, p. 489. Bernold, MGSS, V, p. 466, refers to him as "apostolica vice". The Gesta Triumphalia, RISS (new), VI, II, p. 89 does not make him a legate. Raymond, Albert, Tyre, Fulcher and Ralph do not refer to him as legate. Guibert, VII, 15, RHCocc., IV, p. 233 describes Daimbert as papal representative to succeed Adhemar. His account is rendered suspect in that Guibert says that Paschal appointed him to this office. Further, there is no surviving letter wherein Daimbert calls himself legate. See Hag.Epistulae, p. 168, the letter which Daimbert and the crusaders wrote to the Pope. One of the difficulties here is to determine when his fleet left Pisa and when the news of Adhemar's death reached Urban. That Urban, however, commanded the fleet to be raised is certain, Annales Pisani, RISS (new), VI, II, p. 7. Riant, AOL, I, No. 119, p. 188 was sure that Daimbert had been a papal legate since October - December, 1098. However, the Pisan fleet would have left before this, not daring to sail that late in the winter. For the battle with the Greeks, see Runciman, op.cit., I, pp. 299-300.
95. Anna held Daimbert responsible for these attacks, Alexiad, XI, 10, Dawes, pp. 292-295; Leib, III, pp. 41-46. The Annales Pisani, RISS, VI, II, p. 7 say the attack was undertaken to punish the Greeks who were accustomed to attack pilgrims, an interesting confirmation of our contention that friendly relations between East and West were threatened by a loss of friendliness towards Latin pilgrims on the part of the Greeks. It remains, however, only a thinly veiled excuse for Pisan aggression. Leib's contention, op.cit., p. 269, that Daimbert was given the legateship to bring religious peace between the churches seems to me to be overthrown by the fact that the fleet had probably left the West before Bari at which according to Leib he received this task and also by the fact of his hostility evidenced thereafter towards the Greeks. If our contention concerning the conciliatory role adopted by Urban towards the Greeks is correct, then it is all the more difficult to argue for Daimbert's legateship.
96. Alexiad, XI, 10, Dawes, p. 292, Leib, III, pp. 41-42; Albert, VI, 55, RHCocc., IV, pp. 500-501. Daimbert blamed Bohemund for his misrepresentation of the Greeks. Albert, VI, 57, RHCocc., IV, p. 502. For his mediatorial role, Albert, VI, 59, RHCocc., IV, pp. 503-504; Fulcher I, 33, RHCocc., III, pp. 364 ff, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 326 ff.

97. Bohemund had already secured the Genoese as of 14 July, 1098. For a thoughtful analysis of Genoese activities in the East during these early years, see C. Manfroni, "Le Relazioni fra Genova, L'Impero Bizantino e I Turchi", (Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, XXVIII, 1896), pp. 577-858, here, pp. 587 ff.

98. For their arrival in the city, see Albert, VII, 6-7, RHCOcc., IV, p. 511; Fulcher, I, 33, RHCOcc., III, p. 366, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 331-333; Tyre IX, 14, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 401, RHCOcc., I, pp. 386-387. On Bohemund and Daimbert, see Cahen, op.cit., pp. 223-224.

99. The letter may be found in FL, 163, cc. 448-451, the Annales S. Disibodi, MGSS, XVII, pp. 17-18 and Hag.Epistulae, pp. 167-174. The dating of the letter is difficult. September, 1099, is the best guess. The letter was circulated throughout Europe. RR, No. 29; AOL, I, No. 144, pp. 201-204.

100. For the departure of the Princes after the victory at Ascalon, Fulcher, I, 32, RHCOcc., III, pp. 363-364, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 318-322.

101. The doubts were inspired more by political considerations than by reverence for canonical rule.

102. The Translatio S. Nicolai, RHCOcc., V, I, p. 271.

103. In 1099 a large fleet left Venice under the doge John Michael and bishop Henry of Torcello. They wintered at Rhodes, sending legates to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Godfrey and others, announcing their assault upon Rhodes. They also clashed on their travels with the Pisans and stole the relics of Saint Nicolas from Myra. At Cyprus they met Raymond going to Constantinople and learned from him the desperate situation of the crusaders. See RR, No. 30, and AOL, I, No. 145, p. 204. From the Translatio we see that Alexius was hostile to their progress towards the Holy Land and that the Venetians defied him, led by their bishop. See chapters 4-7, RHCOcc., V, I, pp. 256-259 for their relations with Pisans and Greeks. Their letter to the princes is in chapter 5, ibid, p. 257. Godfrey's reply is AOL, I, No. 152, p. 210, dated 1 February, 1100. See also Dandolo, Chronicon, RISS (new), XII, I, pp. 221-223.

104. See Tyre, IX, 2, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 382, RHCOcc., I, pp. 366-367.

105. Unfortunately the details surrounding his removal are hidden from us. Ralph, CXL, RHCocc., III, p. 704 says that Arnulf was quite agreeable to this.
106. For the elevation of Daimbert to the patriarchal throne, see Fulcher, I, 33, RHCocc., III, p. 366, Hag.Fulcher, p. 333.
107. This we know from the letter which Daimbert wrote to Bohemund after the death of Godfrey. We shall discuss this letter later on. Other sources: Tudebodus, RHCocc., III, p. 226; Bartolf of Nangis, RHCocc., III, p. 519. See also Hag.Ekk., p. 199 and notes.
108. Tyre, IX, 15, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 403, RHCocc., I, p. 387.
109. Krey-Babcock, I, p. 403, n. 38.
110. Fulcher, III, 34, RHCocc., III, p. 466, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 741-742 and n. 36.
111. That Bohemund was primarily interested in the protection of his own principality is made plain by the fact that Baldwin did not do homage for Edessa.
112. His hostility to the Greek Patriarch of Antioch is implicit in this investiture.
113. Bohemund's Antioch coinage has on it the figure of St. Peter, similar to his Bari coinage, see G.Schlumberger, La Numismatique de l'Orient Latin, (Paris, 1878), p. 43, plate II, no. 4.
114. The lands were received from Daimbert as the vice-regent of God, not as papal representative.
115. Bernold is referring to these consecrations when he recorded Daimbert's activities in restoring the Eastern churches, MGSS, V, p. 466. For these consecrations see Ekkehard, Chronicon Universale, MGSS, VI, p. 218; Ekkehard, XX, RHCocc., V, I, p. 26; Ralph, CXL, RHCocc., III, p. 704. Also B. Kugler, Boemund und Tancred, p. 14.
116. See Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", p. 13.
117. Ibid, pp. 14, 16. See Ralph, CXL, RHCocc., III, p. 704.

118. Ibid, p. 3. Orderic Vitalis thought little of Bernard, describing him as illiterate and avaricious, X, 23, IV, p. 142. Le Quien, Oriens Christianus, III, c. 1190. Le Mas Latrie, "Les Patriarches Latins d'Antioche", pp. 192-193.

119. Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 306 says that Urban had envisaged such a donation. I have tried to argue against such suggestions.

120. JL 5835, from the Lateran. PL, 163, cc. 42-43, or better in Hag.Epistulae, pp. 178-179. RR, No. 29; AOL, I, No. 154, pp. 211-212.

121. "Vidimus Orientalem ecclesiam post longa captivitatis tempora magna iam ex parte ad antiquam libertatis gloriam redisse". Hag.Epistulae, p. 178.

122. "Plurima vobis per chartam et atramentum significare supersedemus, quoniam ex apostolicae sedis gremio carissimum fratrem Mauritium Portuensem episcopum destinamus, ut, qui per beati Petri vicarium, sanctae in Christo memoriae predecessorem nostrum Urbanum, tanti peregrinationem itineris adsumpsistis, beati Petri semper solatiis abunditis et quem fundamentum tanti operis habuistis, ----- ut ecclesiae, quam per vos Domini liberavit, seu liberaturus sit, ordinationi vigilanter immineat, si qua minus canonicis regulis apta reppererit, corrigat et in eisdem cum vestro auxilio plantanda plantet, aedificanda aedificet".

123. This is found in the letter to the Pisans written c. 15 August 1100, Hag.Epistulae, pp. 179-181. The pertinent section which praises Daimbert, p. 180: "---- quanta sollicitudine Daiberti fratris nostri, iam archiepiscopi vestri et nunc civitatis Hierusalem patriarchae, partibus et incremento favere contra reprobum hominem Arnulphum nomine, qui per simoniae labem in Hierosolymitanam sedem intrudere sese praesumebat".

124. Mauritius travelled with the Genoese fleet which left for the Holy Land, 1 August, 1100. Tyre X, 14, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 433-434, RHCOcc., I, p. 419; Caffarc, Liberatio, FSI, I, p. 113. For the treaty which resulted from this expedition in RR, no. 35.

125. Fulcher, II, 8, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 395-396, pp. 831-834. For the peaceful relations which ensued between the Christians see Matthew of Edessa's description of the Easter vigils of 1101 and 1115. The monks of the celebrated Greek monastery of St. Sabas would join the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in this service. The Greeks also were preserved in their possession



of the keys of the church of the Holy Sepulchre as an account of a Russian pilgrim in 1107 shows plainly. Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 86-87, n. 1. For the native Christian populations under Latin rule in the twelfth century, see Rey, Les Colonies Franques, pp. 75-94. The Orthodox retained some rights in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. See Runciman, op.cit., II, p. 322, n. 1, Rozière, Cartulaire, p. 177.

Hence Michael the Syrian's judgment, III, pp. 183, 222, that the Franks considered anyone Christian who venerated the cross. While one might have expected a superimposed unity in religion, this did not occur as long as, in Jerusalem, the Roman primacy was accepted. Bréhier, l'Eglise, p. 98.

126. Enunciated by Baldric, IV, 15, RHCOcc., IV, p. 104: "Regnum indiget sacerdotio; sacerdotium regno sustentandum et tutandum est."
127. Tyre explains the division of the city in regard to patriarchal revenues, IX, 16-18, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 403-408; RHCOcc., I, pp. 388-393.
128. It may be that Godfrey saw Palestine as a Church state, Munro, op.cit., p. 59 and La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, p. 4 following C.Moeller, "Godefroid se Bouillon et l'Avourie du Saint-Sepulchre", (Mélanges Godefroid Kurth, Liege, 1908). The latest defence of this interpretation is J.Hansen, op.cit.
129. He was short of manpower. See Albert, VII, 1, 6, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 507, 511; Ralph, CXXXIX, RHCOcc., III, pp. 703-704, agrees.
130. The lack of a fleet rendered useless the siege of the port, Arsuf, October - December, 1099, as Tyre explicitly states, IX, 19, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 409, RHCOcc., I, pp. 393-394. The Venetians did not arrive until June, 1100. See the Translatio S. Nicolai, RHCOcc., V, I, pp. 272-279 for their pact with Godfrey and Daimbert, the treaty, their assistance to the crusaders and their return to Venice in December, 1100. The treaty is RR, No. 31, with the fullest references. Also Heyd, op.cit., I, p. 136; Tafel-Thomas, I, pp. 64-65.
131. Hag. Ekk., p. 192, n. 6.
132. In his letter to Bohemund, Daimbert refers to the Jerusalem church as the highest dignity, as the mother of churches and the queen of nations, Tyre, X, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 419, RHCOcc., I, p. 405. However we cannot be too certain of Daimbert's attitude toward Rome.

133. Tyre, IX, 16, X, 4 Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 403-404, 419-421, RHCOcc., I, pp. 388-389, 405-406. See Kuhn, op.cit., pp. 34, 60-62, and the anonymous twelfth century chronicle quoted by Vogue, op.cit., p. 433, which supports the statement of Tyre.
134. For Godfrey's death, Tyre, IX, 23, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 413-14, RHCOcc., I, p. 399; Fulcher, I, 36, RHCOcc., III, pp. 369-370, Hag.Fulcher, p. 350 and Albert, VII, 21, RHCOcc., IV, p. 520.
135. La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, p. 204 ascribes this theocratic bent to Daimbert's Hildebrandine convictions. I find this more than doubtful, first in regard to La Monte's understanding of the Hildebrandine conception as the complete domination of the spiritual over the temporal and secondly in regard to Daimbert's own attitude towards his see's relation to Rome.
136. Tyre, X, 3, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 417-418, RHCOcc., I, pp. 403-404. Albert says that Godfrey's followers disobeyed the will of their master, acting upon the deathbed instructions of the duke himself, VII, 30, RHCOcc., IV, p. 526.
137. The letter's authenticity has been questioned. However, I should say that it is undoubtedly genuine although Tyre has expanded it through the inclusion of material concerning Daimbert's election and his dealings with Godfrey, material already presented by Tyre. However, the letter is authentic in basis. See Albert, VII, 27, RHCOcc., IV, p. 524, supports its existence. ~~Reinhold~~, RR, ~~Legenda~~, No. 32, has the references bearing on the controversy.
138. Tyre, X, 7, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 425, RHCOcc., I, pp. 410-411. Fulcher II, 1, RHCOcc., III, p. 373, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 352-353 represents Baldwin as the unanimous choice of the kingdom.
139. Fulcher, I, 35, RHCOcc., III, pp. 368-369, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 343-349.
140. Fulcher, II, 1f, has an account of the journey, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 352 ff., RHCOcc., III, pp. 373 ff.
141. Tyre, X, 7, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 425-426, RHCOcc., I, pp. 410-411.
142. Hag.Fulcher, p. 394, n. 2.

143. Tyre, X, 9, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 427-428, RHCOcc., I, p. 413; Fulcher, II, 6, RHCOcc., III, p. 382, Hag.Fulcher, p. 384; Albert, VII, 43, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 536-537; RR, No. 34.
144. Ekkehard, XXI, RHCOcc., V, I, pp. 27-28, reports his accession and vow to the Holy Sepulchre. Ekkehard is wrong, however, in reporting his coronation at the hands of the papal legate who had not yet arrived. As for the matter of homage to Daimbert, La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, pp. 5-6 and Runciman, op.cit., I, p. 326, say that Baldwin did perform homage. On what evidence they base this I cannot discover.
145. Krey-Babcock, I, p. 427, n. 20, suggest that Bethlehem was the scene of the coronation rather than Jerusalem because of Daimbert's claims. However, it would seem more likely that piety was the true motive here. See Fulcher, loc. cit.
146. If one were to believe the evidence of Caffaro, it was the Genoese who composed the many problems facing the Christians in the East. Caffaro, Liberatio, FSI, I, pp. 113-114. The Genoese, finding the Holy Land without king or prince, take counsel with Mauritius to call Baldwin to the throne. Baldwin in turn rewards them with privileges in Jerusalem, Joppa and elsewhere. Tancred they place in Antioch. Tancred confirms the privilege of Bohemund. See RR, No. 35; AOL, I, pp. 211-212 and the Caffaro, Annales, FSI, I, p. 5. The Annales incorrectly say that Mauritius crowned Baldwin.
147. For the treaty signed between Baldwin and the Genoese, Fulcher, II, 8, RHCOcc., III, p. 387, Hag.Fulcher, p. 397.
148. For the following, the account of Albert is used, not without certain corrections. Significantly, William, who admired Daimbert, suppresses all the investigations made by the legate of Daimbert's conduct. Caffaro, Annales, FSI, I, pp. 8-9, presents an overidealized picture of harmony between King, Patriarch and legate.
149. Albert, VII, 46-47, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 538-539. Albert is incorrect when he says that Mauritius was sent out to settle the dispute between King and Patriarch. Paschal's letter said nothing of this. Runciman, op.cit., II, p. 81 repeats Albert's error.
150. Albert, VII, 48, RHCOcc., IV, p. 539.
151. Albert, VII, 49, RHCOcc., IV, p. 540.

152. Ibid.
153. Albert, VII, 50, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 540-541.
154. Albert, VII, 51, RHCOcc., IV, p. 541.
155. For such expressions, see Caffaro, Annales, FSI, I, pp. 8-12.
156. Albert, VII, 54, RHCOcc., IV, p. 542.
157. Fulcher, II, 10, RHCOcc., III, pp. 390-391, Hag.Fulcher, p. 405. The new archbishop was Baldwin, abbot of St. Mary's in the valley of Jehosaphat. See Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", pp. 11-12.
158. Albert, VII, 54-56, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 543-544. Runciman, op. cit., II, pp. 74-75.
159. Baldwin needed the money for his soldiers. Albert, VII, 58, RHCOcc., IV, p. 545.
160. Ibid.
161. Albert, VII, 59, RHCOcc., IV, p. 546. It is plain from this chapter that Albert detested Daimbert and the legate, describing with malice the luxury in which the two prelates lived at this time.
162. Albert, VII, 60, RHCOcc., IV, p. 546-547. The substance of Daimbert's argument was the Pauline phrase, "qui altari serviunt, de altari vivant".
163. Ibid, p. 547: "Frater autem Mauricius ad invicem contendentes solummodo auscultabat; sed de pace et concordia illos amonebat".
164. Albert, VII, 61, RHCOcc., IV, p. 547.
165. Albert, VII, 62, RHCOcc., IV, p. 548.
166. Ibid.

167. Albert, VII, 63, RHCOcc., IV, p. 548.
168. Albert, IX, 14, RHCOcc., IV, p. 598. Runciman, History, II, p. 32, accepts this interpretation. However, the evidence is not clear.
- Caffaro, Annales, FSI, I, p. 13, gives their departure to the West as 24 July, 1101. It is not likely ~~that~~ Mauritius went with them.
169. See the attitude of Paschal to the Christian re-conquest, Tyre, XI, 28, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 509, RHCOcc., I, pp. 502-503.
170. See Tyre, XI, 12, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 481-483, RHCOcc., I, pp. 472-473.
171. For the decreasing significance of primates in the Western church at this time, see Fliche, Histoire VIII p. 85. D. Hayek, Le Droit Franc en Syrie, (Paris, 1925), p. 21 says that at the first the Church tried to make the Holy Land into a church principality ruled by a Patriarch representing the Holy see, having refused the lay ruler the title of king. I have tried to refute such judgments as this.
172. Tyre, X, 25, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 452, RHCOcc., I, p. 439.
173. Albert, VII, RHCOcc., IV, p. 550: "Timemus, Domine Rex, ne, ob discordiam quae inter te et domnum Patriarcham orta est, hodie nostris victoriae fiat impedimentum".
174. Ibid. The passage is of such interest as to merit complete quotation: "Recte, inquit, monuistis..... Patres et fratres in Christo carissimi, pastores et doctores peritissimi, iudicium mortis nobis praesto est; inimici innumerabiles obstant in arcu, in hastes, in gladiis fulmineis, quos penetrare et expugnare pro imperio Romanorum, pro regno Franciae et Angliae, non hodie apponerem, nisi gratia Domini nostri Ihesu Christi: de quibus manibus ipse sic me Dominus Deus eruat, non cum illo pacem componam, nisi primum coram Apostolico et omni Ecclesia de hac perfidia quam egit canonice fuerit expurgatus". I note in passing that Baldwin sees himself as the agent of all Christian Europe in the struggle against the heathen.
175. Albert, IX, 13, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 597-598.

176. Albert, IX, 14, RHCOcc., IV, p. 598. This suggestion that Baldwin summoned the legate is made on the basis of the oath reported above concerning the necessity of Daimbert's purging of himself before the Church and the Pope, Albert, VII, 66, RHCOcc., IV, 550. See Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 36, 82-83. Hag.Ekk., p. 389, v. 5, says that the legate arrived in the spring of 1103. This, I think, is incorrect since the first letter of Ebremer as Patriarch may be dated as early as 1 September, 1102. See RR, No. 40. The papal letter of December, 1107, which shall be discussed in detail, indicates that Paschal sent out Robert to settle the quarrel.
177. Albert, IX, 16, RHCOcc., IV, p. 599.
178. Albert, IX, 16, RHCOcc., IV, p. 599-600: "Alii hunc ex simonia, alii ex homicidio christianorum Graecorum, in insula Cephalii ejus instinctu a Genuensibus perpetrato, alii ex traditione regis Baldewini, quidam vero, ex pecunia et oblatione Fidelium subterrata, constantuer et obnixè criminati sunt." Albert's account is rendered suspect by the confusion of the Genoese with Pisans. What is perhaps more significant for us is that many considered the murder of Greeks a crime against Christendom.
179. Ibid. For further activities of Robert, see RR, No. 38. L. de Mas Latrie, "Les patriarches Latins de Jérusalem" (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I, 1893), p. 17 is incorrect in dating these events 1103-1104.
180. Tyre X, 25, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 452, RHCOcc., I, pp. 438-439 has an account of the deposition which omits to mention the synod, the papal legate and the charges preferred against the patriarch, laying all the blame on Arnulf for Daimbert's removal and also upon Baldwin.
181. For Ebremer, see Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", p. 7. Tyre, X, 26, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 452-453, RHCOcc., I, pp. 439-440. Tyre represents his election as due exclusively to the influence of Baldwin and Arnulf.
182. In this he was joined by Benedict of Edessa and Bernard of Antioch, Tyre, X, 29, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 456, RHCOcc., I, p. 444. The independence of Antioch's actions in regard to Daimbert is striking.
183. Tyre, X, 25 Krey-Babcock, I, p. 451, RHCOcc., I, p. 438. The negotiations over the ransom reveals the animosity existing among the Latin States. See Matthew of Edessa in the RHCArmen, I, pp. 69 ff. See Yewdale, op.cit., p. 96. The release of Bohemund is dated May, 1103.

/

184. Albert IX, 47, RHCOcc., IV, p. 620.
185. L. de Mas Latrie, "Les Patriarches Latins d'Antioch", p. 17.
186. A letter from Ebremar to his old diocesan and friend, Lambert of Arles, survives, RR, No. 42, dated 3 April, 1104, printed in PL 162, c. 677. Lambert's reply is PL 162, c. 677-678.
187. Albert, IX, 17, RHCOcc., IV, p. 600; Guibert, VII, 15, RHCOcc., IV, p. 233; Bartolf of Nangis, RHCOcc., III, p. 538, Tyre, X, 26, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 452-453, RHCOcc., I, p. 439. Tyre has rendered harsh judgments on his stupidity and ignorance. However, we must remember that he would not be favourably disposed towards the nominee of Arnulf and Baldwin.
188. I have already cited in another connection his letter as Patriarch dated 1 September, 1102, RR, No. 40, Rozière, Cartulaire, pp. 71-72, PL, 155, cc. 1129-1130. This concerns the constitution of prebends with rights and privileges in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is significant that Arnulf is singled out especially for a special grant of money, proof of Arnulf's power in the Jerusalem Church. See B.Kugler, Albert von Aachen, pp. 294, 355-358, Kühn, op.cit., pp. 33, 41-47, 69. Other references in Röhricht.
189. Albert, IX, 17, 28, 49, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 600, 607, 622-623. Fulcher, II, 31, III, 5-6, RHCOcc., III, pp. 411-413, 443-444; Hag.Fulcher, pp. 489-494, 629-633.
190. Fulcher, II, 26, RHCOcc., III, p. 408, Hag.Fulcher, p. 467. Tyre, XI, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 466-467, RHCOcc., I, p. 456-458. The papal letter, to which we shall refer shortly, explicitly states this.
191. See JL, I, p. 719. The dating here follows Rozière, Cartulaire, pp. 8-11. The papal letter to be discussed below will confirm this.
192. Tyre, XI, 4 Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 466-467, RHCOcc., I, pp. 456-458.
193. JL, 6175. PL, 163, cc. 230-232. "ob hoc praesertim quia Jerosolymita civitas - - est et in medio multarum posita nationum, quarum aliae Christianam fidem, aliae Latinae puritatis consuetudinem irridere conantur".



194. Ibid, c. 230: "Tunc profecto in eundem episcopum, quia defecisse iudicio videbatur, depositionis sententia data est".

195. Ibid, c. 230: "Interim apud vos Ebremarum novimus legati nostri favore ad regimen episcopatus electum".

196. Ibid, c. 230: "Caeterum frater ille, ad sedem apostolicam veniens, non defecisse, sed regio se fatebatur timore propulsum; apud nos itaque iudicium exsecutus est".

197. Fulcher, II, 26, RHCOcc., III, p. 408, Hag.Fulcher, p. 467; Tyre, XI, 1, 4 Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 461, 466-467; RHCOcc., I, pp. 451, 456-458. In the first report, Daimbert is pictured laying before the Pope the wicked plan of Baldwin to humiliate Holy Church. Baldwin's rather irregular married life was exhumed by Daimbert to win papal sympathy.

198. Ibid, c. 230.

199. Ibid, c. 230: "Caeterum antequam vobis sententia haec auctoritatis nostrae litteris insinueretur, confrater noster Daibertus, evocante Domino, ab hac luce subtractus est".

200. Tyre's chronology is quite inaccurate. He says that Daimbert had been Patriarch for four years, rather than less than three. In order to establish this, he reports that Daimbert waited for a long time at the papal court, unmindful of the two years that he spent at Antioch. Tyre, XI, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 466-467, RHCOcc., I, pp. 456-457. Fulcher declares, II, 26, RHCOcc., III, 408, Hag.Fulcher, p. 467: "ivit autem Daimbertus, ut causam suam et iniuriam sibi a rege factam Romano papae innotesceret, ivit et impetravit, sed non rediit, quia in via obiit". The Pisan chronicle, Riss (new), V, II, pp. 84, 102 reports his death XVII Kal. Iulii 1106 at Messina. Since this chronicler dates his chronology from the feast of the Annunciation, we may date his death 15 June, 1105. Gams, op.cit., p. 452, based on Le Quien, places it May-June, 1107. In favour of 15 June, 1107, we find Hag.Ekk., p. 388; Kühn, op.cit., p. 40-44; Riant in RHCOcc., V, II, p. 368, Dodu, op.cit., p. 355; Rohricht, GKJ, p. 70; L. de Mas Latrie, "Les Patriarches Latins de Jérusalem", p. 17; Runciman, op.cit., II, p. 84.

In agreement with the text are Hampel, op.cit., pp. 51 ff and Hag.Fulcher, p. 468. For Ebremar's trip to Rome see, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 467-468, nn. 7-9 and pp. 513-515. Further evidence for my argument can be found in consulting the papal itinerary for 1105-1107. According to JL, I, pp. 719-733,

Paschal was in Rome from February 1105 to February 1106. At that time he journeyed south to Benevento, Salerno and Ceprano, returning briefly to Rome in May 1106. In June 1106, he was already on his way to the North and eventually to France. He returned to Rome c. 15 November, 1107. Paschal states explicitly that he absolved Daimbert by synodical action at the Vatican. When this is taken with the Pope's statement as to the short lapse of time between the restoration and Daimbert's death, the date June 1107 becomes impossible. This leaves May-June 1106 as a possibility. This would mean that Daimbert was kept waiting for more than a year. This seems unlikely. Therefore, the decision of Kozière and Jaffé to place the papal restoration in 1105 seems the most likely.

201. Fulcher gives the date with certainty, II, 37, RHCOcc., III, p. 417 and Hag.Fulcher, pp. 512-514. Tyre, XI, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 467, RHCOcc., I, p. 457, knows of Ebremar's journey to the West. However, he knows nothing of the complaints made by Arnulf against him. However, Tyre is following Fulcher who knows nothing of this letter. Ebremar could not have left the Holy Land much before the summer of 1107, being present at the siege of Tyre early the same year, Albert, X, 3, RHCOcc., IV, p. 632.
202. Ibid, cc. 230 D.
203. Ibid, c. 230 D. - 231 A.
204. Ibid, c. 231 A.
205. Ibid, c. 231 B.
206. Ibid, c. 231 B.
207. The papal dilemma in this is clearly revealed in the letter, c. 231 C. Tyre confirms this indecisiveness, XI, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 467, RHCOcc., I, p. 457.
208. Ibid, c. 231 C-D.
209. According to Albert, X, 58-59, RHCOcc., IV, p. 658-659, in 1108, Ebremar returned from Rome where he had defended himself against Arnulf and Baldwin. Although the Pope orders his restoration, Baldwin would not admit him to the kingdom. Whereupon, Ebremar, for the sake of the Church, relinquished the patriarchate. As we know, his representation of the papal attitude is not accurate.

210. RR, No. 50 dates the synod held by Gibelin in the autumn of 1107. This is in direct contradiction to the papal letter, dated 4 December 1107 which announces the papal decision to send out a legate. L. de Mas Latrie stated 1107 as the date also, "Les Patriarches Latins de Jérusalem", p. 17.

211. The deposition of Ebremer and the election of Gibelin is recorded in Tyre, XI, 4, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 467-468, RHCOcc., I, pp. 457-458. As for Gibelin, we are uncertain when he became patriarch. Paschal II, JL 6287, PL 163, c. 282, announced his election to the people of Arles. The letter is dated 2 January 1111.

For some of his activities, see Mansi, XXI, cc. 71-72. I am inclined to think that his enthronement, like Ebremer's deposition, occurred in 1108. The papal letter might be explained in that perhaps either Gibelin waited until 1110 to seek confirmation at Rome or that it was overlong in coming. However, this is mere supposition. L. de Mas Latrie, "Les Patriarches Latins de Jérusalem", p. 17, said 1107. Hag. Epistulae, p. 411 and Hag. Gesta, p. 482, in the notes agree. However, Hagenmeyer was not so sure in his edition of Fulcher, p. 743, n. 3, dating it 1108-1109. In agreement with my date is Riant, "Eclaircissements", (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I, 1893), p. 142 who defends the date as spring, 1108.

212. The archiepiscopal see of Caesarea was vacant although we do not know the date of Baldwin's death.

213. For the relations between the crown and the clergy, see Dodu, op.cit., pp. 307-360; La Monte, op.cit., pp. 203-216.

214. The Assizes of Jerusalem are edited by Count Beugnot in two volumes, (Paris 1841-1843) and published in the Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, hereafter abbreviated RHCLois. For description of these sources, La Monte, op.cit., Appendix F and M, Grandclaude, Etude critique sur les Livres des Assises de Jérusalem, (Paris, 1923).

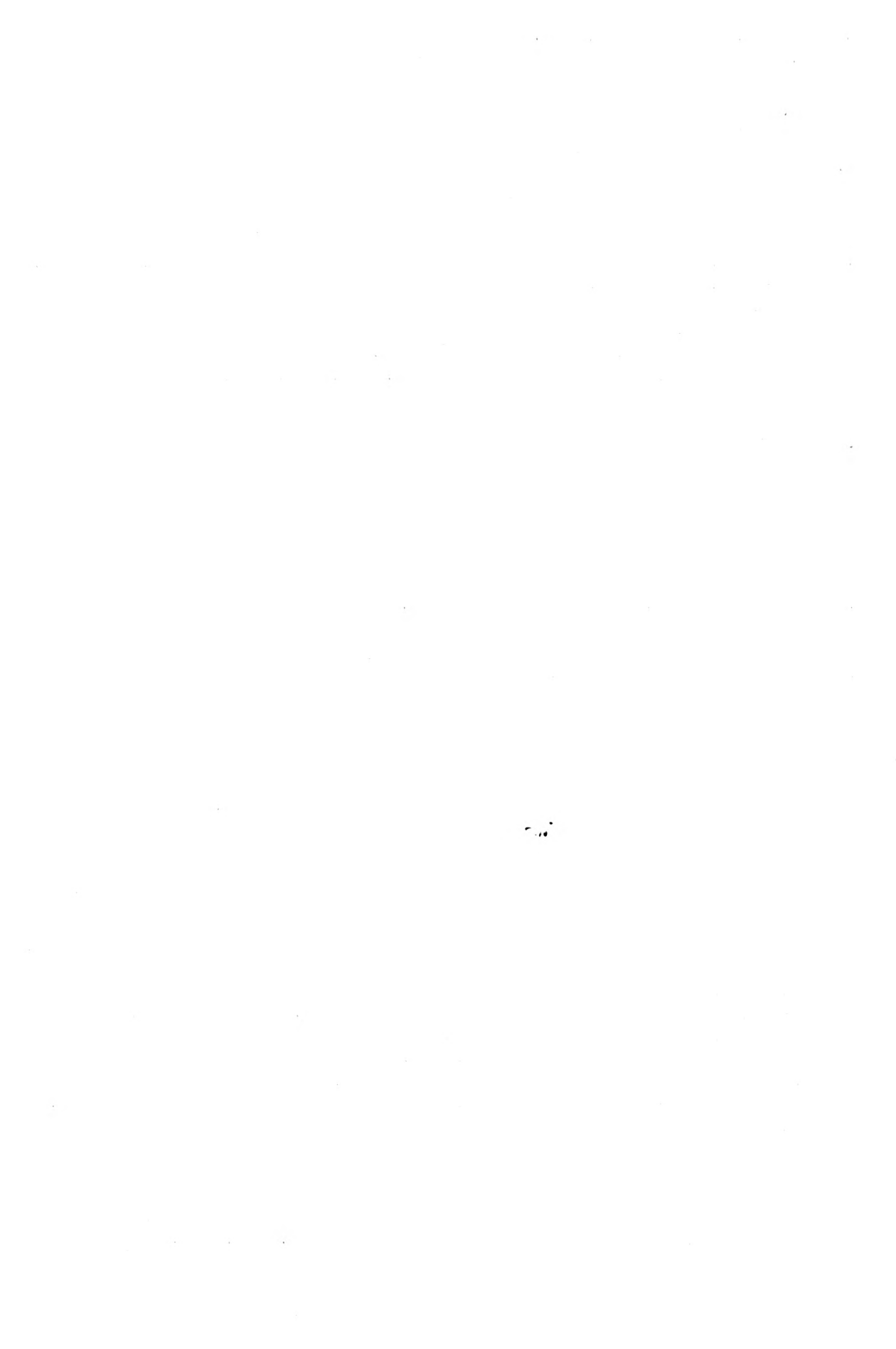
215. Jean d'Ibelin, Assises de la Haute Cour, CCLXI, RHCLois, I, p. 415, Brohier, L'Eglise, p. 92.

216. Ibid, III, RHCLois, I, pp. 24-25.

217. For example, the Patriarch Germond administered the kingdom and conducted the siege of Tyre during the captivity of Baldwin II. See Tyre, XIII, 6, Krey-Babcock, II, p. 10 and RHCOcc., I, p. 563. He also placed his signature first upon the treaty with the Venetians, Tyre, XII, 25, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 556, RHCOcc., I, p. 553.

218. Ibelin, Assises, VII, RHCLois, I, pp. 29-31 describes the coronation rite in detail, including these oaths. Dodu, op.cit., pp. 334-335, shows the parallel with the Capetian coronations.
219. Ibid, p. 30: "'Je l'aiderai la corone mise en ton chief justement a maintenir et a defendre, sauf m'ordre,' seil est d'ordre, et c'il est autre, 'la sainte Yglise de Rome.'"
220. Ibelin, Assises, I, RHCLois, I, p. 22.
221. Hence the papal restoration of Daimbert. The Church had, of course, its own courts dealing with matters of faith, perjury, rape, usury, simony, marriage, testaments, tithes and the like. See Ibelin, Assises, XXIV, RHCLois, p. 47.
222. Tyre says it was customary. XXI, 9. Krey-Babcock, II, p. 411, RHCoc., I, p. 1020. Again, Baldwin's express desire chose Aschetinus, the first Bishop of Bethlehem. Tyre, XI, 12, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 482, RHCoc., I, p. 473.
223. As in the case of the election of the Patriarch Heraclius in 1180. See Ernoul, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, pp. 83-84. The influence of the King on the patriarchal elections has been demonstrated in regard to Ebremer. It will be done so again. Arnulf was to describe himself as "a rege, clero et populo electus". The order is significant. See RR, No. 75.
224. Ibelin, Assises, VI, RHCLois, I, p. 29. If unable to do so, then the Archbishop of Tyre officiated. If not Tyre, then the Archbishop of Caesarea and Nazareth in that order of precedence. The presence of the great ecclesiastics was required at the coronation. See Tyre, X, 9, XIX, 1, XXI, 2, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 427, II, pp. 296, 399, RHCoc., I, pp. 413, 883, 1064.
225. See Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", p. 7.
226. See JL, 6287, for the papal attitude.
227. Cardinal Baronius in his Annales Ecclesiastici, XVIII, p. 197.
228. See the donation of Raymond of St. Gilles to the Church of Arles, RR, No. 44.

229. Riant, Études, I, pp. 11-12 and Kugler, Albert von Aachen, p. 296 state that a bishop of Bethlehem had been created in 1102 since Albert lists a bishop of Bethlehem present at the October 1102 synod which deposed Daimbert, IX, 16, RHCOcc., IV, p. 599. Riant, "Eclaircissements" (Revue de l'Orient Latin, I, 1893) p. 142 denied it. The evidence of Tyre is of such a nature that it cannot be denied. See the analysis of the royal decree below.
230. Tyre XI, 12, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 481-484, RHCOcc., I, pp. 472-474. RR, No. 59, dated there 1 September, 1109 - 24 March, 1110. The decree is printed also in PL, 155, cc. 1261-1264. For other papal bulls subjecting Ascalon to Jerusalem, see JL, 7096, 8025, 6603a (JL, II, p. 754) of Calixtus II and Innocent II. See also Kühn, op.cit., P. 70.
231. I find it almost incredible that the King represents the purpose of Gibelin's visit as having solely to do with the creation of the new see. Can the silence indicate that Ebre-mar opposed this move and that this was the real reason for his removal?
232. See Rohricht, "Syria Sacra", p. 23, for Aschetinus of Bethlehem.
233. As I have suggested, the papal confirmation of Gibelin as patriarch was long in coming.
234. Riant, "Eclaircissements", pp. 142-144 evolves a series of fanciful theories in which he describes the crown as having co-opted to itself some of the ancient prerogatives of the ancient patriarchate by a concordat with the papacy. No such elaborate explanation is necessary.
235. I have summarised the work of Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 61-70, 124-125, for the formation of the county of Tripoli. For Latin sources dealing with these developments, see Albert, IX, 50, XI, 1-7, 9-13, 15, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 657-669, Fulcher, II, 40-42, RHCOcc., III, pp. 419-441, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 526-536; Caffaro, Liberatio, XIX-XXVII, RHCOcc., V, I, pp. 65-73, ed. Belgrano, I, pp. 114ff; H.A.R.Gibb, The Damascus Chronicle, p. 88; Matthew of Edessa, RHCArmen, I, p. 90. Tyre XI, 13-14, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 434-438. See also Cahen, op.cit., pp. 244 ff.
RHCOcc., I, pp. 774-774
236. For the following, I have relied heavily on the work of La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, pp. 187-202, Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 64-70, 115, 135, 187-188; Dodu, op.cit., p. 85 where Antioch's recognition of Jerusalem suzerainty is stated too strongly.



237. Tyre, XI, 28, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 503, RHCOcc., I, p. 502. William suggests the clergy prompted the King to this appeal to Rome. Perhaps this is evidence that Gibelin had urged Baldwin to take the matter to Rome. For the early ecclesiastical history of Tripoli, see Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", pp. 20 ff. and J. Richard, op.cit., pp. 58-62.
238. These letters are JL, 6297 and 6298, PL, 163: 289-290. They are preserved in Tyre, XI, 28 Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 503-510, RHCOcc., I, pp. 502-503. The papal letter in shorter form may be found in Fulcher, III, 35, RHCOcc., III, p. 466-467 and Hag.Fulcher, pp. 742-745. RR, No. 60, No. 61, Rozière, Cartulaire, p. 13. Rozière corrected the dates of these letters to 8 June, 1111. The pertinent lines are as follows: "quascumque infidelium urbes ceperis vel cepisti, ejusdem Ecclesiae regimini dignitatique subiaceant ..."; "... ut Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae urbes illas et provincias concedamus, quae gloriosi regis Baldvini ac exercitum eorum sequentium sanguine per Dei gratiam acquisitae sunt". The first quotation is from the letter to Baldwin, the second, to Gibelin.
239. Alexiad, XIV, 2; Dawes, p. 364, Leib, III, p. 149. Albert, XI, 3-4, RHCOcc., IV, p. 664. These relate that Bertrand renewed the Greek alliance. Albert says this happened when he visited Constantinople on his way to the East with his Genoese fleet. Anna says the oath was taken at Tripoli. I incline to Albert. We should remember also that the treaty of 1108 between Alexius and Bohemund included land as far south as Tortosa.
240. See A. Fliche, Histoire VIII, p. 229, for remarks on Urban's policy towards the vassals of the Holy See in France and Spain.
241. These remarks are directed against the generalisations of La Monte in his invaluable study of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. For example, Feudal Monarchy, p. 205: "The kings performed homage to the patriarch for their lands and sought confirmation of their title from the Pope.....The King was the vassal of the Papacy....." La Monte is correct when he notes on the same page that the patriarchs were only primates who did not rule the state. Nonetheless, the point must be emphasized. La Monte even says, p. 208, "On the whole Jerusalem may be said to have been far more free of papal interference and control than her position as a vassal state of the Papacy would lead one to expect." The reason is, of course, that Jerusalem was not a papal vassal state. It should be noted that in later years La Monte seemed to have changed his mind, rejecting the notion of papal vassalage in Syria-Palestine. See his article, "La ^{PAPACY} ~~PAPACY~~ et les Croisades", pp. 158-159. See in this connection the support given to the opinions expressed in this thesis by M.W. Baldwin, "The Papacy and the Levant during the Twelfth Century," (Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, III, No. 2, January, 1945), p. 283.

242. Albert VII, 66, RHCocc., IV, p. 550. Thus in 1135 the barons swore to uphold the regency of Raymond of Tripoli until, in the event of the death of Baldwin IV's nephew, the Pope, the Western Emperor, and the Kings of France and England should arbitrate concerning the disposal of the crown. Hence Hugh of Jabala forbade the Emperor John Comnenus to occupy Antioch in 1142-1143, in the name of the German Emperor and the Pope. See section of part two.
243. For an example of his pacificatory measures, see his efforts to bring peace between the Archbishop of Nazareth and the monastery of Mt. Thabor. RR, No. 59. The bull indicated that Gibelin kept his legatine status to the end.
244. There is some doubt as to the date of his death. Hag.Epistulae, p. 411, and Hag.Gesta, p. 482 agreed for 1111. So also Hag.Ekk, pp. 264-265, n. 8. However RR, No. 64, dated 26 April 1112 has Arnulf announcing his death as of VIII, Id April, i.e. 6 April, 1112. Gibelin's last act was RR, No. 65, dated 1 April, 1112. See also Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", p. 7 and Kuhn, pp. 47-54. See L. de Mas Latrie "Les Patriarches Latins de Jérusalem", p. 17.
245. The cordial tone of Gibelin's decree concerning the canons of the church of the Holy Sepulchre reveals the harmony between Archdeacon, King and Patriarch. Rozière, Cartulaire, No. 42, pp. 79-80, PL, 155 c. 1152.
246. This is clear from Arnulf's letter announcing Gibelin's death. See Hag.Ekk, pp. 264 ff; Kügler, Albert von Aachen, pp. 228.
247. Ekkehard, XXIX, RHCocc., V, I, p. 34, says of Arnulf, "venerabilis et bene literatus clericus". See also Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", p. 7; Kügler, Albert von Aachen, pp. 401-402, Kuhn, op.cit., pp. 38-47.
248. Tyre, XI, 15, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 489, RHCocc., I, p. 479, XII, 6, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 524, RHCocc., I, p. 519, are two samples of William's pejorative judgment on Arnulf.
249. On the wealth of Adelaide, see Vitalis, XIII, 15, V, pp. 35-36. For the marriage see Tyre, XI, 21, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 496-497, RHCocc., I, pp. 487-489. Adelaide arrived in the summer of 1113. Her husband, Roger I of Sicily, had died in 1101. Until 1112, she acted as Regent for Roger II. Her son, highly endowed with Norman rapacity, ambition, and political genius, demanded as the terms of the marriage treaty that if the two died childless, the crown of Jerusalem would pass to himself. Baldwin was in such desperate financial straits that

he agreed to this request. For Roger, it was a diplomatic stroke of the first order. However, the treaty was not well received by various factions in the Holy Land. In the spring of 1117, when Baldwin lay seriously ill and Adelaide had produced no child, Arnulf had the marriage annulled on grounds of consanguinity. The true reason was that Arnulf and the Jerusalem baronage did not wish the crown to pass to Roger. Albert, XII, 13-14, 24, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 696-698, 704, who describes her arrival and the marriage in the most elaborate terms, indicates this and adds that the divorce was undertaken at the insistence of Paschal II. However, the papal letter to be examined below does not speak of it, nor does any surviving papal letter. Further, we could suggest that during this time relations between Rome and the imperious Roger II were of such a nature as to render such papal action unwise. However, Albert's report may be true and in any case indicates that the marriage was a scandal to Christendom. It may be that Daimbert, to discredit Baldwin had proclaimed his illegal repudiation of his Armenian wife before the Pope in 1105, Tyre, XI, 1, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 461, RHCOcc., I, p. 451. Tyre's account of Adelaide's repudiation attributes Baldwin's action solely to remorse for his sins, XI, 29, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 513-514, RHCOcc., I, pp. 506-506. See Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 360-363, and E.Caspar, Roger II, (Innsbruck, 1904), pp. 31 ff.

250. On Arnulf's trip to Rome, Tyre, XI, 26, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 505-506, RHCOcc., I, p. 499; Fulcher, II, 54, RHCOcc., III, p. 431, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 590-591. RR, No. 81, is the deposition of Arnulf.
251. JL, 6528, PL, 163, cc. 408-410. RR, No. 83, Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 104-105.
252. Ibid, c. 409: "Pro sedandis Ecclesiae vestrae scandalis, pro discutiendis capitulis quibusdam, quae adversus confratrem nostrum Arnulfum, patriarcham vestrum, ad audientiam nostram et frequenti fama et bonorum virorum relatione pervenerant, nostrae auctoritatis nuper ad vos nuntium miseramus; ferebatur enim et de inutilibus nuptiis genitus, et mulierum commistione pollutus, et in Ecclesiae praesentationem violentia regis intrusus".
253. Ibid, "Caeterum praeter opinionem at expectationem nostram adeo apud vos est aucta turbatio, ut idem patriarcha cum nonnullis fratribus ad nostram coacti sunt praesentiam pervenire".
254. Ibid, c. 409: the letters to Paschal say: "Ecclesiae necessitates multiplices misericordiam obnixis precibus exorantes, ut, quod ab eis super suo antistite factum fuerat, apostolicae

dispensarionis gratia firmaretur. Eos itaque penes nos prolixioni tempore detinuimus, legati nostri reditum praestolantes, adversus quem idem fratres vehementius querebantur, quod, causa unius audita, propere adversus patriarcham ipsum sententiam, posthabita sedis apostolicae appellatione, protulerit".

255. Ibid, c. 409: "Pro pace et necessitate Ecclesiae Jerosolymitanæ communi voto et consensu elegimus nobis in patriarcham domnum Arnulfum, remota violentia regis".
256. Ibid, "Ipse etiam confrater noster patriarcha Arnulfus criminum illorum, quae adversus cum ferebantur, se omnino immunem, Evangeliiis factis, asseruit. Porro personae ipsius utilitas ab initio expeditionis Jerosolymitanæ quanta penes vos fuerit et quanta sit, non solum nos, sed universus pene agnoscit. Duobus igitur capitulis hujusmodi iudicii ordine pertractatis, tertium, quod de ipsius genitura vulgatum est, pro multis et variis personae utilitatibus, quod dinumerare prolixum est, pro pace et necessitate Jerosolymitanæ Ecclesiae, quae in praeterito quidem gravis, in futurum longe gravior imminere videbatur, apostolicae dispensationis provisione duximus tolerandum, scientes ex apostolica dogmatis notitia 'quoniam charitas operit multitudinem peccatorum'".
257. Ibid, c. 410: "Manifestum autem vobis omnibus esse volumus quod mulieres illae, de quibus, ut superius significatum est, idem patriarcha infamabatur, altera dicebatur uxor Gerardi, altera Sarracena, de qua filium genuerit. Porro a communi voto et consensu electiones in sacramento superius exposito Ebre-marum et ejus complices omnino remoti sunt".
258. Tyre, XII, 6, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 524, RHCOcc., I, p. 519.
259. Tyre, XI, 26, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 506, RHCOcc., I, p. 499.
260. As we shall see, he blamed the Papacy for the continuing ecclesiastical strife between the patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem.
261. Tyre, XII, 6, Krey-Babcock, I, p. 524, RHCOcc., I, p. 519. Albert says Arnulf died of grief for Baldwin, XII, 29-30 RHCOcc., IV, pp. 708-710. Fulcher, II, 63-64, RHCOcc., III, pp. 435-437, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 608-614.
262. Ekkehard, Chronicon Universale, MGSS, VI, p. 251. RR, No. 62, dated June 1111. Ekkehard's account is rendered suspect because he places this event under 1116.

263. Röhricht, "Syria Sacra", p. 3.
264. The work of Walter the Chancellor is filled with his activities. He always blessed new expeditions against the infidel, e.g. 1, 2, RHCocc., V, I, p. 85. Although rumour accused him of murdering Tancred, Matthew of Edessa, MCArmen, I, p. 703-704, he supported Roger as baillie of the realm, I, 4-5, RHCocc., V, I, pp. 90-91; II, 1, RHCocc., V, I, p. 100. When on 28 June 1119, disaster overtook the army of Antioch, Bernard defended the city until its relief by Baldwin, II, 5-10, RHCocc., V, I, pp. 107-117; Orderic Vitalis, XI, 25, IV, pp. 243-245. See also the evidence collected by Cahen, op.cit., pp. 311-314.
265. In the thirteenth century the patriarch invested the prince with his lands. However aside from this thirteenth century evidence, the evidence from the twelfth century confirms the statements in the text.
266. Matthew of Edessa, MCArmen, I, pp. 50, 75, 96, for examples of his attempts to keep Tripoli and Edessa within the Antioch orbit.
267. Cahen, op.cit., p. 315.
268. This may be justification after the fact for our suggestion that Rome was more interested in the exaltation of the Jerusalem church because she feared the petrine associations of Antioch and the use these could be put to. The letter is JL, 6328, PL, 163, cc. 303-304. There is the notice in Tyre, XI, 28, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 510-511, RHCocc., I, p. 503. See also RR, No. 66. The wording is significant: "Quamvis inter caeteras sedes apostolica illa sedes emineat, quam Petri apostoli morte in corpore dignatio superna clarificavit, inter Romanum tamen et Antiochenum episcopos tanta quondam legitur charitas exstitisse, ut nulla inter eos divisitas videretur. Eadem Petri persona utrasque illustravit ecclesias".
269. Ibid, cc. 303-304: "Vltima posthaec tempora transierunt, quibus infidelium dominatio unitatem hanc in personis praesidentiam impedivit."
270. Ibid, c.304: "Caeterum et optavinus, et optavus non scandalis sed p[ro]cis fomite v[er]itati us ministrare, suum ius et honorem quibuscunque ecclesiis conservare."

271. Thus Antioch is seen by the Pope as the second great see of Christendom, thus setting aside the decision of Chalcedon which granted that place to Constantinople.
272. Ibid, c, 304: "----- nec de nobis mentio tuae opinio ulla subrepat quod Antiochenam Ecclesiam deprimere aut inhonorare velimus. ----- Caeterum et optavimus, et optamus non scandalum sed pacis fomitem fratribus ministrare, suum jus et honorem quibuscumque ecclesiis conservare".
273. The account is in Pflugk-Harttung, Acta, II, p. 205. The Pope is referred to in such a way "piae memoriae", as to indicate he is dead. Paschal died in 1118. See also JL, I, p. 749 and Rohricht, Regesta, No. 72. The presence of the two legates from Antioch is attested by their signatures to a papal bull concerning Monte Cassino. See PL, 163, c. 314.
274. Pflugk-Harttung, II, p. 205: "Nunc autem, quia reges Ierusalem eis ----- iure christiano mancipaverunt, Antiocheno patriarche nullatenus obediunt, sed ecclesias totius predicti territorii et ecclesiasticum ius patriarcha sibi Ierosolimitanus usurpat". Our description of Bernard's determination to hold his patriarchate to the limits established centuries before is supported by the fact that the legates enumerated the ancient limits of the Antioch patriarchate to the Pope: "Temporibus autem christianitatis antiquam gentiles Ierusalem et Antiochiam provincias-que illas, pertinentes sue ditioni, subingissent --- o Sydon, Acco et provintia ----- tia ----- Accon mare influit, dyocesis Antiochene fuerit".
275. The evidence in connection with this is a bit confusing and should be examined closely. The following is the report in Pflugk-Harttung, Acta, II, p. 205, which we have already cited in part in connection with the papal aims and objectives for the crusade. Paschal's reply is as follows: "Non soleo de tractatibus ecclesiarum cito respondere, sed petitioni vestrae, quia de longo venistis, et longa vos via reddituros expectat, non est differendum, quod habemus vobis respondere paratum. Sancti memorie venerabilis Urbanus papa, quando concilium populosissime congregationis in Monte Claro celebravit viamque Ierosolimitanam suscitavit, decrevisse memoratur et scitur, quod, quicumque principes provincias vel civitates supra gentiles conquirerent, eorum principatibus, eliminatis gentium ritibus, ecclesiae restitutae pertinerent." The Pope went on to confirm Urban's decree. Rozière, p. 8, has the same account, adding the following concerning Adhemar: "post captam Antiochiam Podiensis episcopus, sedis apostolice legatus, prudenti optimatum usus consilio, Ierosolimitano regno et Antiocheno principatui terminum posuit, fluvium scilicet, qui Tripolim et Tortosam interfuit; decernens, ut Ierusalem omnem terram

a parte australi usque ad eundem fluvium iure perhenni possident, et Antiochia ex altera fluminis parto nichilominus obtineret". Pflugk-Harttung and JL, I, p. 749 omit this from their notices. RR, No. 72, adds it to his summary. This is unfortunate since it is not certain that the legates brought this forward at the synod. Rozière, however, thought they did, but our eye-witness account makes the legates base their claim on the ancient extent of the patriarchate of Antioch whereas this account asks for papal recognition of the Antioch patriarch's right to lands south of Tripoli, especially of Tortosa, lands had passed to Bertrand and to Jerusalem upon the death of William Jordan, basing the claim on Adhemar's reputed decision. The account is rendered suspicious by the fact that it is all but unbelievable that Adhemar in the summer of 1098 could have foreseen the erection of Jerusalem into a kingdom and Antioch into a principality. While the legates may have brought Adhemar's name into their plea to bolster their own arguments, - which I am inclined to doubt, - the above report seems to be a fabrication by Antioch for the sake of the aims and objectives of Bernard and Roger of Antioch. That there was some basis for the fabrication is shown by the following.

Fulcher, III, 34, RHCOcc., III, p. 466, Hag. Fulcher, pp. 739-742, and notes: indicates that he heard the basis of defence given by the Antioch legates. This confirms also the view presented by myself that Urban had asked for the restoration of the ecclesiastical fabric of Syria-Palestine. Fulcher should be quoted, mindful that this appears in his account concerning the see of Tyre. The capture of Tyre, as we shall see opened the next great stage of the controversy: "pacificet Deus Antiochenam ecclesiam cum Hierosolymitana, quae duae dissident de Tyria tertia. Illa dicit hand sibi fuisse subditam sub Graecorum tempore; haec dicit se esse communitem privilegiis a Romano pontifice. Nam in concilio Alvernensi tam authentico et nominatissimo constitutum unanimi adsensu fuit, ut quaecumque civitas, mari magno transito, a paganorum posset excuti iugo, sine contradictione perenniter obtineretur. Hoc etiam in Antiocheno concilio, episcopo Podiensi magistrante, replicatum et concessum ab omnibus est". When the evidence is placed together, it seems likely that Urban at Clermont wished the restoration of the ancient churches and dioceses in the East, and he also wished the princes to set up their temporal authority in the East. This judgment, which we have advanced previously in another connection must be qualified by the clear ^{Urban's purpose} ~~recalling~~ of Urban's desire for friendly relations with the Greek Empire and church. While we should remind ourselves again that the evidence here is not completely conclusive, additional confidence is gained when we remember that Fulcher was present at Clermont.

As for the embassy, it was an attempt by Bernard to preserve his patriarchate against the expansion of Jerusalem. Further, it may be taken as an attempt on the part of Roger of Antioch to extend his suzerainty south into the county of Tripoli.

Hence the fabricated claim that Adhemar had years before established the line of demarcation between Antioch and Jerusalem. That Adhemar has reiterated that papal decree concerning the princes' right to hold principalities is, however, certain on the basis of Fulcher's evidence.

276. JL, 6343, Tyre XI, 28, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 511-512, RHCocc., I, pp. 503-504, PL, 163, c. 316, RR, No. 73.
277. "Non enim volumus aut propter principum potentiam, ecclesiasticam minui dignitatem; aut pro ecclesiastica dignitate, principum potestatem mutilari".
278. JL, 6344, PL, 163, cc. 316-137, Tyre, XI, 28, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 512-513, RHCocc., I, pp. 504-505. RR, No. 73.
279. That in neither of these letters Paschal refers to the bogus tale of Adhemar's division of the lands of Antioch and Jerusalem is further indication of the report's fabricated character.
280. I find myself at variance with Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 85, 101-102, who refers to Paschal's "disastrous" pro-Antioch policy". That Paschal moderated his concession by definition is clear. However, he did not accede completely to the requests of Bernard as the records of Benevento show. The previous concession to the Jerusalem church stood, if in a modified condition. Nonetheless, as we shall see, the papal attempt to preserve peace and justice was a singular failure.
281. Just how little control the papacy had in the East is illustrated in the following amusing incident. We know that in 1122 the Bishop of Glasgow, John, refused to submit to the Archbishop of York, Thurston. He left his see and went to Rome. His cause found no favour there. Therefore the disgruntled bishop went to the East where he accepted the hospitality of the patriarch of Jerusalem who was ignorant of the motives which had brought him to the Holy Land. He even seems at times to have posed as the legate of the pontiff in Rome. In 1123, however, he was compelled to return to Rome. He seems to have attempted to return to Jerusalem but eventually he was driven to submission and returned to his see. See A.W.Haddan and W.Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, (three volumes, Oxford, 1867-1878), II, I, pp. 20-21.
282. For a working bibliography on the military orders, the source collections having already been discussed, see J.Delaville Le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, (Paris, 1904) and H.Prutz, Die Geistlichen Ritterorden, (Berlin, 1908).

La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, pp. 217-225; J. Delaville Le Roulx, Mélange sur l'Ordre de S. Jean de Jerusalem, (Paris, 1910); G. Hoenicke, Studien zur Geschichte des Hospitalordens im Königreich Jerusalem, (Halle, 1897); M. Melville, La Vie des Templiers, (Paris, 1951); E. S. King, The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land, (London, 1931); Dodu, op.cit., pp. 222-233.

283. La Monte, Feudal Monarchy, p. 212; Dodu, op.cit., p. 307.
284. For a convenient summary in English of the origin of the two great military orders, see Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 156-158.
285. For the origin of the Order of St. John, see Delaville Le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers, pp. 3-43; Heyd, op.cit., I, p. 105. Basic sources are Tyre, XVIII, 4-6, Krey-Babcock, II, pp. 241-246, RHCOcc., I, pp. 822-827. See also the evidence of Siccard in Muratori, RISS, VII, cc. 586-587; Amatus, VIII, 3, FSI, p. 342; Dandolo, Chronicon, RISS (new), XII, I, p. 232. The Exordium Hospitalis of William of St. Estene is printed in Delaville Le Roulx's, De prima origine Hospitalariorum Hierosolymitanorum, (Paris, 1385).
286. See Delaville Le Roulx, Cartulaire, No. 1 - No. 30, which show the rapid spread of the Order's possessions in Europe and Syria-Palestine.
287. Cartulaire, No. 8, records the efforts of Richard of Alba, legate of the Holy See, to defend the Order's possessions in Spain. In No. 20, Baldwin of Jerusalem enumerates the Order's possessions in his Kingdom, confirming their possessions and privileges. This is dated September, 1110. In 1112, Arnulf, patriarch of Jerusalem, exempted the Order from tithes in his patriarchate, a concession of the greatest significance. Cartulaire, No. 25. Baldwin made additional concessions in the same year, Cartulaire No. 28, and Ebremer, Archbishop of Caesarea, also exempted the Order from tithes in his diocese, Cartulaire, No. 29. In June, 1118, Roger of Antioch extended his favour to the Order. See Cartulaire, No. 45. Some bishops were more cautious in the granting of exemptions than others. See Cartulaire, No. 42.
288. JL, 6341, PL, 163, cc. 314-316, Delaville Le Roulx, Cartulaire, No. 30. This is RR, No. 71. The Order was soon established in Rome. See P. Kehr, Italia Pontificia, I, pp. 34-35. For a succinct account of the rise of papal exemptions and immunities, see Fliche, Histoire VIII, pp. 223-226, 334-335. Further papal favour for collections made by the Hospital may be seen in Cartulaire, No. 31.

See M.W. Baldwin's article on the ecclesiastical history of Tripoli, p. 161, where, I think, he misinterprets the decree of Paschal and the opinions of Delaville Le Roulx: "--- it authorized the brothers of the Order to keep all tithes levelled in their domains despite any contradiction by the bishops and their clergy". The latin in the decree reads as follows: "Sane fructuum vestrorum decimas, quos ubilibet vestres sumptibus laboribusque colligitis, preter episcoporum vel episcopalium ministrorum contradictionem Xenodochio vestro haberidas possidendasque sancimus".

289. Basic sources for this beginning are to be found in Tyre, XII, 7, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 524-527, RHCoc., I, pp. 520-521. There is also the full account by Michael the Syrian. See Chabot's edition of his chronicle, III, pp. 201-203. There is the account of Ernoul, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, pp. 7-9. Indispensable also are Henri de Curzon, La Règle du Temple, (Paris, 1886) and the work of H. Prutz, Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens, (Berlin, 1888). For the rapid growth of the Temple, see B.A. Lees, Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century, (Volume IX, of the British Academy's Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, London, 1935. Unfortunately, there is no definitive Cartulary yet published for the Temple. However, the preliminary work has been done: G.A.M.J.A. D'Albou, Cartulaire Générale de l'Order du Temple, (Paris, 1913) and E.G. Leonard, Introduction au Cartulaire Manuscrit du Temple, 1150-1317, (Paris, 1936).
290. For this new development in the life of the Order of St. John, see Delaville Le Roulx, Les Chevaliers, pp. 44-47.
291. Tyre accused both Orders of refusing obedience to the Patriarch of Jerusalem and refusing to pay their tithes. Tyre, XII, 7, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 526-527, RHCoc., I, pp. 520-521 and XVII: 3, 6, Krey-Babcock, I, pp. 239-241, 245-246, RHCoc., I, pp. 820-822, 826-827. As a member of the hierarchy, William was naturally hostile to the Orders. See F. Lundgreen, Wilhelm von Tyrus und die Tempelorden, (Berlin, 1911, passim.

Section Three:

THE REIGN OF PASCHAL II

1. Urban II.

By a curious irony, Urban II died on 29 July, 1099, two weeks after the capture of Jerusalem. He did not live to hear the news of the Christian triumph.¹

Urban's achievements in regard to the Crusade command our admiration.² In the launching of the movement to the East he synthesized aims and objectives which had been at work in the Western church for many years.³ The Christian zeal for the reconquest of lands held by the infidel, the Church's desire to end the cruel waste of feudal warfare,⁴ the Papacy's conviction that it was the effective leader in Christendom's war with the heathen, all found their proper fruition in the Crusade. Urban fused pilgrimage to Jerusalem with the notion of a Holy War.⁵ He appealed to the growing Western concern for the Holy Places⁷ by calling for the liberation of Jerusalem and the defence of the Eastern Churches. Above all these shone the glory of the Roman primacy. The confidence of Urban in the divine mission of his office and in the righteousness of his crusade appeal is revealed to us when we remember that in 1095-1096, Henry of Germany, Philip of France and William Rufus of England were excommunicated. To have dreamed, (under such conditions), of a Latin attempt to free the Holy Sepulchre with an army, organized and inspired by Peter's vicar, is Urban's unique and splendid achievement.

Throughout the papal organization and planning for the crusade, insofar as we can discern them, we find an admirable

practical idealism. If religious fervour proclaimed the struggle of the Cross against the heathen, practical churchmanship attempted to determine the composition of the small army which Urban had in mind.⁸ If the Papacy were the leader of Christendom against the infidel, she did not slight the layman. Urban knew well that it was the layman who would win the victories, and, as we have shown, probably held out temporal rewards for the victors.⁹ Urban's practical idealism is further revealed in his lack of interest in the erection of a papal state or of a theocracy under papal domination in the East. Yet in all of this, the Pope, through his legate, Adhemar, would be present to remind the crusader that his true reward was a heavenly one and that his eternal destiny hung on the proper fulfilment of his vows.

We have spoken already at some length of Urban's attitude towards the Greeks. Here again we find the same practical idealism. If church union were not a primary motive for the crusade, nonetheless Adhemar was counselled to be friendly, to allay Greek suspicions of the Roman primacy, to respect the feelings of the Greek hierarchy, At the same time, Urban clearly detached the crusade from any plans which Alexius might devise for it. Jerusalem was the goal of the expedition and it seems likely, as we have argued, that Urban envisaged not only the Latin occupation of Syria-Palestine but also the restoration of the ecclesiastical fabric through the introduction of the Latin episcopate, provided that the rights of the Greek church were respected. Urban knew something of Greek sensitivity to things Latin. He wished no further estrangement to arise from the crusade.¹⁰

During the course of the preaching of the Crusade, the Pope saw his dream become a genuine possibility. Several armies appeared, numbering thousands of crusaders. Yet with this wonderful response,¹¹ the Crusade became something unwieldy and turbulent, impossible to discipline and to direct as a whole. If Adhemar retained great prestige, it was as much due to his character and ability as to his papal commission. Further, Urban was soon to hear of Latin difficulties with the Greeks. Although he probably knew the contents of Alexius' friendly letters to the Abbot of Monte Cassino, he was probably disturbed by the hostile comments contained in the letter of September, 1098, in which the crusade princes announced the death of Adhemar. While no doubt flattered by the request that he come to the Holy Land, Urban could not miss the hostile references of Bohemund to the Eastern Christians and to the Emperor. It revealed that Adhemar's moderate and conciliatory policy was faced with opposing forces so strong as to command anxiety. It is probable that church union was in the air in 1098 although the councils at Bari and Rome were, in all probability, a continuation of the papal policy which aimed at the further absorption of the Greek churches of southern Italy into the Roman orbit. Yet beyond some increased consciousness of the need for union, we cannot estimate Urban's reactions to this ever increasing antagonism between Greek and Latin in the East. This problem, together with papal responsibility for the preaching of the crusade and for the Latin establishment in the Holy Land he bequeathed to his successor, Rainier, cardinal-priest of San Clemente, elected Paschal II.¹²

2. The Crusade of the Faint-Hearted.

While we do not possess the complete register of Paschal II, there is enough evidence which remains to indicate that Paschal was determined, at least at the outset of his pontificate, to fulfill his inherited responsibility of urging men to take arms to liberate the Eastern Churches.

At first he was to have little difficulty. From 1097 on, Western Europe was to read many a letter from the East urging continual support of the crusading movement. The forged letter of Alexius I attempted to arouse zeal and enthusiasm for the journey to the East, if only by depicting the charms of the Greek women and the costly treasures of Constantinople.¹³ The letters of Stephen and Anselm received wide circulation. We have already referred to the letter issued by Simeon and Adhemar and the later letter from the Greek and Latin bishops in the East, both directed to arousing support for the Crusade among the Western faithful, threatening with excommunication those who refused to fulfill their vows. The crusading princes themselves wrote, giving reports as to their progress, asking for the prayers of the faithful and for their military support.¹⁴ Baldwin du Bourg also dispatched letters to Manasses of Rheims.¹⁵ The people of Lucca also told of the need for more crusaders in the East.¹⁶ The letter, which Daimbert and others wrote to the Pope and the faithful, asked for kindly treatment of returning crusaders.¹⁷ Due to the difficult situation of the crusaders in the East, the correspondence was to continue.¹⁸

Under the influence of these letters describing the victories of the Latins in the East, Europe was in a ferment of excitement and anticipation. As for the Papacy, it seems certain that in the

spring of 1099, Urban had directly approached Anselm, Archbishop of Milan, with an eye to recruiting a new army for the crusade. The evidence would lead us to suppose that a Lombard army was forming when Urban died.¹⁹ When in the fall of 1099, the news arrived of the capture of Jerusalem, nothing could stop a new crusade. The Christian triumph kindled courage and resolution in the hearts of those who had not fulfilled their vows, and filled with shame those who, through fear, had not joined the original expedition.²⁰

The papal letter written at the end of December, 1099, reflects the total situation in East and West. Paschal was determined that aid and men should be sent to the victorious crusaders in the East.²¹

Writing to the hierarchy of France, Paschal sang the praises of God in thanksgiving for the liberation of the Asian Church and the Holy City. However, declaring that continued aid to the crusaders was imperative, he offered the original plenary indulgence for the remission of sins to those who would go to the aid of the Eastern Church.²² Those who had taken the oath and did not go to the East must do so unless prevented by poverty. Those who turned back on the journey, especially during the siege of Antioch, are excommunicated until they give sufficient assurance that they will fulfill their vows.²³ As for the returning crusaders, care is to be taken that all their property and possessions be restored as had been stipulated by Urban II.²⁴ In closing, Paschal urged the hierarchy of FRANCE to do all that they could in order that the Eastern Church might be restored to her rightful place and condition.²⁵

Paschal does not seem to have preached the crusade in person. He asked the hierarchy of France to undertake this burden. The

letter which Manasses of Rheims wrote to Lambert of Arles is the first sign that they did so.²⁶ The Archbishop of Rheims there refers to the papal letters, and also to letters of appeal from Godfrey and Arnulf, the Patriarch. He commands vows and fasts for a Christian victory in the East and prayer that Arnulf may have wisdom to deal with heretical sects, the last an important indication of the growing anti-Greek sentiment in Western Europe.²⁷

Not only this, at a synod at Anse, 1100, the archbishops of France and Anselm of Canterbury assented to the papal injunction to regard as excommunicated those who had failed to fulfill their vows. This affected Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, who, determined to go to the East, wrote to Paschal asking to be relieved of his legateship in France, in order to make the journey to Jerusalem. This request Paschal granted since he wished him to be his legate in Asia.²⁸ That Hugh went to the East is certain; however we are ignorant of his activities as legate. The sources do not mention him as exercising his powers as legate. As far as we are concerned the first papal legate, for all practical purposes, appointed after Adhemar, was Mauritius of Porto who, as we know, was sent out in April 1100 to ensure the orderly re-establishment of the Church in the East.

The western sources for the Crusade of 1101²⁹ also reveal the importance in the expedition of the Lombard cities and the Italian maritimes. The Genoese traders, the Embriaco brothers, who arrived home from the East at Christmas, 1099, brought appeals for help from the East.³⁰ Paschal may also have written in 1100 to the Pisans asking for their continued support.³¹ We have spoken already of the army forming among the Lombard cities in 1099. Perhaps they also received word of the need for reinforcements in

the East.³² Under the leadership of Archbishop Anselm a large army was to set out during the year.³³ They were to be followed by the armies of men from France and Germany, with such leaders as William of Aquitaine, Stephen of Burgundy, and Wulf of Bavaria.³⁴

Our primary concern in all of this is the amount of control the Papacy was able to exercise over the crusade of 1101. We have noted in this connection the spontaneity which characterized the recruitment of the armies, spurred on by shame and by a fervent desire to go to the East now that Jerusalem had fallen. The Papacy did take part in the recruitment of armies. However, there was not the same degree of papal initiative as in 1095-1096. Further, this crusade was even more haphazard in its organization than its predecessor. If Hugh of Lyons were a papal legate, which I am inclined to doubt, he exercised little, if any, control over the crusaders. The armies were in no way united as their actions in Asia Minor show. The strife with the Greeks was even more marked, despite the efforts of Archbishop Anselm and others.³⁵ To this last fact, i.e. anti-Greek feeling in the West arising out of the crusade, we shall return in a moment. What is our concern at the present time is to show how little control the Papacy had over this Crusade, beyond exhortation and the granting of the usual privileges to the crusaders.

The Crusade of the Paint-hearted ended in disaster. After this, the interest of Europe seems to have waned, except for Boheimund's expedition, which shall be discussed shortly. There were to be no large armies for another forty years. True, the Italian maritimes kept adding to their holdings and privileges in the Holy Land by helping the Latins with large fleets which they sent regularly to the East.³⁶ However, aside from a few large pilgrimages, and

private expeditions to the Holy Land,³⁷ the pattern became now that of the pilgrim who took passage on the semi-annual sailings for the East from Genoa, Venice and Pisa or of the wealthy lord with a small group of retainers who journeyed by land and sea to Jerusalem. There soon appeared the phenomenon of the young knight, off to seek fame and wealth in the East, side by side with the penitent who sought expiation for a serious crime.³⁸ Perhaps the disasters of 1101-1102 quelled Europe's ardour. Perhaps Europe felt that the job had been done. The shifting political scene militated against continued large expeditions. The Church doubtless kept the task of the Christian reconquest in the East before the eyes of Latin Christianity.³⁹ Letters were exchanged regularly between East and West, and the Western chroniclers show some notion of the course of events in the East.⁴⁰ Yet, when all is said and done, Europe was to wait for many years before the crusade would be proclaimed and responded to with something like the original fervour of 1095-1096.

3. Paschal and Bohemund.

We have alluded previously to the deterioration in reputation which the crusades brought to the Greeks and their Emperor. Hate for Alexius had appeared in the crusade, feeding upon pre-existing racial, cultural, and religious tensions, gaining strength from the charges of Bohemund who wished clear title to Antioch. We can imagine also the reaction of the Greeks to the rapacious barbarians who pillaged their countryside, threatened their towns, who fired the suburbs of Constantinople. Further these "barbarians" had stolen Antioch, ejected the Greek Patriarch and introduced Latin Christianity into the East. Probably the Greeks knew that this last had received, at the least, implicit papal sanction by the

papal legate Mauritius. When Mauritius had arrived in the East, he had voiced no disapproval of the Norman possession of Antioch. Nor did he complain over the expulsion of the Greek Patriarch John from Antioch.

Further antagonism had arisen from the damage inflicted on the Greek islands by the Italian maritimes, Genoa, Pisa and even Venice, ally of the Byzantine Empire. In all these the Papacy had seemed to concur. Paschal has, to all appearances, issued no word of rebuke to the Italian cities. The actions of Mauritius and the papal letter contain no indication that Paschal was actively concerned, as his predecessor had been, with the preservation of friendly relations with the Greek Empire and Church. We recall, however, that in his letter to Alexius, written in 1112, the Pope had referred to letters written to the Patriarch of Constantinople, which, according to Paschal, the Patriarch had refused to answer. Aside from this, we have no evidence which would indicate that Paschal had attempted to heal the "schism" for its own sake or for the sake of the crusade. In the Crusade of 1101, the Papacy had had little say over the course of the expedition and its tragic behaviour in the East. We know that Anselm of Milan and others acted as mediators between Greek and Latin during the crusade, but their moderate counsel cannot be traced with certainty to papal instructions. In fact, the evidence is such as to point to the conclusion that Paschal had given the crusaders no instructions at all concerning the Greek church. Paschal was not as sensitive as Urban had been to the Greeks, - this is the direction of the evidence.

The reports of the Crusade of 1101 seem in the main, to have made Alexius the chief cause for its failure. Ekkehard described

him as wicked and evil, "emperor of the heathen", not of Christians. With fine irony, the German monk described Alexius' custom of speeding pilgrims on their way to destruction. He accused Alexius of providing unseaworthy vessels for the crusaders. Clearly he was allied with the Turks, planning the annihilation of the crusaders. He was the "persecutor of the Church" and the enemy of the crusade.⁴¹ The work of Ekkehard became known throughout Western Europe and, together with the other expressions of anti-Greek sentiment by other crusade writers, provided a solid basis for a continuing fear and hatred of the Greek Empire.⁴² Few seemed to understand the attitude of the Greeks. Few realized the cost of the armies to the Empire's precarious economy. Few saw any justice in Alexius' claim to Antioch. Few saw that the failure of the expedition was due to Latin folly. Latin egotism swore vengeance on Alexius, using him as a scapegoat for its own failures.⁴³

As we know, Alexius tried to meet this hostility, fomented by Bohemund and augmented by the racial, cultural and religious antagonisms existing between Greek and Latin. We have mentioned his ransoming of Latin pilgrims. Even more important was the ill-fated mission of the Bishop of Barzinona. Alexius had intended this prelate to present his "apologia" before the papal court. Instead the Bishop betrayed his trust and denounced Alexius to the Pope as the enemy of the Crusade.

It is easy to feel that the Papacy was remarkably inept in all of these developments. True, Paschal was not the man that Urban had been. His leadership in the crusade movement was not as forthright and decisive. Further, as we have said, Paschal does not seem to have shown any sensitivity for the political situation of

the Greek Empire or for the theological attitudes of the Greek church as Urban II had done. When we add to this the general feelings of suspicion, hate and fear of the Greeks, Albert's report of his acceptance without demur of Manasses of Barzinona's charges is quite intelligible. Further, throughout these years of Paschal's reign, his position with Henry V, which was to culminate in the humiliation of 1111, was deteriorating. True in 1104, the Papacy was reconciled with Philip of France.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, at this time, the Pope needed the support of his Norman vassals and this committed him to a policy implicitly unfavourable to the Greeks.⁴⁵

In January, 1105, Bohemund arrived at Bari. As we know, his primary concern was to obtain help against Alexius whose forces were slowly closing in on Antioch. He was accompanied by Daimbert who, as we have suggested, was restored to his See in March, 1105. This in itself was auspicious for the Norman. Daimbert was known to be no friend to Eastern Christians. From the moment of his arrival in the West, the Norman was received as the rightful ruler of the principality of Antioch. No Western source records any doubts as to his title. Further, Bohemund was a hero to the West as his triumphal journey into France was to show. Indeed there is every likelihood that he brought the Gesta, amended suitably, which proclaimed his right to Antioch and his unique position as the hero of the Crusade.⁴⁶ People ran to see him as if he were Christ himself.⁴⁷ He was not only a victim of Greek tyranny but he had also suffered a long captivity by the infidel. Further Bohemund had always shown the greatest deference to the Holy See. Had he not invited Urban to come to Antioch and take what was his own? To Bohemund therefore, Paschal listened. We can imagine the charges presented. The Greeks

were planning to seize Antioch on a trumped-up claim to be the rightful owners of the city. The Gesta's famous interpolated passage disposed of this perfidious diplomacy. Further, Bohemund probably reminded the Pope that if they succeeded in doing so, the Roman church would lose control of Peter's first see. The theological possibilities of this for Greek-Latin controversy were probably not lost on Paschal. Thus it was that Bohemund departed for France with the papal blessing and a papal banner, accompanied by the papal legate, Bruno of Segni. His avowed purpose was to obtain military aid for an expedition against the "tyrant", i.e. Alexius.⁴⁸

The Norman arrived in France in early spring of 1106 and embarked on a tour of the country. He displayed great political adroitness. He exhibited his piety before the shrine of St. Leonard whose virtue, he claimed, has been responsible for his escape from the heathen's power.⁴⁹ Perhaps he also indicated that St. Leonard's power had enabled him to escape the power of Alexius.⁵⁰ Secondly, in the style of the true adventurer, he proceeded to contract a marriage with Constance, the divorced wife of the count of Troyes and daughter of the King of France.⁵¹ Everywhere people flocked to see him. Babies were christened after him. He told of his adventures, exhibited sacred relics, repeating the same theme: the perfidy of Alexius.⁵²

With all these triumphs behind him, Bohemund proceeded to hold a council at Poitiers. It opened, under the presidency of the papal legate, Bruno of Segni, on 25 June, 1106.⁵³ The burden of the council was plain. Although there was talk of a new crusade, a new appeal for the "via Sancti Sepulchri", it was plain to all that the primary purpose of the army was to punish Alexius for his "crimes"

against the Latins. If piety demanded that Jerusalem be named the destination of the army, it was clear that it would proceed via an invasion of the Greek Empire. He may even have brought with him a Greek who claimed to be the son of Romanus IV Diogenes, thus stirring up additional hatred for Alexius who was not only an enemy of Christians but also a traitor and usurper. Bruno of Segni seems to have aided and abetted Bohemund in all his activities.⁵⁴

Bohemund approached the Normans to the north. To the south, the hatred of the Greeks which William of Aquitaine had brought back from the crusade was sufficient to stir many to take arms in an expedition which was to punish the Greek emperor.⁵⁵ Everywhere Bohemund and Bruno seem to have received friendly cooperation⁵⁶ and a satisfying response to their call to arms.⁵⁷ His popularity was soon increased as many began to read the Gesta which the Prince of Antioch had brought into France on his travels. Thus, playing upon the religious fervour of the Franks, his own popularity, the general hatred of the Greeks, the desire for the spiritual benefits of the crusade,⁵⁸ and natural human greed,⁵⁹ this "third crusade", as Vitalis termed it, was launched. The sinister purpose, the attack on Alexius was, however, clearly marked.⁶⁰

In Italy, Paschal was not idle. The chronicle of St. Maxentius refers to his exhortation at an unnamed synod in support of Bohemund.⁶¹ In the fall of 1106, Bohemund himself came to Italy to speed the process of recruitment.⁶² He even attempted to draw the Papacy more closely into his scheme. In September, 1106, he wrote to Paschal.⁶³ After thanking Paschal for his assistance in his cause through granting him an apostolic legation into France, Bohemund announces that he has returned into Italy. He has further

requests to make. He would like a council called which will deal not only with the crusade but also with the dispute existing between himself and Alexius and also which will deal with the removal of heresies in the Church concerning the Double Procession, baptism, the Eucharist, and clerical marriage. After this is done, Bohemund wishes Paschal to accompany him to the East.⁶⁴ Had not Urban promised to do so at the council of Bari? Paschal should do this so that all Latins may have the consolation and joy of his presence.

The letter now launches upon an attack upon those who said that Bohemund had unjustly taken up arms against the Emperor. They are declared to be lovers of money rather than justice. Alexius' crimes are enumerated. He is an usurper. He is guilty of schism from the Roman church. He has brought death and spoliation upon the sons of the Roman church. Why should Paschal be exhorted since this, i.e. the punishment of Alexius, is more his business than anyone else's. Yet if Sion sleep, then she must be awakened. For if she sleep, then she will fail in her many responsibilities. Paschal, therefore, is once again urged to take in hand the purgation of Greek errors for the sake of the Church and the exaltation of the Roman see. If he cannot do so in person, let him send out a legate who will accomplish his wishes.⁶⁵

It is interesting to see that in none of these documents did Bohemund reveal the true issue between himself and Alexius: the possession of Antioch. Rather he asks vaguely for justice to be done to him in his quarrel with the Emperor. The old slanders are repeated and a new theme is emphasized: the purgation of Greek errors from the church. Perhaps Bohemund thought that Paschal would be more susceptible to this appeal rather than to others. Perhaps

indeed Paschal had become increasingly aware of the selfish ambitions of the Norman prince. It would seem that Alexius was not without his defenders. Perhaps the papal support for Bohemund had cooled to the point where it was necessary to deliver such an exhortation as the one above.

We can assume that Paschal continued his support of Bohemund. We do not know of any further steps which he took in this direction, although he tried to preach the crusade at one point during his French journey.⁶⁶ At any rate he did not heed Bohemund's exhortation to go to the East. Nor did he hold a council which attempted to deal with the Schism or the Greek errors which Bohemund had enumerated. Nonetheless, we cannot hide our eyes to the fact that in supporting Bohemund, the Papacy lent its prestige to a direct attack on the Greek Empire and Church. The idealism which had marked the actions of Urban II was gone. Perhaps it is not necessary to apologize for Paschal. One could cite Gregory's support of Guiscard, another mistake dictated by a zeal for moral righteousness. With Paschal, however, we can feel that he was powerless in the situation. A greater figure, a stronger pontiff, might have continued Urban's practical idealism but moderation and conciliation towards the Greeks would have been frustrated by Alexius' desire for revenge, by Bohemund's determination to hold Antioch at all costs, by the rising mutual antagonism between Greek and Latin, not to mention the rapacity and greed of the Italian maritimes. Nonetheless to the Greeks, the Papacy had become the enemy of the Empire, and they were confirmed in their fear and suspicion of all things Latin.⁶⁷

The war which followed in 1107-1108 is briefly summarized in the notes.⁶⁸ Bohemund returned thoroughly beaten from this campaign.⁶⁹

Further, the Papacy, through two bishops, Mauro of Amalfi and Renard of Taranto, had witnessed his humiliation.⁷⁰ Henceforth Bohemund would hold Antioch as an imperial vassal and introduce a Greek Patriarch into the city. The treaty of Devol, September, 1108, marked the formal recognition of the Byzantine claim to Antioch. Henceforth the Papacy was to be profoundly aware of that fact.

4. The Close of the Reign of Paschal II.

We have now reached the concluding portion of this first part of the dissertation. It perhaps would be useful to present a short summary of more detailed discussions around certain important questions which this thesis has attempted to answer. The first question to answer concerns the establishment of the temporal power in the East. We have argued that in all likelihood Urban II looked forward to the permanent occupation by Latin Christians of the area we call Syria-Palestine. This papal objective was speeded to fruition by the desire of some of the leaders to carve out for themselves principalities in the East. Bohemund, Tancred, Godfrey and Raymond had either no land at home sufficient for their ambition, or they had, for the sake of the Crusade, left their Western lands behind forever. Mixed into all of this was what we have called Latin jingoism. Racial pride, existing, of course, prior to the Crusade, was intensified by the encounter of the Latins with the older civilizations of the East. It received additional strength from the animosities which had arisen between Greek and Latin during the course of the original expedition. All things therefore conspired to bring about the introduction of the temporal power of Latin princes into the East.

But further, we must enquire as to the establishment of the spiritual power in Syria-Palestine. Urban had preached a Crusade whose purpose was the liberation of Eastern Christians and whose goal was the deliverance of the Holy Sepulchre from the hand of the infidel. The Crusade was no mere temporal expedition, but was the expression of a militant Christendom, inspired and guided by the see of St. Peter. The Christian re-conquest was both temporal and spiritual. As we have argued, Urban wished that the ecclesiastical fabric of the country be restored. We have also argued, that provided the rights of the Greek church were respected and provided that the consciences of the Greeks were not offended, that Urban had envisaged the restoration of an ecclesiastical fabric which would be Latin in character and in full submission to the primacy of Rome. He had not wished the Crusade to alienate further the sympathies of the Greek Church. On the other hand, the Latins would introduce a Latin hierarchy into the East during the course of the re-conquest. Mixed into this papal aim were a variety of factors. Hate for the Greeks increased as the Crusade went on. Racial feeling also strengthened. There was also the ambition of princes, such as Bohemund, who wished to be free of all Greek control. The action of Raymond of Toulouse, in introducing the Latin episcopate, was seen as a product of all these forces. Of all the leaders then remaining, Raymond had been closest to the Pope and to his representative Adhemar. Further, he wished to provide a Latin to rule Latins. His zeal and piety thus cooperated with the plans of Bohemund to eject John from Antioch. Both actions received the support of the crusaders, of whom an increasing portion hated and feared, with contempt thrown in, all things Greek, spiritual and temporal.

But what was to be the relationship between these two powers? For example, was Syria-Palestine to become a church state? Now a church state could exist in two ways. You could have papal rule of the land through an all powerful patriarch whose sole superior was the Pope in Rome. It could be argued that when Godfrey took the title of "Defender of the Holy Sepulchre" that here we see reflected the desire of Urban to establish a church state in the East. If not, why then did not Godfrey assume a more secular title, such as king, the title eventually assumed by his successors? The true reason for this title was Godfrey's piety. He did not assume it out of deference to the spiritual power. True, his election was surrounded by intrigue and controversy. However, as we argued, these intrigues and controversies were not born of a struggle between the spiritual and the temporal powers but rather were a product of factions competing for power, spiritual and otherwise, in Jerusalem. The power Godfrey exercised at first was a royal, a clearly temporal power. His piety dictated the assumption of the novel title.

It is true that many saw the new Latin establishment in terms of a patrimony for all the faithful in Christ. This feeling was to be turned to his own purposes by Daimbert, a man of overwhelming greed and ambition.

We have argued that Urban had not envisaged the creation of a papal state in the East. Daimbert, however, dreamed of the creation of an ecclesiastical state which he would rule as prince-patriarch, acknowledging no one, not even Rome, as his superior. In the fulfilment of his ambition, as we argued, he was assisted by Godfrey's piety, by the general feeling of many, already referred to,

that Jerusalem was the common patrimony of all Christians, by the fact that Godfrey needed the power of Pisa, and finally by the ambition of Bohemund, who wanted a sanction for his possession of Antioch. Hence the investiture of Godfrey and Bohemund by Daimbert and the subsequent demands made on Godfrey by the ambitious prelate. However, as we argued, Daimbert was not a papal legate and his actions in no way are an accurate guide to the wishes of Urban II. As we know, his plans were defeated. In the first place, there was no room within the Roman orbit for an independent patriarchate. Secondly, with the accession of Baldwin, who assumed the title of king, there was no further mention of vassalage to the Patriarch of Jerusalem on the part of the King of Jerusalem. If anything, we have suggested that the Patriarch became the loyal servant of the King of Jerusalem. The Papacy consistently favoured the power of the lay lord in the East. There can be little doubt but that this policy was advocated by the papal legates who returned from the East and made plain to the Papacy that it was upon the temporal power that the Christian re-conquest in Syria-Palestine ultimately depended. However it should be pointed out that the lay lord was not permitted to do as he wished with the Church. In the reinstatement of Daimbert, in the re-election at Rome of Arnulf, we see the papal determination to preserve the canonical freedom of the Church and its possessions from exploitation by the lay lord. Granted that all activities in the East had always a kind of ecclesiastical tinge, due to the special character of the situation, -- where the re-conquest was after all a Holy War, sanctioned by the Church, where bishops fought alongside of lay lords, where the spiritual and temporal powers were most closely intertwined, -- still nonetheless,

we err seriously if we see Syria-Palestine as a vassal state of the Papacy through the local episcopal organisation.

Nor can it be argued that Baldwin was a direct vassal of the Papacy. If the lay power was not subservient to the spiritual power, -- and indeed was actually superior to it, -- the lay power of the crown of Jerusalem was not bound in papal vassalage to the see of Peter. Now, once again, we must say that there existed a kind of special relationship between the lay lord and the Papacy. The Papacy had summoned the princes of Europe to a Crusade. The lords of the Latin Orient were always on crusade. It was the papal duty to foster and protect their continued power in the East. For this reason, if for no other, the Papacy had crushed all signs of ecclesiastical ambition in the East, making the ecclesiastical power the willing help-meet of the temporal power, provided that canonical liberty was preserved. Yet, as we have argued, there is no evidence which would lead us to support the theory that Baldwin of Jerusalem was the direct vassal of Paschal. As far as the royal prerogative went, it was not bound to the Papacy. Further, the Papacy gave every evidence of desiring to please the wishes of the King of Jerusalem. Paschal was happy to sanction the erection of the see of Bethlehem into a bishopric upon the request of Baldwin. We note that it had been the temporal power which took the lead in this, not the patriarch of Jerusalem. Further, in regard to the sees of Tripoli, the ambition of the Jerusalem church to extend its jurisdiction, following the progress of the Jerusalem armies, and at the expense of the ancient prerogatives of the patriarchate of Antioch, sought confirmation from the Papacy through the intercession of the King of Jerusalem. Not only this, Paschal showed that he wished to honour

the King of Jerusalem and to exalt the city more highly, now that it was in Christian hands, and thus he granted the request. However, this must not be seen as an indication of papal vassalage. The question here involved is the ecclesiastical allegiance of the cities which the forces of Jerusalem had conquered from the infidel. Paschal assigned these to the Jerusalem Church at Baldwin's request, showing his favour to the King of Jerusalem and also his determination to add greater power and prestige to the Jerusalem church. By the accepted interpretation of the Roman primacy, the Pope had the right to alter ancient ecclesiastical boundaries whenever he felt this was justified. Although the struggle had temporal ramifications, the action of Paschal was viewed by the Pope himself as an ecclesiastical measure. When the Patriarch of Antioch protested, a protest born of his own injured ambition as well as of the thwarted temporal designs of Antioch on the county of Tripoli, Paschal retreated slightly. He re-defined his concession to Baldwin and produced a formula which aimed at the preservation of the rights of the temporal and the spiritual powers in both Antioch and Jerusalem. Yet in the final analysis, the papal decision was to exalt the church of Jerusalem and its king whenever it could. We repeat, however, that this was not a matter falling within papal jurisdiction because of some hypothetical suzerainty over all the Latin temporal establishments in the East, but rather an action which the Pope judged was within the spiritual competence of the see of Peter. To conclude then, Baldwin was not the vassal of Paschal. He reigned by the grace of God, not of St. Peter. He fought, as we noted, on behalf of all Christians in the West. The Holy Land was the common patrimony of all the Latins, not the vassal state of the Papacy. Neither

patriarch or king was the man of the Roman church. Looked at in broad perspective, the policy established by Paschal commands our admiration. We have described it as a "careful pragmatism". Such it was. The regnum and the sacerdotium were to cooperate and grow together in strength and unity. The Church would preserve her libertas, in free episcopal elections, although royal confirmation was necessary, and in the control of ecclesiastical property. She would succour the pilgrims, tend the holiest shrines of Christendom. She would fight alongside of the princes. She would even administer the kingdom of Jerusalem in the absence of the monarch. She would take an important place in the life of the kingdom and the activities of the Haute Cour. Yet she was not the mistress of the realm. As for the temporal power, it was independent of the Papacy and of the Latin Church in the East. Yet, it was the duty of the monarch and of all the princes to advance the Cross against the infidel, to protect the Holy Sepulchre, to foster the development of the Church in their realms. Since the warfare against the heathen was perpetual, the Papacy, and all sensible prelates in the East, saw that it was the temporal power upon which all depended. Take away that power and all power, spiritual and otherwise, ended. Hence, as we have observed, if anything, the Papacy favoured the temporal power over the spiritual power in the East without allowing the spiritual power to be utterly subservient to the lay lord and without establishing a papal vassalage over the temporal power in the East. We have, in places, described Paschal's character in terms not overly flattering. Paschal did have an indecisive strain in his character. Nonetheless, it must be remembered that it was this "indecisive" pope who helped in great measure to establish these sensible

relationships between Papacy and crown, between papacy and patriarch, and who fostered the healthy relationship that developed between regnum and sacerdotium in the East. To have done all of this is, in itself, no small achievement. When we remember the difficulties under which the Papacy operated, --- the great distances, the conflicting reports, the fact that legates were often unduly influenced by either of the two powers in the East, the ignorance of the Papacy in regard to the political tensions existing in the East, the lack of information on ancient diocesan boundaries and the exact geographical limits of the Christian holdings in Syria-Palestine, --- we see the reign of Paschal II, in this respect, as a great triumph in practical church government.

The question of the disposition of the sees of the county of Tripoli brings us to the entire problem of the Greeks vis à vis the Papacy and the crusaders. We suggested in regard to this that the Papacy was mindful, from the year 1108 on, of the Greek claims to Antioch and its surrounding territories. We also suggested that the Papacy feared the Petrine associations of the see of Antioch, first, in regard to what might develop in Latin-Greek theological controversy if the patriarchate of Antioch were returned to the orbit of Greek Christianity, and also what the Patriarch of Antioch might make out of this in an attempt to resurrect the Eastern notion of independent patriarchs. Unfortunately, this could only remain a suggestion since direct evidence is lacking. However, the Papacy did favour Jerusalem over Antioch, quite apart from the Petrine associations of Antioch and quite apart from the fact that its future as a Latin principality was insecure. Jerusalem, with its shrines, was the Holy City of Christendom. Its sanctity far surpassed that of Antioch. Upon this city, the papacy placed the

greatest favour. Indeed, when in December, 1107, Paschal had attempted to deal with Ebremar and Arnulf, the Pope had spoken of Jerusalem as called to be a model of Latin purity.⁷¹ The phrase, in itself, is suggestive.

Paschal's attitude towards the Greeks was not, we argued, that of his predecessor. Urban had wished to be friendly towards the Greek Christians. Adhemar was to be conciliatory. The rights of the Greek Church and its feelings were to be respected. Paschal does not seem to have been that concerned to prevent the Crusade from driving the two churches any farther apart than before. We concluded that the evidence points to a certain insensitivity on Paschal's part towards the Greeks. It is unlikely that he gave any instructions to the Crusaders of 1101 in regard to the Greeks. The Papacy gave implicit sanction, at the very least, to the Norman possession of Antioch, to the attacks by the Italian maritimes, during the course of the First Crusade, upon Greek possessions. The matter of the reunion of the Churches was complicated throughout by political considerations. Alexius, when he approached Paschal in the period following 1111, was interested in unifying the imperial crowns of East and West, of splitting the Papacy from its alliance with the Normans, of taking advantage of the troubles with Henry V in order to pose as the "defender" of the Roman see. Not only this, Alexius hoped to end the Norman resistance to the claims of his realm and his church to control of Antioch. Above all, he wished to prevent papal support for any more expeditions such as the one Bohemund had raised for the invasion of the Empire. Paschal on his side demanded first of all a Byzantine-Norman alliance and then the submission of the Greek church to the primacy of Rome. It is

safe to say that in all these negotiations, that there was never a meeting of minds. The aims of the two powers were quite diverse. The Crusade had deepened the chasm between the heads of Latin and Greek Christendom. Paschal, to some extent at least, probably shared the Western animosity for Alexius, the enemy of the Crusade. Alexius, we suggested, was probably not interested in church union for its own sake but rather for the political results which it might produce. Further, the Papacy might well wonder what would result if the Roman see were drawn into a state where Caesaro-papalism held sway. By the end of the reign of Paschal, the two churches regarded one another from the opposite sides of a huge gulf created by many factors: cultural and racial antagonism; the need for the Papacy to maintain the Norman alliance; the Norman control of Antioch and the Greek desire to recover the great fortress on the Orontes; the Papacy's sanction of the Normans in Antioch and the presence of a Latin patriarch in that city; by the support given to Bohemund in his crusade against Alexius; the conflict between Byzantine Caesaro-papism which aimed at the unification of an ecclesiastical power within the Oecumene and the exaltation of the imperium of the Emperor over all other powers whatsoever and the determination of the Hildebrandine Papacy that the Church must be free of temporal power, to lead her own life and thus fulfill her sacred function as the path of salvation for all mankind. The Crusade had added additional barriers to a true reconciliation between East and West. Thus, while we may deplore Paschal's attitude towards the Greeks, we must not forget that the chasm between the heads of Latin and Greek Christendom had been centuries in the making and that both he and Alexius were following destinies ultimately irreconcilable and therefore fraught with tragedy for both.

As for the preaching of the crusade, despite a decline in interest after the Crusade of 1101 and Bohemund's disastrous failure, Paschal seems to have continued to exercise his office as the preacher of the crusade. The evidence indicates that throughout his reign, Paschal gave constant encouragement to the Crusade in Spain, at this particular time, threatened by the resurgent power of the Moslems under the impetus of the Almorahvides.⁷³ Despite occasional setbacks, the Christian forces enjoyed in his later years, a victorious advance.⁷⁴ As Urban had done, so Paschal also favoured equally the Crusade in East and West.⁷⁵ Nor was Paschal to neglect the war in the Mediterranean when southern Europe was still troubled by Saracen attacks from the sea. In 1114 Paschal encouraged an attack by Pisa on the Saracen strongholds in the Balearics. The papal will was represented on his expedition by a legate.⁷⁶ Hence in this we see the Pope's determination to fulfill the duty of leading Christendom in its struggle against the infidel.⁷⁷ In this connection, however, we should note again the decline of papal influence over the crusade armies. To all intents and purposes, the papal influence over the Crusade of 1101 had been non-existent. Further, the preaching of the Crusade had been done by the French hierarchy, or later, by Bohemund and a papal legate. The papal control thus was becoming more indirect; the actual leadership of the expeditions was falling more and more into the hands of the temporal power. However, the expedition still remained an expression of the power of Peter to summon Western Christendom against the infidel and, by the power of the Keys, to hold out eternal rewards to the soldiers of the Cross.

FOOTNOTES:

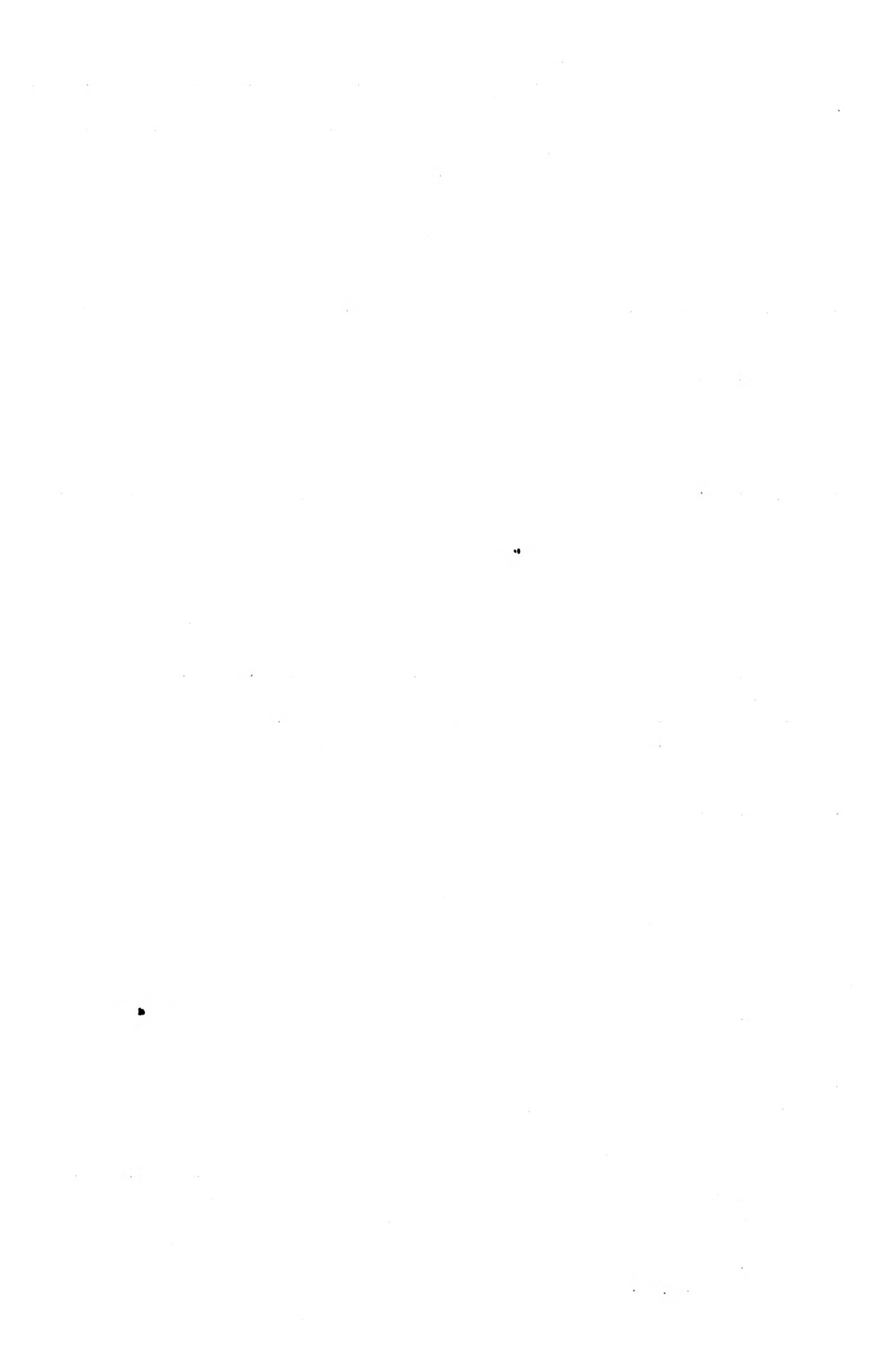
1. For a working bibliography for this section, see the following: the two admirable works of synthesis by A.Fliche, L'Europe occidentale de 888 à 1125, (being volume II of the Histoire Générale, Histoire du Moyen Age, under the general direction of G.Glotz, Paris, 1930) and La Réforme Grégorienne et la Reconquete Chretienne, (1057-1123), (being volume VII of the Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'a nos jours, edited by A.Fliche, V.Martin and E.Jarry, Paris, 1950). This last work is referred to as Fliche, Histoire VIII. Further the work of L.Halphen, L'Essor de l'Europe, Paris, 1940) should be added to these two survey works for this period. The two standard histories of the Crusades are S.Runciman, A History of the Crusades, (three volumes, Cambridge 1952-1954) and R.Grousset, Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem, (three volumes, Paris, 1934-1936). Further works: L.Bréhier, L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age: Les Croisades, (Paris, 1928); L.Chalandon, Histoire de la Domination Normande en Italie et en Sicile, (two volumes, Paris, 1907); M.Villey, La Croisade, (Paris, 1942); J.Longnon, Les Français d'Outre-Mer au Moyen Age, (Paris, 1929).
2. For an analysis of the papal initiative and leadership in the crusade, see Fliche, History VIII, pp. 285 f, and the admirable monograph of Villey, *passim*, especially pp. 95-97, 101-105. The documents give ample testimony to the importance of the Papacy. Gesta, I, Bréhier, pp. 2-4, Hag.Gesta, pp. 102-105, Fulcher, I, 1, RHCOcc., III, p. 321 and those other sources which record the speech at Clermont: Malmesbury, Vitadis, Raymond, Baldic, Guibert and Robert. Even Albert in the "Peter cycle" which opens his history, gives acknowledgment to the papal role, I, 3, 5, RHCOcc., IV, pp. 273-274.
3. Long has been the scholarly debate on the origin and nature of the Crusade. We have already referred to the work of Carl Erdmann who saw the First Crusade as the logical development of the notion of a "Holy War". Other scholars have seen it as a modification of the Western notion of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. See Nicolas Iorga, Breve Histoire des Croisades et de leurs fondations en Terre Sainte, (Paris, 1924) and A.Hatem, Les poemes épiques des croisades, (Paris, 1932) and M.P.Boissonade, De Nouveau sur la chanson de Roland, (Paris, 1923) and his article, "Cluny, la Papauté et la première Grande Croisade internationale contre les Saracens en Espagne", (Revue des Questions historiques, CXVII, 1932). Finally, one would cite the psychological analysis of the motivations at work during the Crusade in Paul Rousset, Les origines et les caractères de la première Croisade, (Neuchatel, 1945).
4. This appears strongly marked Fulcher's account of the speech at Clermont, I, 2-3, RHCOcc., III, pp. 322-324, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 123-138.

5. For a succinct account of Urban's conception of the Roman primacy, see Fliche, Histoire VIII, pp. 322-324.
6. There is little doubt that the growth of pilgrimages to the Holy Land contributed greatly to Europe's enthusiastic desire to cleanse the Holy Sepulchre from the contaminating hand of Islam. See Bréhier, L'Eglise, pp. 21, 48. For a detailed account of one of these early pilgrimages, see Vitalis, III, 4, II, pp. 63-68.
7. Dandolo, Chronicon, RISS (new), XII, I, pp. 214-215, concludes his report of Manzikert and the damage to Eastern Christendom with the words: "Sic manet desolatu ubique orientalis ecclesia".
8. Urban intended but one army as the Flanders letter shows, Hag. Epistulae, pp. 136-137. As for the composition of the army, Urban ordered religious to consult their abbots, the faithful their priests. He excluded the young and all married women. Further he placed all property under the protection of the church and made the crusading vows irrevocable. See the letter to Bologna, Hag. Epistulae, pp. 137-138, Vitalis, IX, 2-3, III, p. 466-476, and Mansi XX, cc. 815-818, 890-891.
9. This refers to our somewhat tentative judgment that Urban wished the Latin temporal power to be introduced into Syria-Palestine.
10. The reader will remember our citation of La Monte's important article, "La Papauté et les Croisades", (Renaissance, II-III, 1944-1945), pp. 154-167. In the article, p. 156, La Monte listed four possible papal motives for the proclamation of the crusade: First the desire to free the Holy Land; second, the desire to effect church union with the Greeks; third, the desire to establish an ecclesiastical state or a papal vassal state; fourth, the desire to demonstrate papal power, thus influencing the course of the Investiture struggle in Europe. He accepted the first, rejected the second and third as I have done, and accepted the fourth, adding a spirited defence of his opinions. Hence, La Monte saw the papal attitude towards the crusade as almost completely self-regarding. The evidence adduced by La Monte is derived from the thirteenth century. There is, it seems to me, not a particle of evidence to support his opinions in regard to the launching of the First Crusade. Matters such as these are difficult to prove since they are almost entirely the product of the historian's reaction to the facts before him. Suffice it to say that La Monte's interpretation seems to me to be the most profound misjudgment of papal motives from Hildebrandine to Innocent III. In regard to the launching of the first crusade, it seems to me that Urban's plans for a single force of small proportions reduces to absurdity the charge that it was an attempt to demonstrate papal power and thus recoup papal prestige.

11. The best attempt to explain the almost miraculous response which Urban's plea at Clermont and elsewhere elicited is to be found in Longnon, op.cit., pp. 1-20.
12. Fundamental information for Paschal's life and reign is to be found in the two volumes of the Liber Pontificalis, edited by L. Duchesne (Paris, 1886-1892). For a secondary source, the standard modern authority is A.Fliche, Histoire VIII, pp. 338 ff.
13. The appeal is sketched in the crudest possible terms; see Hag.Epistulae, pp. 130-136. A similar opinion of Constantinople women, voiced by that eminent twelfth century puritan, Peter Damian, may be found in Dandolo, Chronicon, RISS (new), XII, I, p. 215.
14. For these letters, see Hagenmeyer's collection, passim. Noteworthy in this is Patriarch Simeon's offers of eternal salvation to the crusader and damnation to the laggard, Hag.Epistulae, p. 142. The threat was repeated by the Patriarch on the basis of his apostolic authority, Hag.Epistulae, pp. 148-149. The letter from the crusaders was passed through the churches as the postscript, printed in Hag.Epistulae, p. 155, shows. We have already noted that this letter indicates Alexius' promises of safe-conduct through the Empire. Anselm asked Manasses to proceed against the "false pilgrims" who would not fulfill their vows, Hag.Epistulae, p. 160.
15. AOL, I, No. 118, No. 157, pp. 187, 213-215.
16. Hag.Epistulae, p. 167.
17. Ibid, pp. 173-174.
18. AOL, I, No. 138, p. 198. Daimbert appealed to the Germans in the spring of 1100, Hag.Epistulae, pp. 176-177. As Albert shows, the returning crusaders were to encourage others to go East, VI, 53, RHCocc., IV, p. 499.
19. See Landulph of Milan in RISS (new), V, III, p. 5. It should be added here that at his last council in Rome, April 1099, Urban had preached the Crusade once again. See the Chronicon Malleacense (S.Maxentii Pictavensis) edited by P.Marchegay and E.Mabille, Chroniques des Eglises d'Anjou, (Paris, 1869), p. 418.
20. Vitalis describes this reaction with special mention of Stephen of Blois. His account in regard to the Count of Blois leaves

us uncertain as to whether Stephen feared more the Church's anathema or Adele, his wife, who gave him no peace with her taunts of cowardice. Vitalis, X, 11, 12, 19, IV, pp. 68, 80, 117-120. Ekkehard's Summary of the feeling in the West is admirable, Chronicon Universale, MGSS, VI, p. 220. "Mox profectio populosa, et quae pene priori posset numero dumtaxat aequari, subsequitur, quae post auditas ultra spem res Hierosolimae prospere gestas, a residuis totius occidentis gentibus, maxime ab his quorum prius votis timor vel diffidentia, inopia vel imbecillitas obstiterant, denuo parabatur".

21. JL, 5812, PL, 163, cc. 43-44, Hag.Epistulae, pp. 174-175.
22. Ibid, c. 44: "Omnes ergo regionem vestrarum milites in peccatorum, suorum remissionem vel veniam cohortamini, ut ad illam matrem nostram Orientalem Ecclesiam studeant festinare".
23. Ibid, c. 44: "Allioquin eos infames haberi decernimus. Qui vero de Antiochena obsidione fide pusillamini et ambigua recesserunt, in excommunicatione permaneant, nisi se redituros certis securitatibus confirmaverint. Porro fratribus qui post perpetrata divinitus victoriam revertentur".
24. See the letter to Robert of Flanders, welcoming him home, JL, 5889, dated January 21, 1102, PL, 163, c. 108. Paschal attempted, somewhat feebly, to defend Robert's cause against Henry I of England. See JL, 5883, PL, 163, cc. 80-81, to Anselm of Canterbury, dated 31 December, 1101.
25. Ibid, c. 44: "Ita in omnibus agito, ita pro vestro officio studete, ut mater illa nostra Orientalis ecclesia in statum debitum, largiente Domino, communibus studiis reformetur".
26. Hag.Epistulae, pp. 175-176.
27. Lambert had always been a firm supporter of the crusade movement, having been present at Clermont.
28. The evidence for the above is in Hugh of Flavigny, MGSS, VIII, p. 487. See also JL, 5824 for the exchange of correspondence. While Hugh's presence in the crusade is certain, his legateship remains, to me, in doubt. See the Gallia Christiana, IV, cc. 105, 107, the correspondence with Anselm, PL, 157, cc. 497-498, 505-506 and the appendix to Raymond, RHCOcc., III, pp. 307-309. His presence was accepted by B.Monod, Essai sur les rapports de Paschal II avec Philippe Ier, (Paris, 1907), pp. 10-15, and by R.Röhrich, Geschichte Königreichs Jerusalem, (Innsbruck, 1898), p. 30.



29. Basic is the account of Ekkehard in the Chronicon Universale MGSS, VI, pp. 219-223 and the longer libellus, Hierosolymita, found in RHCocc., V, I. Also there is Book VIII of Albert, RHCocc., IV, pp. 539-585, Fulcher, II, 15-19, RHCocc., III, pp. 397-402, Hag.Fulcher pp. 424-444; the three pious accounts of the martyrdom of Thimo, archbishop of Salzburg in the RHCocc., V, I; the work of Vitalis, X, 19-23, IV, pp. 117-158. Briefer notices are to be found in the great source collections, notably the quotation from the Saxon chronicle in the RHGF, XIII, p. 717; Annales Sancti Rudberti Salisburgensis, MGSS, IX, p. 774; Annales Mellicenses, MGSS, IX, p. 500; Annales Reicherspergenses, MGSS, XVII, p. 450; Annales Rosenveldenses, MGSS, XVI, p. 102; Annales S. Petri Erpeshurdenses, MGSS, XVI, p. 16; Annales Palidenses, MGSS, XVI, p. 72; Annales Weingartenses Welfici, MGSS, XVII, p. 308; Annales Augustani, MGSS, III, p. 135; the excerpts from Richard of Poitou and others, RHGF, XII, pp. 5-6, 412. For additional material on Thimo, see AASS, 28 Septembor, VII, pp. 557, 596, and various references in MGSS, XVII, p. 371; MGSS, XX, p. 656. For short secondary accounts, see Bréhier, L'Eglise, pp. 83-85, Runciman, op.cit., II, pp. 18-31, and Röhricht, pp. 29-39; Geschichte Kön. Jer., pp. 29-39; Grousset, op.cit., I, pp. 317 ff.

30. Caffaro, Liberatio, FSI, I, pp. 111.

31. This letter, mentioned before in connection with the patriarch Arnulf, is JL, 5837, printed in Hag.Epistulae, pp. 179-181. The authenticity of this letter has been questioned. See Kehr, Italia Pontificia, III, pp. 359-360.

32. Caffaro, Liberatio, FSI, I, pp. 111-112.

33. Anselm died at Constantinople, his successor being elected in 1102, Mansi, XX, cc. 1135-1142, 1145-1146.

34. The participants are listed by Runciman in his account of the crusade, loc. cit. and in even greater detail by Röhricht, Geschichte Kön. Jer., loc. cit.

35. Albert, VIII, 5, RHCocc., IV, pp. 561-562.

36. This may be best seen through a perusal of the entries in Röhricht's Regesta. Sample privileges in exchange for services rendered are, in favour of Genoa, No. 42, No. 45, No. 46, No. 53. For the progress of Genoa and Pisa in the Holy Land, in addition to the detailed accounts in the Liberatio and the Annales of Caffaro and the Annales Pisani, see Albert, VII, 54-56, IX, 26-29, RHCocc., IV, pp. 542-544, 605-608. Tyre has many references in passing, as does Fulcher.

37. This would include Bertrand's expedition to claim the lands of his father, Raymond of Tripoli. See also the pilgrimages recorded in Vitalis, X, 6, IV, pp. 26-27 and Albert, X, 1, RHCocc., IV, p. 631.
38. For some examples of these, see the Monachi Sazavensis Continuatio Cosmae, MGSS, IX, pp. 157-158 for the 1130 and 1137 pilgrimages of Meginbert, bishop of Bohemia and Henry, bishop of Olmutz. In 1182, Leopold of Austria went to the East and brought back a piece of the True Cross. Continuatio Zwethlensis Altera, MGSS, IX, p. 542 and Continuatio Claustroneoburgensis Secunda MGSS, IX, p. 617. The most famous of the visitors was Thierry of Flanders who made four trips to the East. His first pilgrimage was in 1139. See Tyre, XV, 6, Krey-Babcock, II, p. 102, RHCocc., I, p. 665.
39. Hence in 1103, Henry of Germany announced his determination to go to the East in expiation of his sins. This occurred during the Christmas-Epiphany celebrations at Mainz, following a sermon by Emhard, bishop of Wurzburg. This proved to be, however, another political manoeuvre against the German nobility. Annales Hildesheimenses, MGSS, III, p. 107.
40. There was correspondence for example, on spiritual matters between Baldwin and Anselm of Canterbury. See Anselm's letters, Book IV, No. 9, PL 159, cc. 206. On the western knowledge of events in the East, Ekkehard, Chronicon Universale, MGSS, VI, p. 225: "Nonnulli etiam palmati de Hierosolima redeuntes, Acris, quae et Accaron, a nostris expugnatam, nunciant, alia quoque preter haec non pauca, quae multam nobis laetitiam ministrarent, fausta super Hierosolimitanae ecclesiae statu narrant". I mention in passing the growth of the relic trade which doubtless stimulated Western interest in the East. See Röhricht, Regesta, No. 54, No. 99, No. 103, No. 235, for example.
41. See the Chronicon Universale, MGSS, VI, pp. 220-30. Other expressions are in the Hierosolymita, XXIII-XXVI, XXXIII, RHCocc., V, I, pp. 29-32, 37-38.
42. Thus, years later, Otto von Frising attributed the failure of the Crusade to Alexius' use of ambush against the Latins and his desire to sell them into slavery, Chronicon, VII, MGSS, XX, p. 251.
43. Some writers were more moderate: Ex Historiae Franciae Fragmento, RMGF, XII, pp. 5-6 refers to Alexius' fear of the Latins and attributes the disaster either to Latin ignorance or Greek duplicity. However on p. 6, the same source accused Alexius of constantly hindering the passage of pilgrims to Jerusalem.



The Annales Augustani, MGSS, III, p. 135, well-informed as to the Crusade, makes no accusation against the Greeks. Fulcher, generally impartial towards the Greeks, accused Alexius of persecuting the pilgrims, II, 38, RHCocc., III, p. 418, Hag.Fulcher, p. 521. As we have noted, the Gesta, especially in its later editions by Baldire and Guibert, was quite hostile. So also, as we have noted, is Orderic Vitalis. Tyre also was not immune to this interpretation of Alexius' policy with the Latins, II, 5, Krey-Babcock, II, p. 123, RHCocc., I, pp. 79-80. Bernold of Constance, MGSS, V, p. 466, accused Alexius of "hindering" pilgrims. Richard of Portou repeated the common report that the Turks had crushed the crusade of 1101 with the consent of Alexius, RHGF, XII, p. 412. The hostile feeling of the majority completely eclipsed the moderate attitudes of some who perhaps had seen the friendly comments on the Greeks in the letters of Anselm and Stephen and the letter from Lucia which had absolved Alexius from any blame connected with the retreat at Philomelium. For this last, see Hag.Epistulae, p. 166, where the cowardly report of Stephen of Blois is clearly emphasized.

44. B.Monod, op.cit., pp. 42-43, dated 2 December 1104.
45. See Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 310 ff.
46. For this, A.C.Krey's article, "A Neglected Passage in the Gesta", (The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro, edited by L.J.Pactow, New York, 1928), to which frequent mention has already been made. The popularity of Bohemund and his legendary reputation in Europe are illustrated when we recall that the Lombards on the crusade of 1101 diverted the expedition in Asia Minor, intending to free Bohemund. This foolish re-routing of their forces brought about the destruction of the Crusade. Vitalis would have us believe that his imprisonment reduced Christendom to tears, X, 23, IV, p. 143. Bohemund had helped to keep up popular enthusiasm for himself in the West. The Historia Belli Sacri says he sent Kerbogha's tent to the people of Bari, LXXXIV, RHCocc., III, p. 206.
47. Historia Belli Sacri, CXL, RHCocc., III, p. 228.
48. Ekkehard, Chronicon Universale, MGSS, VI, p. 230, states this clearly: "ipse usque ad Hispaniae regna peragrarere cunctamque quam posset militiam quocumque pacto contra tyrannum prescriptum cepit congregare". For the presence of Bohemund before the Pope and the delegation of Bruno of Segni as his companion and bearer of papal favour, see the Chronica Mon. Casinenses, MGSS, VII, pp. 776-777. For further reference to Bohemund and Paschal, see Bartolf, RHCocc., III, p. 538, and the Historia Belli Sacri, CXL, RHCocc., III, p. 228. The Anonymous of Bari

reports his departure to Rome as of September, 1105, Muratori, RISS, V, p. 155. Paschal at his request issued a bill in favour of St. Nicolas of Bari, JL, 6053, at Bohemund's request. Anna knew of his anti-Greek agitation in the West, XII, 1, 8, Dawes, pp. 300, 302, 318, Leib, III, pp. 53, 55-56, 79-80. This anti-Greek agitation is confirmed by Vitalis, XI, 12, IV, pp. 211-213. On the papal banner, symbolising papal approval and protection, see Erdman, op.cit., pp. 173 ff, and Villey, op.cit., pp. 59 ff. Bruno of Segni, we note in passing, was the author of a treatise attacking the Greek use of leavened bread in the Eucharist. See PL, 165, cc. 1085-1090.

49. This pious exercise is recorded by Tudebodius, CXL, RHCoc., III, p. 228. See also Vitalis, X, 23, XI, 12, IV, pp. 151, 210-212. See the article by Albert Poncelet, "Boemund et S. Leonard", (Analecta Bollandiana, XXXI, 1912), pp. 160-168, and Yewdale, op.cit., p. 98.
50. Vitalis knew of Alexius' attempts to ransom Bohemund, X, 3, IV, pp. 140-141.
51. For his marriage, Orderic Vitalis, V, 19, II, p. 448, XI, 12, IV, p. 213. Yewdale, op.cit., p. 108.
52. Vitalis, XI, 12, IV, pp. 211-213. After his wedding ceremony at Chartres, Bohemund seems to have addressed a harangue to the multitude on the need to march to the East against Alexius.
53. For the council, see Mansi, XX, cc. 1205-1208.
54. RHGF, XII, p. 405, quotes the Chronicon Malleacense, of St. Maxentius in the diocese of Poitiers. See the edition of P. Marchegay and E. Mabille, Chronique des Eglises, d'Anjou, (Paris, 1869), pp. 351-433 especially 421-424. This chronicle and the Chronicon Vindocinensi, printed in L. Halphen's Recueil d'Annales Angevines et Vendomoises, (Paris, 1903), pp. 68-61, stress in their reports the preaching of the crusade as such. See also Marchegay and Mabille, pp. 155-177. Suger, in his Vita Ludovici VI Grossi, RHGF, XII, pp. 17-18, recounts Bohemund's first war with Alexius. After this, the abbot records Bohemund's marriage to Constance of France Bohemund's many exhortations, arousing great enthusiasm for the "sancti Sepulchri viam". All three sources speak unequivocally of the papal support of Bohemund and the presence of Bruno of Segni. However, Sigebert, MGSS, VI, p. 372, speaks of the expedition as directed against Alexius. So also does Richard of Poitou, RHGF, XII, p. 412 and the writers in the Historia Franciae, RHGF, XII, p. 6, and Tudebodius, CXL, RHCoc., III, p. 228. Orderic Vitalis, XI, 12, IV, p. 212 reports the presence of the Greek imposter "Michael Parapinace". That Bruno took an active part in these proceedings is supported in the evidence cited above in the notes. See also Eadmer, Historia Novorum, (edited by Martin Rulo, London, 1864, RS, No. 81), pp. 179-180.

55. Richard of Poitou, RHGF, XII, p. 412, speaks of Greek treachery to William of Aquitaine. The choice of Poitu as the locus for the council becomes explicable. From this city the army of Aquitaine had set out on the crusade of 1101. Bohemund approached the Normans through Henry I. See Vitalis, XI, 12, IV, p. 211. There was little response, if any.
56. See Eadmer, Historia Novorum, pp. 179-180, where Bohemund's reception at Rheims is described.
57. Gerard, Archbishop of York, wanted to go with him but was unable to do so. See RR, No. 47.
58. Bohemund's recruits received the usual crusade privileges. See Ivo of Chartres, Epistulae, No. 168, No. 169, PL, 162, cc. 170-173.
59. Orderic Vitalis indicates that Bohemund promised numerous fiefs to his followers, XI, 12, IV, p. 213.
60. To a few, Bohemund perverted the crusade notion. See William of Malmesbury, II, p. 454. Albert, X, 45, RHCOcc., IV, p. 652 speaks bluntly of Bohemund's deception of the West. It was, perhaps, with this expedition in mind that Romuald of Salerno remarked of Bohemund that he was always seeking the impossible. Chronicon, RISS (new), VII, I, p. 206.
61. Mansi, XX, c. 1206, adds this to the report of the Chronicon Malleacense.
62. Orderic Vitalis, XI, 24, IV, pp. 239 ff.
63. This is the letter which W. Holtzman printed in volume fifty of the Neues Archiv, (1935), pp. 280-282.
64. Ibid, p. 280.
65. Neues Archiv, L, pp. 281-282.
66. In the fall of 1106, Paschal was on his way into France. He seems to have called a council in north Italy. JL, 6076. The council assembled at Florence in September, 1106 but its proceedings are unknown to us. Another council was held at Guastalla in October. However, at Troyes, in May, 1107, he preached the crusade with little effect to the assembled

multitude. See Mansi, XX, c. 1218, the Chronicon S. retri Vivi Senonensis, RHGF, XII, p. 281; the Liber Pontificalis, II, p. 299 and JL, I, p. 730. The Franks, having receded from the enthusiasm created by Bohemund, were too concerned with the Germans without and the reform of the church within. See Suger in his Vita Ludovici VI Grossi, RHGF, XII, p. 20. Further, JL, I, p. 730 omits all mention of the crusade in the summary of the council at Troyes.

67. Thus Anna's scorn and hate for the Papacy. For example, she describes with obvious disgust Bohemund's success in winning papal approval for his war against Alexius, XII, 8, Dawes, p. 318, Leib, III, pp. 79-80. The reader will see, from the text, that we have accepted the traditional interpretation of Paschal's relationship to Bohemund. This interpretation is not as secure as one might like. This has been pointed out by M.W. Baldwin in his article, "The Papacy and the Levant during the Twelfth Century" (Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, III, No. 2, January, 1945), p. 284. Unfortunately Dr. Baldwin merely suggested that Bohemund deluded Paschal into thinking that his expedition was a genuine crusade to the Holy Land. It is true that many sources refer only to the preaching of the crusade as such. Further, the letter of Bohemund to Paschal could be interpreted as an attempt to override Paschal's objections to the expedition against Alexius. An argument could be developed along these lines: When Bohemund appeared before Paschal, he did not mention Alexius, but merely asked for papal permission to preach of a crusade. In France however, Bohemund revealed his true plans. Bruno of Segni, disturbed by this, was nonetheless forced to go along although he informed the Pope of these new developments. Accordingly, when Bohemund returned to Italy he heard of the papal displeasure, perhaps even that Paschal had disavowed the expedition. However, Paschal was too deeply committed to be able to back out completely. Hence he continued to preach the crusade in half-hearted fashion.

In considering this possible reconstruction, it must be pointed out that the evidence of Anna must be set aside along with that of Orderic Vitalis and other Latin sources. For these reasons, I have presented the traditional interpretation. However, mindful of a different possible interpretation, I have been more moderate than most in my judgment of Paschal.

68. The basic source for the war is Anna, Books XII and XIII. It is significant that Bohemund secured the support of Genoa and Pisa, who transported him across the Adriatic. Alexius had tried to prevent this alliance and failed, Dölger, II, No. 1219, incorrectly dated 1104. Alexius' preparations may be found in Alexiad, XII, 3f, Dawes, pp. 304 ff, Leib, III, pp. 59 ff, together with an account of Bohemund's early success at Durazzo. See also Dölger, II, No. 1224, No. 1225. The alliance with Venice, Dölger, II, No. 1238, was further supplemented by an alliance with Kilij-Arslan of Iconium, Dölger, II, No. 1235. The former sent a fleet against him all but

cutting his supply lines. See Annales Venetici Breves, MGSS, XIV, p. 70 and Dandolo, Chronicon, RISS (new), XII, I, p. 226. Bohemund, his army ravaged by disease, without proper supplies, and hampered by sedition, fomented in his army by Alexius, eventually surrendered. The treaty is given in full in the thirteenth book of the Alexiad. The treaty in Dölger, II, No. 1243 who notes the many citations of the treaty. The best treatments of Bohemund's Epirot war are Yewdale, op.cit., 115-134 and Chalandon, Essai, pp. 243-250.

69. It is a curious example of Latin egotism to consider the Latin accounts of the treaty. Vitalis sees the treaty as forcing Alexius to promise to protect pilgrims, XI, 24, IV, p. 242. So also Fulcher, II, 39, RHCOcc., III, p. 418, Hag.Fulcher, pp. 522-524. Albert repeats this although aware of Bohemund's complete humiliation, X, 44, RHCOcc., IV, p. 652.
70. They are mentioned explicitly by Anna, XIII, 12, Dawes, p. 357, Leib, III, p. 138.
71. PL, 163, c. 230.
72. As indicated in section one, the papal alliance with the Normans continued to be strong through almost all of Paschal's reign. In October, 1117, he conferred the apostolic legation on Roger of Sicily. See JL 6562. This was to bring endless trouble to the Papacy. See E.Caspar, Roger II, (Innsbruck, 1904), pp. 51 ff.
73. The threat of the Almorahvides at this time caused considerable concern in Western Europe. See Suger, Vita Ludovici VI Grossi, RHGF, XII, p. 281. JL 6273, dated May 2, 1110 reveals Papal concern also over the successes attained by the Almorahvides.
74. Thus JL 5839 and 5840 forbid the withdrawal of any soldier or cleric for the sake of the Jerusalem crusade, PL, 163, cc. 44-45, dated 14 October, 1100. JL, 5861 and 5863 of March 1101, repeat the same admonition. The same privileges applied to those on the crusade in Spain. JL 5810, December 1099, PL 153, c. 33 to Alfonso of Spain. Many letters survive which indicate the papal concern for the restoration of the ecclesiastical fabric of Spain, for the re-constitution of diocesan organisation, for the protection and exaltation of the great shrine of Santiago de Compostella and its bishop, for the creation of a Spanish primacy and for the establishment of a papal legation to Spain. See a few of the letters from the early years of Paschal's reign which deal with these problems: JL, 5834, 5836, (1100) 5933 (1102) for the restoration of the ecclesiastical fabric of Spain; JL 5854 (1100) and 5882 (1101)

for the re-constitution of diocesan organization, for the see of Compostella and its elevation to metropolitical rank, see JL 5810 (1099), 5811 (1099), 5822 (1100), 5833 (1100), 5839 (1100), 5860 (1101), 5862 (1101), 5878 (1101), 5880 (1101), 5881 (1101), 5942-5944 (1103), 5950 (1103), 5986 (1104), 6042-6043 (1105). JL 5858 (1101) conferred the primacy on Bernard of Toledo. The new metropolitan of Santiago de Compostella received the apostolic legation.

75. For a summary of papal activity in Spain, with an excellent bibliography, see Villey, op.cit., pp. 193 ff.
76. The Liber Pontificalis, II, p. 301; Annales Pisani, RISS, VII, u, p. 8 ~~xxx~~; Chronica Mon. Casinenses, MGSS, VII, p. 789; Liber Maiolichinus de Gestis Pisanorum Illustris, FSI, pp. 3, 7-9, 16, ff, 137 ff, 144. This last work reveals most clearly the papal support given in this expedition.
77. The Saracen power in the Mediterranean was far from broken. See the raids on south Italy recorded in the Chronica Mon. Casinensis, MGSS, VII, pp. 786-787, and the Annales Cavenses, MGSS, III, p. 191. The great Roger of Sicily was to undertake a series of expeditions against North Africa (in 1117-1119, 1123 and 1127). See Chalandon, Domination Normande, I, pp. 367 ff.

CIRCULATE AS MONOGRAPH

617373

P Toronto, University of
Univ Theses, Ph.D., 1955. Rowe, J.G. The papcy
T and the crusaders in the East, 1100-1160.

v.1

NAME OF BORROWER

DATE

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

DO NOT
REMOVE
THE
CARD
FROM
THIS
POCKET



