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## Introduction

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Louis IX – the future St Louis – swore his first crusade vow in late 1244.<sup>1</sup> Sources close to the royal court paint a sombre picture of the occasion, noting that a majority of French nobles and high-ranking clerics were sceptical of the King's decision to lead a crusade to the East.<sup>2</sup> For these men and women, there had been too many failed attempts to rescue Jerusalem in recent memory to justify another costly expedition to the East, particularly one they believed stood little chance of success.<sup>3</sup> Louis's own mother, Blanche of Castile, was particularly vocal in her objections, believing that Louis's extended absence from France (and potential death in the East) would have dire consequences for the health of the monarchy, which had only recently entered a period of relative stability. Thus, she convinced Pope Innocent IV to release her son from his vow on the grounds that he had undertaken it during a bout of delirium brought on by a recent illness.<sup>4</sup> Louis's crusading ambition was not fleeting, however, and he soon took the vow again, this time with proof that he possessed all his mental faculties. Crusading soon became one of Louis's principal means of expressing his piety. At the end of the thirteenth century, his participation in two crusades (in 1244 and 1270) played an important role in securing his canonization, an honour ultimately granted by Pope Boniface VIII in 1297.<sup>5</sup> Over the course of the succeeding centuries, astonishing stories of Louis's crusading adventures fuelled the spread of his legend and, in the words of Collette Beaune, 'encircled the image of Louis with the miraculous aura of the crusades'.<sup>6</sup> From this point onward, French kings would be fundamentally linked to the crusading movement. As late as the nineteenth century it was taken for granted by the public and scholars alike that French kings and crusading went hand in hand.<sup>7</sup> Few scholars have ever asked why.

Set against the widespread opposition to Louis's plan, we ought to wonder what inspired the King to take the crusading vow on two occasions in the first place. Scholars have long agreed that Louis possessed a heightened sense of piety and that he used the link between crusading and royal authority to promote bureaucratic, institutional growth in France. One might ask, though, why his personal piety seemed to demand a particular devotion to crusading, as opposed to other expressions of piety. What was it about the crusading movement that inspired the King to promote royal authority in *that* way? After all, there were other suitable outlets that presented much less risk to the King. For example, French kings had long demonstrated their sacrality by founding new religious houses and supporting existing ones. Both themes were commonly deployed in early medieval texts that sought to promote the sacred status of French kings.

Moreover, Louis IX had less need for such external bulwarks to royal power than had previous kings. In 1244, when Louis took his first vow, he was in a comparatively strong political position in France.<sup>8</sup> He controlled a larger and more centralized kingdom than had his predecessors, and venturing off to the East was a dangerous and expensive business. His own father, Louis VIII, had died in 1226 while returning from the Albigensian Crusade, forcing a hasty coronation of a twelve-year-old Prince Louis and a tumultuous regency under a domineering mother. The King's first son (Louis) was not born until February 1244, which means that the risk of another regency government was high. More poignantly, the spectacular failure of the Fifth Crusade at Damietta in 1221 would have been fresh in the King's memory, and he would not have wanted his name to be attached to another expedition like that one. And yet, he never seemed to have thought twice about committing to his vow because he understood his participation in the crusades to be a necessary function of being the French King.<sup>9</sup> When and how did such an idea emerge? It is true that Louis's three immediate predecessors had all taken part in crusades, but none had demonstrated his unwavering commitment to the movement or confronted the same level of noble disapproval. Importantly, all three ruled over much weaker kingdoms and thus had less to lose from a potential failure in the East. All three, it should be noted, were also generally unsuccessful in their military endeavours.<sup>10</sup> Faced with this background, we must search for the origins of Louis's crusading piety in deeper convictions than a simple desire to be a good Christian or to follow family precedent. The King's relentless support of the crusade bespeaks a broader and deeper connection between kingship and crusade. It is the principal objective of this book to consider the origin and development of this idea in France.

This book is about the relationship between the crusading movement and the twelfth-century French kings. It is not, however, a history about what the French kings did in the East, though several such episodes will be considered. It is rather an examination of the various ways in which crusading intersected with Capetian self-fashioning and understandings of rulership among those closest to the royal court. Crusading had a greater significance for French royal history than the frequently disappointing deeds of the kings would suggest. In fact, the unimpressive crusading careers of the French kings may help explain why such a topic has not been treated in detail before. Historians of the institutional components of the crusades have preferred to focus on explaining success rather than dwelling on failure, a fact that obscures the ways in which crusading informed the cultural and political ethos of medieval rulers. Thus, at its core this is a book about the place of the crusading movement in the cultural and political development of France. Crusading kings, French or otherwise, tend to exert a unique hold on the historical imagination, and it is easy to forget, therefore, that European rulers were not in the beginning enthusiastic participants in the movement. The First Crusade was launched in 1095, yet the first monarch did not join the movement in a meaningful way until 1146, when the French King Louis VII took the cross to lead the Second Crusade.<sup>11</sup> What impact did fifty years of non-participation in one of the most significant movements of the Middle Ages have on the image and practice of European kingship and the discursive parameters of cultural development? This book considers this question by examining the challenge to political authority that confronted the French kings and their family members in the first half of the twelfth century as the result of their failure to join the early crusades – what can be appropriately termed the ‘crisis of crusading’. A further objective is to consider the various ways in which subsequent kings and other members of the royal court deployed crusading propaganda and imagery in support of their claims to rule. It helps explain, in other words, why Louis IX felt such a strong compulsion to take a crusading vow.

A central argument of this book is that over the course of the twelfth century, as various actors near to the Capetian court came to fuse emerging crusade ideas with ancient ideas of sacred kingship, a new royal identity emerged that was fundamentally connected to and shaped by the crusading movement. By the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, the constructed image of the French royal crusader had become an essential element in the French kings’ collective claim to be the ‘most Christian rulers’, a term first used in the Carolingian era but which, since the early

twelfth century, had developed an association with the crusades.<sup>12</sup> In 1970 Joseph Strayer argued that medieval French political legitimacy depended not only on administrative and institutional centralization and efficiency, but also on the ability of the French kings to shape and promote the proper image of kingship.<sup>13</sup> The French kings, Strayer argued, needed to convince their subjects that they were actually the 'the most Christian'. The crusades had become an important means of demonstrating divine favour, and thus, they came to form a key element in the French kings' claim. The process of promoting a French royal crusading narrative built on a long-standing attempt to imbue French kings with a sacred aura by linking them to important events or people, such as the Old Testament kings. The royal link to crusading is thus crucial to understanding the larger transformation of the French kingdom.

The ideology of the French royal crusading tradition was shaped, preserved, and protected by various religious houses with ancient connections to the royal court, most notably Saint-Denis. The French royal ethos was imbued deeply enough with the ideology of crusade that when Louis IX was faced with the opportunity to lead an expedition to the East, his response was, in part, preconditioned by nearly a century's worth of image-making. The implication of this argument has significance well beyond the specific subject of the crusading movement. From a political perspective, this period of French history was a difficult one for its kings. The late eleventh and much of the twelfth century were characterized by constant political and cultural change and were often punctuated by acute crises, many of which threatened the very foundation of the monarchy.<sup>14</sup> From this uncertain crucible emerged sometime in the last quarter of the twelfth century the idea of France as a centralized kingdom ruled over by a strong and powerful king. Scholars have long sought to understand the intricacies of this development; in fact, it has been a dominant trend in the historiography of medieval France since the late nineteenth century. And yet, the exact way in which the French King transformed himself from personal ruler to impersonal bureaucratic ruler has yet to be fully explained, though not for lack of trying. In part this has been the result of a focus on administrative and institutional approaches to understanding French kingship. More recently, though, as cultural and anthropological methodologies are applied, new ways of interpreting the transformation of kingship have emerged, and it is one aim of this book to contribute to this growing literature.

Historians have long looked to the institutional developments of the central Middle Ages to explain the rise of the modern French State.<sup>15</sup> Even

before the Middle Ages had ended, monks close to the French court were arguing in the *Grandes Chroniques de France* that French identity was part and parcel to the dynastic integrity of the kings.<sup>16</sup> The Bourbon kings would later seize on this in support of their own claims of legitimacy.<sup>17</sup> Deeply rooted in these traditions, and drawing on their fundamental assumptions concerning the nature of the birth and gestation of the State, modern French historiography has often blended a positivist methodology with a nationalist search for the beginning of the institutional elements of the modern French State. Implicit in many French histories produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a belief that irrespective of whether they recognized it at the time, France had existed as a sovereign nation throughout the Middle Ages, at least since the Capetian accession in 987. Robert Fawtier would summarize this position elegantly in the introduction to his 1942 book *Les Capétiens et la France*, which sought to understand ‘the part played by the Capetian dynasty in the creation of the French nation’.<sup>18</sup> A major consequence of this has been a strong focus on administrative and institutional history by scholars interested in medieval France. The individual points of emphasis have differed, of course, but many historians have sought to pinpoint the specific point at which France became a bureaucratically impersonal and centralized kingdom.<sup>19</sup>

The historiography of medieval France was driven in the latter decades of the twentieth century by a focus on social, economic, and cultural history, the works of scholars such as Marc Bloch and George Duby leading the shift away from political and institutional questions. And yet, as Marcus Bull has pointed out, when the ‘*annaliste* ice age’ began to thaw in the 1990s, it became clear that the more traditional historiographical interests had not disappeared, but were being approached in new and creative ways by scholars applying the methods of cultural anthropology and social history to questions of politics and institutional development.<sup>20</sup> Administrative sources were not ignored, but rather set against descriptions of ritual and ceremony and art and architecture to paint a fuller picture of medieval French kingship.<sup>21</sup> This development should be considered alongside a thriving study of the relationship between the administrative requirements of the crusade and the centralizing policies of the French kings of the thirteenth century. In 1979, William Chester Jordan demonstrated that Louis IX’s crusading ambition was fundamentally connected to the royal image and, thus, to the King’s authority.<sup>22</sup> John Baldwin has studied the administrative changes undertaken by Philip Augustus as part of his preparation for the Third Crusade, arguing that they ultimately begot a more centralized and administratively less personal kingdom.<sup>23</sup> Many others have

studied the various ways in which crusading had an impact on the kings of France over the course of the thirteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Far less attention has been paid to the French kings and the crusades before the reign of Philip Augustus, perhaps because the kings failed in their endeavours (Louis VII) or else did not participate (Philip I and Louis VI).

There is good reason to consider the relationship between the French kings and the crusading movement during this transitional period (and to reconsider it during the reign of Philip Augustus). Crusading had more than an administrative impact on the West; it shaped and defined the ideas of power that were central to the French monarchs' claims of legitimacy. Over the past several years, the need for a study of the role of the crusades in shaping western political culture has been recognized, and the methodological tools more suited to such a task developed. Thomas Bisson highlighted the effectiveness of understanding the operation of power in contributing to the broad and complex conversation about the relationship among government, rulership, and authority in this period that has continued to shape the historiography of medieval France.<sup>25</sup> Crusade studies have also begun moving away from narrative and logistical history to recognize the importance of family history, crusader identity, and historical memory, to note only a few of the promising topics that have been studied.<sup>26</sup> Study of the crusades has moved to focus on the culture and society of the crusaders themselves and their families, as well as the broader place of the crusading movement in European history. It is a principal goal of the present book to draw together the hitherto independent traditions of crusade studies and socio-political history and to examine the role played by the crusades in the development of the French monarchy.

Since the aim of the present work is to build on recent trends in both crusading and French history, some justification of the geographic and thematic focus of this project is in order. If it is true that the First Crusade had an impact on the traditional power system of the non-participating elite, then it is likely that this phenomenon was not limited to northern France. In the same way, while prestige was a crucial element in the operation of power at this time, participation in the crusades obviously was not the only way to accrue it. This book focuses on France for several reasons. Around 1100 royal power was very tenuous, and as such, we might expect any anxiety to be more amplified and appear more clearly in the French sources, which are both diffuse – scattered across annals, chronicles, royal acts, architecture, and artwork – and legion. It was also around this time that the monks at Saint-Denis, under the guidance of Abbot Suger, began producing royalist texts at an unmatched rate. Germany and England lack

this consistent source base for royal ideology, and thus, while there may well be similar patterns developing elsewhere, the most consistent and best evidence is for France. In the same vein, the Capetian dynasty was remarkably long-lived and concerned with its own dynastic integrity and heritage. Thus, the images and ideas created at Saint-Denis and enshrined in the sources produced there were passed down in a remarkably consistent fashion, the end result being a connection between crusading and kingship that bespoke a strong historical tradition.

My choice to focus on the crusades as a central influencing factor of royal ideology in this period is born out of the monumental and transformative impact that the early crusading movement had on western society. Indeed, the First Crusade captured the medieval imagination on an unprecedented scale, helping to usher in many of the crucial developments of the twelfth century.<sup>27</sup> One metric by which to assess its impact on medieval society is the level of textual production that followed the event. In addition to several letters composed by participants while still on the expedition, at least four eyewitness narrative accounts were circulating throughout western Europe by 1110. These, in turn, inspired the production of a host of other sources, and it is, as a consequence, difficult to think of another event in the Middle Ages that piqued this level of interest.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, the editors of one First Crusade chronicle looked all the way back to the histories produced in the 330s and 320s BCE to celebrate the conquests of Alexander the Great to find an appropriate literary parallel.<sup>29</sup> As further evidence for the expedition's place in the western mindset, a text begun in 1096, and continued over the course of the First Crusade, provides an excellent gauge of the suddenness with which the First Crusade impacted western culture.<sup>30</sup> In that year, Count Fulk of Anjou had set out to compose a family history for the purpose of shoring up his claims of political legitimacy. Fulk was still working on his text in 1098, when he felt compelled to abandon the dynastic project to devote his attention to recording the scattered bits of news trickling in from the crusading host in Syria. And thus, interspersed in what was otherwise a secular, family history, is extensive material relating to the progress of the First Crusade. Even before the expedition had reached Jerusalem and fulfilled its prophetic mission, it seems that stories of crusading heroism were commanding the attention of western audiences.

It is also worth emphasizing that many of those who undertook the monumental task of writing about the First Crusade had a difficult time finding adequate language to frame the expedition, and virtually all of them resorted to Old Testament examples – such as the Maccabees or Gideon – to interpret its success. Robert the Monk, a Benedictine writing around 1110, noted that the capture of Jerusalem ‘was not the work of

humans, but that of God'.<sup>31</sup> Robert's contemporary and fellow chronicler of the First Crusade, Guibert of Nogent, filtered the success of the First Crusade through the memory of the Old Testament wars of the Israelites:

We said not once but as it happens many times, nor is it displeasing to repeat, such that never happened since the era of pagans. If the sons of Israel are mentioned to me, and the miracles performed for them by God, I will provide them a sea parted and filled with gentiles ... to them [the crusaders]. Christ, himself a model of strength and uprightness, provided inspiration; he strengthened them when they had no hope, with the food of the word of God.<sup>32</sup>

The title selected by Guibert for his chronicle synthesizes prevailing twelfth-century opinion in an elegant expression of meaning: *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Deeds of God done through the Franks). Although a predominant number of the crusading texts were produced by monks, the awesome nature of the First Crusade meant that it also functioned as a widespread cultural referent, a common point of orientation for medieval men and women. Set against this background, it is not a hollow claim that crusading prestige had the potential to be a significant shaper of political destiny over the course of the twelfth century. Since crusading is the dominant theme of this book, it has also dictated the chronological limits of 1095–1229. The year 1095 is when Urban II called the First Crusade, and 1229 is when the Treaty of Paris was signed, ending the Albigensian Crusade and ushering in the Age of St Louis, a period of French History for which many excellent treatments exist.

The book is divided into two sections, each with a distinct focus. The first section (Chapters 1 and 2) examines the political, religious, and cultural context in which the 'crisis of crusading' appeared, covering a period (roughly) from 1090 to 1110. Chapter 1 establishes the narrative and conceptual framework necessary to interpret this crucial period of crusading. In particular, it examines the state of Capetian France on the eve of the First Crusade. While many historians have considered this period, few have done so from a non-administrative perspective. That is to say, the prevailing narrative explains the rise of Capetian power in the early twelfth century in terms of fiscal centralization and land acquisitions that began at the end of the eleventh. This is not incorrect, but neither is it the full picture. Thus, the chapter argues that this period cannot be fully understood without considering the role of prestige in the transformative process. In this way, the pre-crusading history of France is an essential component in understanding the eventual impact of the crusades on the image and practice of kingship.



Given the importance of prestige in the practice of rulership, Chapter 2 argues that the First Crusade had a polarizing impact on French society. The unlikely success of the expedition opened a new route to power for ambitious mid-ranking nobles and castellans, who suddenly were presented with the opportunity to transform heroic deeds done in the East into political status and capital at home. A good number of these men and women amassed political and economic benefits on the basis of their crusading reputations, a point that has (rightly) led many to argue that the First Crusade had a generally positive impact on European society. And yet, the expedition's success also occasioned a serious challenge for Europe's non-crusading elite – in particular, the kings of France, who had very quickly to adapt their ruling methods to compete in the new 'economy of status'. Through a close examination of Capetian marriage patterns and royal involvement with the production of crusade-related texts, this chapter builds up a picture of cultural frames, scripts, and schemata that in the early years of the twelfth century combined and resulted in what can appropriately be termed a 'crisis of crusading' for the French royal court.

With the framework of crisis set out in the first section of the book, the remaining chapters consider the royal reaction to the lack of crusading prestige and its impact on the cultural practice and discursive elements of power. Chapter 3 focuses on Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis's close relationship with the French royal court and his hitherto neglected concern for a lack of crusading prestige. Virtually none of the vast literature on the Abbot has considered his attitude toward the early crusading movement, which, this chapter argues, is long overdue. In particular, this chapter focuses on Suger's well-known biography of Louis VI, the *Gesta Ludovici Grossi*, a text that combined Carolingian notions of kingship with the newer crusade ideology to fashion a highly selective narrative of Louis's reign that, at once, casts doubts on the value of many crusaders and their exploits while also asserting that the French King possessed such virtues. The text, in short, is rife with inconsistency, which has been a difficult point for scholars to reconcile. By setting the text within the context of the crusades, however, the contradictions begin to make more sense. Far from supporting an image of Suger as the quintessential ideologist and progenitor of French royalist propaganda, his attitude toward the crusade instead demonstrates the traditional and flexible way he worked to create a smooth, positive account of the Capetian dynasty as a time of major political and cultural transformation. This was crucial in the evolution of the Capetian image and power structure, and reinforces the important

connection that existed between French kings and the crusading movement, even in the years before they took the cross themselves.

Chapter 4 examines the impact of Louis VII's decision to join the Second Crusade in 1146 on the practice of kingship. Louis was the first French king to take the cross, and despite the disastrous failure of that campaign, it nevertheless had a profound impact on his vision of rulership. The image that Suger had created for Louis VI carried on during the reign of Louis VII so that he was already beginning to understand the institution of crusading to be fundamentally linked with French kingship, despite his own negative experience in the East. Chapter 5 builds on this last point to consider the various ways in which Philip II Augustus was remembered as a great crusader, despite failing to participate in most of the expeditions launched during his reign. By this point in the late twelfth century, as we will see, the crusading image had already been firmly attached to French ideals of rulership so that a king's actual participation on the crusade was less important than the constructed heritage of French royal crusading. When Louis IX took the cross in 1244, therefore, he believed he was following the destiny of great French kings, regardless of their actual experiences in the East.

### Notes

- 1 William Chester Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership* (Princeton, 1979), p. 3.
- 2 Matthew of Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry Luard, 7 vols (London, 1872), Vol. V, pp. 3–4.
- 3 For a survey of crusading in the first half of the thirteenth century see Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), pp. 477–769. Also useful is Richard W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1953), pp. 55–6.
- 4 Matthew of Paris, *Chronica majora*, Vol. V, pp. 312 and 354.
- 5 M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2008), pp. 30–3 and 48–66.
- 6 Collette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan R. Huston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 97–9, quote on 99.
- 7 Joseph François Michaud's six-volume *Histoire des croisades*, published between 1812 and 1822, celebrated the royally directed crusades as expressions of French national greatness. A similar idea penetrated the popular imagination through public memorials to French royal crusading history, such as those found in the *Salles des croisades* at Versailles.
- 8 Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987–1328*, 2nd edn (Harlow, 2001), pp. 263–346.

- 9 See Jean Richard, 'La politique orientale de saint Louis: La croisade de 1248', in *Septième centenaire de la mort de saint Louis: Actes de colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (21-27 mai 1970)* (Paris, 1976), pp. 197-207.
- 10 Louis VII participated in the Second Crusade. Philip II Augustus participated in the Third Crusade. Louis VIII went three times to southern France to take part in the Albigensian Crusade.
- 11 Earlier kings had indeed taken part in the Spanish expeditions; however, I am thinking here particularly of those crusades to the East. See Marcus Bull, 'The Capetian Monarchy and the Early Crusade Movement: Hugh of Vermandois and Louis VII', *NMS* 40 (1996), 25-46.
- 12 Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 173-5.
- 13 Joseph R. Strayer, *On The Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton, 1970).
- 14 Useful surveys of this period can be found in Hallam and Everard, *Capetian France*, esp. pp. 83-256; Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843-1180*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1985).
- 15 Much of what is discussed below is helpfully reviewed in Sean L. Field and M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'Questioning the Capetians, 1180-1328', *History Compass* 12/7 (2014), 567-85; 'Introduction', in Marcus Bull, ed., *France in the Central Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 1-4.
- 16 Gabriele M. Spiegel, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: A Survey* (Brookline, MA, 1978), pp. 72-91; Bernard Guenée, 'Les grandes chroniques de France, le "Roman aux roys" (1274-1518)', in *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, 2 vols (Paris, 1986), Vol. II, pp. 189-214.
- 17 Field and Gaposchkin, 'Questioning the Capetians', p. 567.
- 18 *Ibid.* Such an approach, it might be noted, also had an impact on histories of the crusading movement written by French scholars. See René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1934-36).
- 19 Several recent examples are cited and discussed by Field and Gaposchkin, 'Questioning the Capetians', pp. 567-8. Yves Sassier, *Louis VII* (Paris, 1991); John Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986); Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth E. Gollrad (South Bend, IN, 2009).
- 20 Bull, 'Introduction', in *France in the Central Middle Ages*, p. 3.
- 21 Some have called this 'New Institutional History'. Particularly good examples are Oliver Canteaut, 'Quantifier l'entourage politique des derniers Capétiens', in *Les entourage princiers à la fin du Moyen Âge: Une approche quantitative*, ed. Alexandra Beauchamp (Madrid, 2013), pp. 77-92; Xavier Hélary, *L'armée du roi de France: La guerre de Saint Louis à Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 2012).
- 22 Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade*.
- 23 Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus*.
- 24 Peter Thorau, 'Der Kreuzzug Ludwigs des Heiligen: Planung - Organisation - Durchführung', in *Stauferzeit: Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, ed. Karl-Heinz Ruesch (Göppingen, 2011), pp. 124-43; M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, 'Role of the Crusades in the Sanctification of Louis IX', in *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas

- Madden, James Naus, and Vince Ryan (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 195–209; M. Cecilia Gaposhkin, ‘Louis IX, Crusade and the Promise of Joshua’, *JMH* 33 (2008), 245–74; Michael Lower, ‘Conversion and Saint Louis’s Last Crusade’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58 (2007), 211–31.
- 25 Thomas N. Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Princeton, 2009), esp. pp. 229–43. Also see Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l’an mil a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles* (Paris, 1997).
- 26 Representative examples would include Nicholas L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2012); M. Cecilia Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis*.
- 27 Bisson, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century*.
- 28 Jay Rubenstein, ‘What Is the *Gesta Francorum*, and Who Is Peter Tudebode?’, *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), 179–204; John France, ‘The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between the Primary Sources for the First Crusade’, in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. John France and William Zazaj (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 39–70; Elizabeth Lapina, ‘“Nec signis nec testibus creditor”: The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade’, *Viator* 38 (2007), 117–39; Yuval Noah Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives’, *Crusades* 3 (2004), 77–99.
- 29 RM, p. ix.
- 30 Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 21–7; Nicholas L. Paul, ‘The Chronicle of Fulk Réchin: A Reassessment’, *Haskins Society Journal* 18 (2007), 19–35.
- 31 RM, p. 4.
- 32 GN, p. 308.