

Chapter Title: IUVENES: THE GLORY-SEEKING KNIGHTS OF THE CRUSADE

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CHAPTER SIX

IUVENES: THE GLORY-SEEKING KNIGHTS OF THE CRUSADE

The epitome of the medieval warrior, the hero of the *chanson*, the glorious competitor in the sports of the tournament, was the *iuvenis*. The ‘youth’ was a knight whose career was still unsettled. In what remains the most important study of the subject, Georges Duby offered the definition that ‘youth’ can be defined ‘as the period in a man’s life between his being dubbed a knight and his becoming a father.’¹ In other words, the condition of a *iuvenis* was not necessarily that they were young, what mattered was that although knighted, they had yet to establish themselves as the head of a family of their own.

Such knights in search of reputation, family and career often grouped together in bands and commenting on this Duby drew an interesting conclusion with regard to the crusades. ‘It is obvious that it was the bands of “youths”, excluded by so many social prohibitions from the main body of settled men, fathers of families and heads of houses, with their prolonged spells of turbulent behaviour making them an unstable fringe of society, who created and sustained the crusades.’²

It is certainly overstating the case with regard to the First Crusade to say that *iuvenes* created the expedition and sustained it. Duby’s observation does, however, raise an important question. The Latin term *iuvenis*, or collective substantive *iuventus*, is typically used to mean a young person, or body of young persons, not a subcategory of knights. It is therefore natural enough that as historians have encountered this term in the sources for the First Crusade they have assumed its common meaning. But is it always correct to make this assumption? Or were the sources drawing attention to knights on the First Crusade who were ‘youths’ in the sense of such turbulent glory-seeking warriors?

¹ Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. C. Postan, University of California Press (Berkeley, 1977), p. 113. Originally published as ‘Les “jeunes” dans la société aristocratique dans la France du Nord-Ouest au XII^e siècle,’ *Annales: Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 19 (5), 1964, pp. 835–846.

² *Ibid.*, p. 120.

The historian of the First Crusade who had the most definite sense of the *iuvenes* being a body of militant knights in search of fame was Robert the Monk. As noted above in Chapter Two Robert, apart from his testimony that he was present at the famous Council of Clermont, 18–28 November 1095, which launched the crusade, was not an eyewitness to the events he described.³ For the purposes of investigating the appearance of *iuvenes* in Robert's work, it is important issue to try and assess the extent to which Robert was simply employing the term because it seemed an appropriate literary flourish for anyone at the forefront of battle, or whether he had a particular sociological idea of what a *iuvenis* was, and which of the crusaders properly deserved the title.

A key passage in this regard is Robert's description of an Egyptian embassy sent by al-Afdal, the vizier of the boy Caliph, al-Mustali, which arrived at the crusader camp at the siege of Antioch early in March 1098. Robert wrote that the Christian army made a great effort to impress the legation. 'The tents were beautified with various kinds of ornaments; shields were attached to stakes in the ground on which the knight's game of quintain was to be played out the next day. There were not absent games of dice, chess and the rapid charges of horses, turning in a circle with taut reins, there were warlike charges and there were the shakings of spears by both sides, by which acts they demonstrated that those who performed such deeds did not fear. Indeed it was the *iuventus* who so participated but those who were elder and experienced sat together as one and discussed the matter with good sense and prudence.'⁴

The reference to quintain is significant. This was a sport of knights, in which the rider tilted at a target that could swing around on a counter-weighted arm. It was an activity that would be consistently associated with *iuvenes* throughout the medieval period. Even a hundred and fifty years later, the chronicler Matthew Paris assumed that quintain was

³ RM 725.

⁴ RM 791: *Tentoria variis ornamentorum generibus venustantur; terrae infixis sudibus scuta apponuntur, quibus in crastinum Quintanae ludus, scilicet equestris, exerceretur. Aleae, scaci, veloces cursus equorum flexis in gyrum frenis non defuerunt, et militares impetus; hastarumque vibrationes in alterutrum ibi celebratae sunt. In quibus actibus monstrabatur quia nullo pavore treidabant qui talia operabantur. Talia quippe iuventus excolebat; sed aetate sensuque seniores in unum consederant, causaque consilii et prudentiae conferebant.*

the sport of *iuvēnes*, as in his annal he wrote that in 1253 the London *iuvēnes* tested their bravery and the pace of horses at the exercise called quintain, a peacock having been established for a prize.⁵ The description by Robert of the less prudent knights showing their prowess before the Egyptian delegation seems to be the earliest medieval writing to mention the exercise explicitly.⁶ Thus the scene was not simply a literary topos, it probably reflects Robert's knowledge of the activities of *iuvēnes* in France rather than his literary background.

Even supposing the details of the incident to be entirely fanciful on Robert's part, in other words, that he was using his imagination to create a vivid scene, there still remains a clear sense that those described as *iuventus* here are not simply young. What defines them is very characteristic of the term in its social sense: they are fearless knights, skilled at riding and jousting. The passage also establishes that Robert saw these knights as a distinct group whose behaviour contrasted with the more experienced crusader. Whilst the report does not prove the presence of *iuvēnes* on the First Crusade, much less their importance to sustaining the expedition, it does demonstrate that Robert and his readers expected there to be such vainglorious knights in the Christian camp.

Shortly before this incident, on 6 March 1098, the Christian army had won an important victory against a sortie from the Turkish garrison of Antioch. The following day, wrote Robert, the Turks left the city at dawn and buried those bodies they could find. On hearing this, the *iuvēnes* of Christ's army hastened to the cemetery. At the cemetery they dug up the bodies and cut the heads off.⁷ There is little information here to clarify who were meant by the term *iuvēnes*, other than a certain sense of disapproval at their behaviour, indicated either by Robert or a later scribe, whose title for the section referred to the grave of the Turks being disgracefully (*turpiter*) destroyed by the Christians.

Antioch eventually fell due to the betrayal of Firuz, a commander of three towers along a stretch of the city wall. Disillusioned with

⁵ Mathew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, V, *Rerum Britannicarum mediæ ævi Scriptores* (London, 1880), 1253.

⁶ C. F. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, VI, (Paris, 1938), p. 614. See also, L. Clare, *La quintaine, la Course de Bague et le Jeu des Têtes* (Paris, 1983), pp. 37–41, 170–1; G. Duby, *William Marshall* (London, 1986) p. 70; J. Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100–1400*, (Woodbridge, 2003).

⁷ RM 788.

Yaghi-Siyan, the Turkish ruler of the city, Firuz had entered into secret negotiations with Bohemond, whom he saw as the most famous of the crusading princes. According to a relatively late Muslim source, Firuz was bitter, having been punished for hoarding.⁸ Ralph of Caen, much closer to events, corroborates the spirit of this idea from the Christian perspective. He wrote that Firuz had kept back a certain amount of grain to feed his large family, but that on learning of this Yaghi-Siyan had it confiscated and redistributed, leaving Firuz feeling as though injury had been added to loss.⁹

After reaching agreement with Bohemond, Firuz allowed sixty men (*homines*) to climb the city wall on the morning of 3 June 1098, so reported the *Gesta Francorum*.¹⁰ Robert's version of the storming of Antioch was more detailed than that of his source; he reported that it was Fulcher of Chartres and sixty armed *iuvēnes*, who first climbed the walls of the city.¹¹ The appearance of the name Fulcher was a divergence from the *Gesta Francorum* by Robert, but it is accurate in that the eyewitness Raymond of Aguilers also mentions Fulcher as being first on to the walls of Antioch.¹²

At some point, possibly before the storming of the city, Fulcher had joined with other knights who had a reputation for bravery. By August 1098, when a plague broke out in Antioch, causing many knights to leave the city, Fulcher was in the company of Drogo of Nesle, Rainald of Toul and Gaston of Béarn.¹³ These four knights were described as departing Antioch together, to seek service with the Lotharingian prince, Baldwin of Boulogne, who by this time had managed to establish himself as lord of the city of Edessa. Drogo and Rainald, along with Clarembald of Vendeuil and Ivo of Grandmesnil, had earlier been singled out as the unanimous choice of the captains of the army when riders were required to investigate reports that Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, was arriving with a great army.¹⁴

Drogo seems to have been at the centre of a distinct group of celebrated warriors, certainly that is the impression given by another

⁸ Kemal ad-Din, *Chronique d'Alep*, *RHC Oc.* 3, 577–690, here 581–2.

⁹ RC 651–2.

¹⁰ GF 46.

¹¹ RM 800. Fulcher of Chartres in this incident is not to be confused with the chronicler of the same name. See C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 145 n. 24.

¹² RA 80 (252).

¹³ AA v.16 (356).

¹⁴ AA iv.13 (268). For Rainald of Toul see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218.

significant description of *iuvēnes* in the work of Robert the Monk: his account of the critical battle against Kerbogha, 28 June 1098. In his version of the conflict, Robert praised the famous feats of the illustrious *iuventus*¹⁵ before going on to identify by name a particular grouping of *iuvēnes* in the contingent led by Hugh the Great, count of Vermandois: ‘because they saw that they were closing on [the enemy force], Everard [III] of Le Puiset, Payen of Beauvais, Drogo [of Nesle], Thomas [of Marle] and Clarembald [of Vendeuil], and the rest of the *iuventus* of Hugh the Great, did not hesitate to dash in amongst them.’¹⁶

Those here identified as *iuvēnes* were significant nobles with something of a career behind them already, thus indicating Robert was not using the term *iuvēnes* to make a statement about their age. As noted above, Drogo was subsequently associated with Fulcher of Charters and again with Clarembald. But he was also strongly connected to Thomas of Marle. Thomas, Drogo and Clarembald had once been part of the contingent of Count Emicho of Flonheim, one of the few magnates associated with the People’s Crusade of 1096. This army was notorious for its attacks on the Jewish communities of Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Cologne. Albert of Aachen, described them as an ‘intolerable company.’¹⁷

Emicho’s army had been dispersed as it entered Hungary, following its failure to take Wiesselburg, September 1096, but some of the knights continued with the expedition, and Robert was not the only historian to indicate that Thomas, Drogo and Clarembald subsequently attached themselves to Hugh the Great. They seem to have met as captives of the Greek Emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, who, reported Albert of Aachen, kept Drogo, Clarembald and Hugh in prison.¹⁸

Returning to an examination of the portrayal of crusading *iuvēnes* in Robert the Monk, the next mention of the *iuventus* was when the

¹⁵ RM 831–2.

¹⁶ RM 833: *Quod ut viderent qui eum vicinius subsequebantur, Edwardus scilicet de Puteolo, Paganus Belvacensis, Drogo et Thomas, et Clarenbaldus, ceteraque iuventus Hugonis Magni, nil haesitantes in illos irruunt.* For these knights see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 203 (Clarembald), p. 205 (Everard), p. 205 (Payen). For Drogo of Nesle see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 2000), p. 191. For Thomas of Marle, lord of Coucy, count of Amiens see D. Barthélemy, *Les Deux Ages de la seigneurie banale: Pouvoir et société dans terre des sires de Coucy (milieu XI^e—milieu XIII^e siècle)*, (Paris, 1984) Chapters 1–2. See also J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 223.

¹⁷ AA, i.28 (52): *intolerabilis societas.* For Emicho of Flonheim see AA p. 51 n. 66.

¹⁸ AA ii.7 (72).

expedition attacked the city of Ma'arra, a well-defended city that had been gathering Turkish forces for some time. With great risk a breakthrough was gained for the crusading forces when, 11 December 1098, Gouffier, lord of Las Tours, was the first to climb a ladder onto the walls of the town. Robert described how when the famous *iuventus* saw Gouffier with a few men fighting on the top of the city walls they climbed up forthwith and overwhelmed part of the wall with their weight of numbers.¹⁹

The last reference to the *iuvenes* by Robert occurred in his description of what was a critical moment in the direction of the crusade. Around Christmas 1098 a bitter conflict broke out between two of the most important crusading princes over the ownership of Antioch. By this stage in the crusade, Bohemond had proven to be an effective military and political leader, above all in the capture of Antioch. Count Raymond IV of Toulouse was the elderly leader of the very large Provençal contingent. Both held a different perspective on the future of Antioch now it was back in Christian hands: Bohemond wanting to rule the city as an independent principality, Raymond as a fief of the Byzantine Empire. As a result of their conflict, the crusade had stalled entirely.

A meeting of knights and princes at Chastel-Rouge, probably on 4 January 1099, was unable to resolve the differences between the rival princes, the news of this failure triggering a mutiny of the lower social orders at Ma'arra. The 'poor' Christians dismantled the walls of the recently captured city, making it defenceless and obliging Count Raymond to continue the expedition.²⁰ The *Gesta Francorum* and Robert the Monk skip the events at Ma'arra, and follow the perspective not of the *pauperes*, but of those who remained at Chastel-Rouge. Robert wrote that many *iuvenes* were present who were on fire to complete the journey.²¹ In Robert's eyes the *iuvenes* were a social grouping that were among the most fervent in wishing to press on to Jerusalem.

In Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* then, it is clear that the historian had a strong sense that a *iuvenis* was a brave knight of illustrious background, although not an established prince; the *iuvenis* was inclined to be intemperate, but equally, he was brave to the point of

¹⁹ RM 847.

²⁰ RA 180 (271).

²¹ RM 837.

recklessness; nor was there any doubting his skill in the military arts. Robert's application of this idea to his history of the First Crusade led him to portray certain knights as *iuvēnes* and certain incidents as being the work of that grouping. Through his employment of the idea it is possible to discern the beginnings of a pattern, one that suggests that a band of knights fulfilling Robert's criteria for being *iuvēnes* coalesced as a grouping on the First Crusade. This pattern becomes clearer by consideration of the other early crusading histories.

The *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* of Gilo of Paris is a poetic reworking of the *Gesta Francorum* that has a close connection with the narrative history of Robert the Monk. The exact relationship between the two has not been decisively established, but the generally accepted view is that they share a now missing common source.²² Gilo was a Cluniac monk from Toucy in Auxerre who subsequently became cardinal-bishop of Tusculum.²³ His metrical history was written at some point before 1120, the suggestion of his most recent editors being that it was written in the first decade of the century.²⁴

The *iuventus* first appear in Gilo's account of the winter of 1097–1098, at a point where the participants in the First Crusade were besieging Antioch. Gilo wrote that he ought to enumerate the deeds of the famous *iuventus* of *Gallia*, but no one could narrate so many bitter battles, narrow escapes, fasting, cold and anxieties.²⁵ On the 5 April 1098, during the siege, a fort was built opposite the Gate of St George. A young southern Italian Norman prince, Tancred, the nephew of Bohemond and important military commander in his own right, took charge of this fortification in return for a payment of four hundred marks. Of this event Gilo stated that a certain fortress was renovated and an old rampart was repaired where the *iuvēnes* could keep their plunder.²⁶ The implication of this statement is that there was a distinct body of *iuvēnes* willing to serve under Tancred at the fort and that they had sufficient plunder from raids and forays to require it as a holding place.

²² C. W. Grocock and J. E. Siberry eds., *The Historia Vie Hierosolimitane* of Gilo of Paris and a second anonymous author, Clarendon Press (Oxford, 1997) [hereafter GP], p. lx. Sweetman, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 34.

²³ GP xviii. For further discussion of Gilo's career see GP xix–xxii and R. Hüls, *Kardinäle, Klerus und Kirchen Roms* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 142–3.

²⁴ GP xxiv.

²⁵ GP 102.

²⁶ GP 123.

Like Robert, Gilo attributed to the *iuvenes* a major role in the capture of Antioch. The poet composed the following address by Bohemond to those assembled for the assault on the walls, betrayed to him by Firuz: ‘And you, swift *iuvenes*, climb the walls at once.’²⁷ In Gilo’s account Bohemond waited anxiously, while the *iuvenes* rushed into action, led by Fulcher of Chartres.²⁸ Fulcher here again was identified as the foremost of the *iuvenes* who responded to the appeal.

Gilo continued his description of the fall of Antioch to the crusaders by describing how once the gates of the city had been opened, the rest of the army was spurred to action, the horses were bridled and the *iuventus* clamoured for arms.²⁹ The very next day, some advance forces from Kerbogha’s army arrived before Antioch. A rash sortie by Roger of Barneville, a knight who was famous both among Christians and Muslims,³⁰ eventually saw him chased back to the gates of the city where he was killed and beheaded in full sight of those on the walls. This was a particularly difficult moment for the *iuvenes* who were watching, wrote Gilo, the *iuventus* on the walls were assailed by confusion and shame.³¹ Subsequently trapped by Kerbogha’s army inside Antioch, the crusading army suffered from starvation, and the poet illustrated this by reporting that even a dying horse was devoured by the *iuventus*.³²

In a manner very similar to Robert’s account of the battle with Kerbogha, Gilo wrote of the vigorous role played in this conflict by the *iuvenes* in the contingent of Hugh the Great: ‘Everard of Le Puiset and the impetuous *iuventus*, looked for a battle in the battle itself, and raised their swords... Then [Hugh the Great] said: “What you desire, *iuvenes*, is here! The iron field bristles with spears, let us turn to them and lay on with huge strength.”’³³ In his description of the same battle Gilo added that after the death of Odo of Beaugency, standard-bearer to Hugh the Great the *iuuenis* William of Benium immediately took his

²⁷ GP 162: *Vosque, citi iuvenes, muros superate repente.*

²⁸ GP 164–6.

²⁹ GP 168.

³⁰ AA iii.61 (234).

³¹ GP 178.

³² GP 180.

³³ GP 188: *Eurardus de Puteolo fervensque iuventus, In bello querunt bellum, gladiosque leuabant... Tunc ita fatur: ‘Quod iuvenes optatis adest! Huc ferreus hastis Horret ager, uertamur ad hos, incumbite uastis Viribus!’*

place, and raised the standard.³⁴ As will be seen, the association between *iuvēnes* and the action of defending a standard was a recurrent one.

Gilo's next reference to the *iuventus* occurred in his description of a substantial raiding expedition led by a senior Provencal knight, Raymond Pilet. After some initial successes Raymond Pilet's forces were defeated in an attempt to storm Ma'arra, 27 July 1098, leading Gilo to sympathise with the plight of retreating *iuvēnes*.³⁵ The united expedition was more successful on its approach to the city and Gilo wrote of the renewed siege of Ma'arra that the honourable *iuvēnes* were awoken by the loud noise of the trumpets and ran to the walls.³⁶ When the city fell, 11 December 1098, Gilo attributed the success of the assault to the destruction of a wall by the *iuvēnes*, in doing so he again agreed with Robert the Monk.³⁷ The final appearance of the *iuvēnes* in Gilo of Paris was a reference to the expedition as it made its way towards Jerusalem, May 1099, where he reported that from al-Batrūn, the *iuventus*, afflicted by the heat, followed the shore.³⁸

Clearly the poet shared with Robert an understanding of the main characteristics of the *iuvēnes*. They were knights who sought battle and could be shamed by appeals to their desire for glory. When rewriting the *Gesta Francorum*, Gilo, like Robert, thought it appropriate to term those first onto the walls of Antioch as *iuvēnes*, for those who fought in the contingent of Hugh the Great against Kerbogha and for the knights who broke through at Ma'arra. In addition to echoing Robert's version those scenes, Gilo indicated that among the knights associated with the Norman prince Tancred were a body of warriors whom he felt it was appropriate to regard as *iuvēnes*.

Another early crusading historian to refer to *iuvēnes* on the First Crusade was Guibert, abbot of Nogent. As discussed in Chapter Two, Guibert had a sophisticated social vocabulary. His rich depictions of the

³⁴ GP 190. For Odo of Beaugency see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 205. Benium is given as Bény-su-Mer by the editors of Gilo (GP 190), Robert describes the same person as William of Belesme (RM 831), J. Riley-Smith lists him as William of Bohemia, *The First Crusaders* p. 225.

³⁵ GP 198: *Tinnitum reddunt clipei galee que sonore,
Obtenebrant oculos lapsi de uertice coni,
Loricis odiunt iuvēnes ad uerbera proni.*

³⁶ GP 204.

³⁷ GP 210.

³⁸ GP 232.

events of the First Crusade were not those of an eye-witness, except in regard to the preaching of the crusade and the movement of crusading contingents through his region. It was in writing about the departure of the expedition that Guibert first wrote of the *iuventus*, in verses composed to illustrate the perspective of the many non-combatants who joined the expedition. ‘Everyone sang of warfare, but did not say that they would fight. They promised martyrdom, being about to give their necks to the sword, “You *iuvenes*,” they said, “will draw swords with your hands, but we are permitted to deserve Christ by supporting this.”’³⁹ *Iuvenes* were here used to encapsulate the perspective of crusading combatants as opposed to that of the non-combatants of the expedition; it is good evidence that for a contemporary the image of a *iuvenis* was one considered to be appropriate for someone at the heart of the fighting body of the First Crusade.

Guibert described a three-fold hierarchy in the Lotharingian army of Duke Godfrey as it departed on the crusade: the senior princes, knights and a notable throng of very brave *iuvenes*.⁴⁰ This distinction is a much less literary one than that in which the poor crusaders spoke to the combatants and it probably reflected Guibert’s own perception of the layers present among the warriors of the nobility, a class that he was very familiar with through his relatives and his experiences before becoming a monk.⁴¹

When Guibert turned to writing about Tancred, he stated that the Norman prince had earned and deserved the title of most sagacious *iuvenis*.⁴² Tancred was a major figure in the events of the First Crusade: he took command of Bohemond’s contingent in the absence of their lord in Greece; he led a sizeable Norman force into Cilicia, around 10 September 1097, and he led a group of Norman knights in the later stages of the crusade. It might seem inconsistent with the other examples given that so prominent a leader was termed a *iuvenis*, not just

³⁹ GN 120: *Bella canunt omnes; nec se pugnare fatentur,
Martirium spondent, gladiis vel colla daturos:
‘Vos iuvenes’, aiunt, ‘manibus tractabitis enses
At nos hic liceat Christum tolerando mereri.’*

⁴⁰ GN 129.

⁴¹ Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, 2002), pp. 17–18.

⁴² GN 194.

by Guibert but also, as noted below, by Albert of Aachen and Ralph of Caen. But until his establishment of a principality in Galilee, late 1099, Tancred was an unmarried knight still in search of his fortune and position, acting largely under the direction of Bohemond.⁴³ It is perhaps in this regard that Guibert considered Tancred the epitome of a *iuvēnis* during the expedition.

Guibert entitled Tancred a *iuvēnis* in connection with his leading of the garrison of the castle that was built during the siege of Antioch opposite the Gate of St George. Here there is a connection with Gilo's report of the same initiative, with both authors indicating that the hazardous task of forming the garrison of this castle was one associated with the *iuvēnes*. A third author, Tancred's biographer Ralph of Caen also found the term *iuvēnes* appropriate for some of those who joined with the Norman prince, for he wrote that anticipating future successes, *iuvēnes* from Bohemond's army had earlier transferred their allegiance to Tancred.⁴⁴

The next use of *iuvēnis* by Guibert was for a person who also does not seem to fit well with the definition provided by Duby. During the siege of Antioch, c. May 1098, Guibert reported the death of an excellent *iuvēnis*, who had been constable for the King of France: Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin.⁴⁵ Walo was married to Humberge, the sister of Everard of Le Puiset. As noted above, Everard was identified by Robert and Gilo as a prominent *iuvēnis* among the band that included Thomas of Marle and Drogo of Nesle. Unlike the case of Tancred, Walo was married and already had a notable role at the French court. But he and Humberge, who accompanied him on the expedition, were without children. This, together with his leaving of a settled position at the court of the Phillip I of France, and Walo's association with other turbulent and glory-seeking knights through his brother-in-law, seems to have led Guibert to describe Walo as a *iuvēnis*.

Thereafter the term *iuvēnis* does not appear in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* until Guibert's account of the storming of Jerusalem, 15 July 1099.

⁴³ R. L. Nicholson, *Tancred: a study of his Career and Work in their Relation to the First Crusade and the Establishment of the Latin States in Syria and Palestine* (Chicago, 1940), pp. 3–15.

⁴⁴ RC 610.

⁴⁵ GN 332. For Walo II of Chaumont-en-Vexin see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 224.

‘Several of the Frankish *iuvēnes*, whom pious audacity had already made more pre-eminent, threw themselves forward...and together they climbed to the top of the wall. I would identify them by name on this page, if I had not know that after their return they incurred the infamy of wickedness and crime.’⁴⁶

A clue to the identity of the unnameable persons is to be found in Guibert of Nogent’s autobiography. Here, Thomas of Marle looms large as a rebellious and sadistic lord in the 1110s, termed by Guibert the most wicked man of his generation,⁴⁷ making it likely that he and his troublesome associates were among those indicated by Guibert’s use of the term *iuvēnes* at this point.

Guibert may also have been familiar with the case of Raimbold Croton, who Ralph of Caen described as a *iuvēnis*, and who was one of those to lead the breakthrough in to Jerusalem.⁴⁸ On his return to Chartres, Raimbold Croton became embroiled in a dispute with Bonneval abbey in the course of which he castrated a monk. As a result Raimbold was given fourteen years’ penance by Bishop Ivo of Chartres.⁴⁹ Raimbold and Thomas were connected on the crusade by their association with Everard of Le Puisset. After 3 June 1098 the Christians were inside city of Antioch but still had to defend a rampart against attacks from the citadel, which was still in Turkish hands. Those knights who were prominent in doing so were named by Albert of Aachen and the list included Ivo, Everard and Raimbold Croton.⁵⁰

Even more interestingly, but less reliably, the *Chanson d’Antioche*, an epic poem with considerable historical detail embedded in its dramatic account of the fall of Antioch, lists Raimbold Croton, Thomas of Marle, Everard of Le Puisset and Engelrand of Saint-Pol among those joining Fulcher of Chartres in the first group of knights to climb the walls of

⁴⁶ GN 278: *Quique iuvenum Francicorum, quos pia jam dudum reddiderat illustriores audacia, sese proripiunt... murorum pariter suprema conscendunt. Quos etiam nominatim huic insererem paginae, nisi scirem post reditum tantorum eos flagitiorum ac scelerum infamiam incurrisse.*

⁴⁷ Guibert of Nogent, *Monodiae*, ed. E.-R. Labande (Paris, 1981), 3.VII. See also 3.XI, 3.XIV.

⁴⁸ RC 689.

⁴⁹ Ivo of Chartres, Letter 135 to Paschal II, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* 162 col. 144D.

⁵⁰ AA iv.30 (294). For Raimbold Croton see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 218.

the city.⁵¹ Regardless of the authenticity of that particular information, it is significant that the composer of the *chanson* considered these knights as being associates.

Jonathan Riley-Smith has briefly examined the later turbulent careers of these two members of the First Crusade, but it is worth noting that both these knights participated in the expedition in such a way as to earn the epithet *iuvenis*, suggesting a connection between the more rebellious of returnees and those whom the early historians considered *iuvenes*.⁵² The knight who departed on the expedition motivated primarily by spiritual considerations is likely to have found favour from the Church on his return. Those, however, who primarily set out with a desire to prove themselves in battle, seem to have returned with a contempt for secular and ecclesiastical authority, as, for example, was shown by the actions of Raimbold Crotton, but is even more evident in the career of the notorious Thomas of Marle.

Thomas returned from the First Crusade to live a life of abandon and insubordination. At least such was the view of the clerical authors who wrote about him. All around the vicinity of Laon, Reims and Amiens he laid waste to the whole country 'with the frenzy of a wolf', wrote Abbot Suger of St Dennis.⁵³ From his devil's pit, a den of robbers, Thomas was a 'common enemy of pilgrims and all humble folk,' wrote the Anglo-Norman monk, Orderic Vitalis, in a passage relating the words of King Louis VI.⁵⁴ Henry of Huntingdon seems to have been well informed about Thomas' career and described how his reputation was known throughout all Gaul. 'Human slaughter was his passion and glory.'⁵⁵ Thomas died 9 November 1130 as a result of injuries sustained when he was captured by Raoul, count of Vermandois, acting on behalf of the king of France.

There has long been a revision of the enlightenment inspired image of the knights of the First Crusade being violent and troublesome characters, in favour of a view that emphasises the piety and spiritual

⁵¹ CA 6130–6135.

⁵² J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 156.

⁵³ Abbot Suger of St Denis, *Vita Ludovici Regis VI, Qui Grossus Dictus*, PL 186, [Col.1304B]: *furere lupino devoraverat*.

⁵⁴ OV, 6, 258: *inimicum peregrinorum et omnium simplicium*.

⁵⁵ Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), p. 602: *cedes humana uoluptas eius et gloria*.

motives of the crusaders.⁵⁶ In the case of Thomas, and perhaps those associates of his also termed *iuvēnes*, the eighteenth century depiction seems to be not so wide of the mark. While the enlightenment historians and their followers attributed the source of crusader aggression to their desire for plunder, here it is presented as a characteristic arising from the *esprit de corps* of a particular layer of knights keen to demonstrate their military prowess.

There are a handful of other references to *iuvēnes* in the history of Guibert of Nogent. In his description of the battle of Ascalon, 12 August 1099, Guibert imagined the reaction of al-Afdal, vizier of Egypt, on seeing the weary crusader forces: 'And he looked upon the...*iuvēnta* weakened by long hunger, swords turned rusty, lances darkened, the slender military equipment of *milites*, their strength worn out; all those who seemed to be more distinguished than the rest rendered inactive by the bitterness of want.'⁵⁷ Here again, as with his account of the departing expedition, Guibert drew a tripartite picture of the crusader fighting forces: 'youths' (Guibert used the collective term *iuvēnta*), knights (*milites*) and princes. Finally, Guibert gave the choicest of the *iuvēnes* a role in the vanguard of the army in the storming of Caesarea by Baldwin I, 17 May 1101.⁵⁸

The examples of Walo and Tancred being termed *iuvēnes* in the *Dei gesta per Francos* suggest that Guibert did not use it in strict sense, like a legal definition. Rather he understood a *iuvēnis* to be a knight with a certain quality, not necessarily 'youth' so much as valour. Despite a certain looseness in his employment of the term *iuvēnes*, Guibert never went so far as to apply it to the very senior princes of the crusade: it was not simply a fanciful adjective for any champion. Overall Guibert's use of the term was not dissimilar to that of Robert and Gilo. He too employed the term for magnates who led the way in battle and in storming cities.

Thus far the discussion has focused on the works of those who sought to embellish the eyewitness text the *Gesta Francorum*. Their writings demonstrate how French historians projected their own notions of

⁵⁶ J. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love' in *The Crusades*, edited by T. F. Madden, (Oxford, 2002), pp. 32–50.

⁵⁷ GN 299: *At intuebatur...profligatam diutina fame iuventam, rubiginosis ensibus, lanceis nigrantibus, exilem destitutis militum viribus armaturam, cunctis qui pre ceteris videbantur insignes acri egestate torpentibus.*

⁵⁸ GN 347.

what it was to be a *iuvēnis* on to the knights of the First Crusade. To turn to other sources independent of the *Gesta Francorum* tradition, to find that they also had a similar use of the term and that they applied it to the same individuals, considerably strengthens the possibility there were indeed a body of knights on the First Crusade whose behaviour matched a widely understood notion of what it was to be a *iuvēnis*.

The *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen is a crucial text for this discussion. As Albert was a cleric at Aachen in Lotharingia he had a great deal of information and interest in the German contingents and therefore considerably supplements the overall picture of the crusade as portrayed by the French sources.

Two terms occurred in Albert's work that were nearly always used to indicate someone from the same social grouping as a *iuvēnis*, namely *adolescens* and *tyro*. There were two crusaders described by Albert as *adolescens*, both fully-formed knights. The first was Gerard of Avesnes, a knight of Hainault who was given as a hostage to the rulers of Arsuf by Duke Godfrey as part of an agreement that was subsequently broken. When Duke Godfrey besieged Arsuf, early in December 1099, Gerard was held spread-eagled on ropes outside of the battlements of the town. Undeterred, Duke Godfrey pressed the siege and Gerard was eventually pulled back up riddled with the arrows of his own companions. Surprisingly, Gerard reappeared on 25 March 1100, released as a peace offering from the townspeople. Albert wrote that, 'when the duke, saw and received the beloved *miles* and excellent *adolescens* Gerard unharmed, he rejoiced exceedingly'.⁵⁹ The fact that Gerard was then given a castle and great fiefs suggests both that he was not an *adolescens* in the sense of being immature and that his trials had earned him a change in status to becoming a lord, exactly the social progress striven for by the *iuventus*.

The other *adolescens* in Albert's work was the less fortunate Arnulf II of Oudenaarde, killed while searching for his horse on the return of a raiding expedition to Jerusalem in 1106. Arnulf was described at various times as a very noble *iuvēnis*, a prince, an illustrious knight and *adolescens*.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ AA vii. 15 (506): *Dux itaque, viso et incolumi recepto Gerardo dilecto milite, et egregio adolescente, gavisus est vehementer.*

⁶⁰ AA ix.52 (714–17).

Another apparent synonym for *iuvēnes* in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* was *tirones*. The classical meaning of the term was for a recruit, a soldier newly enlisted, without sufficient training. The *tirones* of the classical era were mostly 17 to 20 years of age.⁶¹ By the medieval period the fact that there was a similarity of meaning of *iuvēnis* and *tiro* is suggested by the noun *tirocinium*, which came to mean a joust or tournament, and the verb *tirocinare*, to be in training as a knight.⁶² Moreover, Albert was not given to classical allusion and it is clear that those he applied the term were fully trained knights. Those who were named and described as a *tiro* were: Tancred, his brother William, Guy of Possesse, Rainald of Beauvais, Engelrand, son of count Hugh of Saint-Pol, Franco I and Sigemar of Maasmechelen on the river Meuse, blood relations, and Otto surnamed Alaspata, son of the sister of Albert of Biandrate.⁶³ A Venetian was termed *tiro* by Albert at the siege of Haifa, 25 July 1100, when he was the only one of his companions not to abandon a siege machine.⁶⁴ Of these William and Engelrand were also termed *iuvēnes* by Albert.⁶⁵ In fact the description of William makes the close connection between *iuvēnes* and *tirones* clear. ‘William, most audacious *iuvēnis*, and most beautiful *tiro*, brother of Tancred.’⁶⁶

With regard to Albert’s description of Rainald of Beauvais as a *tiro* there is a valuable agreement between the sources discussed so far. Albert invariably referred to Rainald in association with Walo II of Chaumont, whom, as noted above, was termed a *iuvēnis* by Guibert of Nogent and who was brother-in-law to the prominent *iuvēnis* Everard of Le Puiset.⁶⁷ Furthermore, at the battle of Dorylaeum, 1 July 1097, Rainald of Beauvais was mentioned as being in the company of both Walo and Thomas of Marle as well as two other knights described elsewhere as *iuvēnes* by Albert of Aachen: Baldwin of Bourcq and

⁶¹ A. Berger, ‘Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Roman Law’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43:2 (1953), 333–809, here 737.

⁶² J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, 2 (Leiden, 2002) II, 1342.

⁶³ Tancred, AA ii.22 (94); William, AA ii.39 (130); Guy, AA ii.22 (96); Rainald, AA iii.35 (194); Engelrand, AA iii.48 (212); Franco and Sigemar, AA iv.35 (302); Otto, AA ix. 30 (674). For other references to these knights see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 210 (Guy); p. 225 (William); p. 218 (Rainald). For Sigemar see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, p. 228.

⁶⁴ AA vii.24 (518).

⁶⁵ William, AA ii.39 (130); Engelrand, AA v.30 (376).

⁶⁶ AA ii.39 (130); *Willelmus iuvēnis audacissimus et tyro pulcherrimus, frater Tancredi*.

⁶⁷ AA ii. 23 (98); AA ii.42 (134); AA iii.35 (194), AA iv.47 (322).

Rothard, son of Godfrey.⁶⁸ Rainald was listed by Gilo of Paris as being among the group of knights who were attached to the contingent of Hugh the Great for the battle against Kerbogha, the same group (that which included Thomas of Marle and Drogo of Nesle) whom Robert the Monk included under the label *iuentus*.⁶⁹ Albert, who had twice as many divisions of crusaders marching from Antioch for the battle as Robert, listed Rainald in an ad-hoc division that also included Thomas of Marle, Drogo of Nesle, Rothard and Baldwin of Bourcq.⁷⁰

In order to reach Antioch, the crusade had to cross the 'Iron Bridge',⁷¹ which they arrived at on 19 October 1097, to find it firmly defended. Robert of Normandy was the leader of the vanguard of the army at this point and with him was Roger Barneville and Everard of Le Puiset, who, as noted above, was several times termed a *iuenis* by the French sources. In this instance Everard was described as being a *miles* praiseworthy in military affairs, and with the other leaders, he directed the movement of the cavalry with banners.⁷² Resistance from the Turkish garrison at the bridge was severe but once the Turks began to withdraw some knights, 'out of a desire to begin battle' recklessly swam their horses across the river.⁷³ Albert named two knights here: Walo of Chaumont and Rainald of Beauvais, 'a most savage *tiro*'.⁷⁴

Another important example of a grouping together of individuals elsewhere described as *iuevenes* is Albert's list of those were located beside each other in the siege of Nicea: Guy of Possesse, Thomas, Drogo, Baldwin of Bourcq and Engelrand of Saint-Pol.⁷⁵

The interconnections and associations between the knights mentioned in all these incidents is quite striking. A coalescing of a certain type of crusading warrior seems to have taken place during the crusade. Having come to the attention of those who wrote about the crusade, both Albert and the French historians independently found that the term *iuevenes* was a suitable one for these knights. Was there something characteristic of the behaviour or social position of Thomas, Drogo and

⁶⁸ AA ii.42 (134). Rothard is otherwise unknown, as is his father Godfrey, not to be confused with Godfrey, Duke of Lotharingia.

⁶⁹ GP 190–2.

⁷⁰ AA iv.47 (322).

⁷¹ A misnomer by the Latins, see WT 4, 8 (243).

⁷² AA iii.33 (191).

⁷³ AA iii.35 (195): *ex desiderio bellum committendi*.

⁷⁴ AA iii.35 (195): *tiro asperrimus*.

⁷⁵ AA ii.22 (96).

Everard et al. that led early crusading historians in Northern Europe to see them in this light?

What this quality was cannot have been one that was strictly in keeping with the definition of Georges Duby: Walo was married, as was Thomas. But in both cases their domestic position was unsettled, with Thomas in conflict with his father, Enguerrand of Coucy, who had divorced Thomas's mother and, doubting the legitimacy of Thomas, strove to disinherit him.⁷⁶ One feature that does seem to have been important in the early crusading historians use of the term *iuvēnes* was that it was applied to those who were not lowly knights; these were knights who were potentially lords of castles or towns.

During the crusade itself, however, these nobles were not prominent enough figures to command a leadership role; rather they acted independently or else attached themselves to the senior princes. To judge by the fluidity of their associations these attachments seem not to have been tight ones, such as that created by vassalage. Clarembald, for example, seems to have set out on crusade under his own resources, been held in captivity with Hugh the Great, whom he fought under at Antioch, then travelled to Edessa to serve Baldwin of Boulogne.⁷⁷ Similarly, when Ralph of Caen reported that certain *iuvēnes* left the following of Bohemond for that of Tancred, in the expectation of future success, the impression given is of a less formal relationship than that between vassal and lord.

With regard to the common qualities of behaviour that these knights might have displayed, Albert seems to have shared with the northern French writers a sense that the *iuvēnis* was associated with indiscipline. Albert commented that while Bohemond prudently portrayed himself as loyal to the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I Comnenus, Tancred's attempt to avoid having to take an oath to the Emperor by crossing the Bosphorous in secret was an act of audacity.⁷⁸ There is also a suggestion of rashness in the action of the abovementioned Arnulf of Oudenaarde for leaving the army in order to search unknown territory for his horse.⁷⁹ On a raid of Baldwin I's near Hebron, November 1100, forty *iuvēnes*

⁷⁶ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 156–7. See also J. F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France* (New York, 1970), p. 184.

⁷⁷ AA i.28 (52); AA ii.7 (72); RM 833; AA v.16 (356).

⁷⁸ AA ii.19 (90).

⁷⁹ AA ix.52 (714).

were described as secretly forming a plan to hasten ahead in order to obtain money and booty.⁸⁰

As with Robert, Gilo and Guibert, this negative aspect of the *iuvēnes* is only one part of the picture, for Albert frequently praised them as a body and individually for their warlike prowess. *Iuvenis* was clearly not a negative term in the description of Rothold son of Godfrey, 'a most famous *iuvenis*.'⁸¹ A similar positive description was given for Baldwin of Le Bourcq, 'a splendid *iuvenis*,'⁸² as well as for William and Engelrand above. When Engelrand died in Ma'arra, 10 December 1098, he was described as 'an uncommonly daring *iuvenis*.'⁸³ Among the many favourable epithets for Tancred was the phrase, 'illustrious *tyro*.'⁸⁴ At the first battle of Ramleh, 6 September 1101, where he was charge of the third division, Hugh of Saint-Omer was called 'a warlike *iuvenis*.'⁸⁵ Roger of Salerno, before he became prince of Antioch, December 1112, was described as an, 'illustrious *iuvenis* and knight.'⁸⁶ To be a *iuvenis* was not to detract from a knight's valour.

Although many of the knights named individually in his history were termed *iuvenis*, as a collective body influencing events the *iuventus* appear less in Albert's work than the other histories under discussion. There are examples from descriptions of forces of the People's Crusade, but, given the large numbers involved and the lack of magnates in such armies, in these instances the group described are probably simply those young in age. *Tyrones*, on the other hand, are more likely to be a collective body of those individuals whom Albert considered to be *iuvēnes* in its more social meaning. *Tyrones* are described as participating in battle in the following of Hugh the Great and that of Duke Godfrey against the forces of Kerbogha;⁸⁷ as a body of scouts sent ahead when the First Crusade approached Ramleh, 3 June 1099;⁸⁸ as the Latin garrison of the Armenian town of Melitene in 1100;⁸⁹ and as those

⁸⁰ AA vii.41 (548).

⁸¹ AA ii.23 (98): *Rothardus filius Gosfridi, iuvenis clarissimus*.

⁸² AA iii.6 (148): *Baldwinus de Burch iuvenis preclarus*.

⁸³ AA v.30 (376): *iuvēnis mire audacie*.

⁸⁴ AA ii.22 (94): *tyro illustris*.

⁸⁵ AA vii.65 (576): *iuvēnis bellicosus*. For Hugh of Saint-Omer, also known as Hugh of Faquesmberques see A. V. Murray, *The Crusader Kingdom*, pp. 211–12.

⁸⁶ AA xii.29 (836): *illustrissimum iuvenem et militem*.

⁸⁷ AA iv.51 (328–30).

⁸⁸ AA v.42 (396).

⁸⁹ AA vii.29 (526).

picked to occupy siege towers at the unsuccessful siege of Tyre by King Baldwin I, November 1111.⁹⁰

Introducing the evidence from Albert of Aachen helps develop the impression that certain knights who shared a characteristic reputation for bravery and a willingness to be to the fore in battle banded together during the course of the crusade. That Albert was willing to apply the terms *tyro* and *iuvēnis* to these knights suggests that there was already, at the very start of the twelfth century, a shared understanding from France to Lotharingia of the vocabulary appropriate for distinguishing 'young' champions from the broader body of knights.

A further useful source for shedding more light on this subject is the *Gesta Tancredi* of Ralph of Caen. Ralph had served with Bohemond in 1107 before journeying to Syria, where he took service with Tancred. Shortly after Tancred's death, 12 December 1112, Ralph wrote a history in the form of a panegyric to his former lord. The text is independent of the *Gesta Francorum* tradition and its value is enhanced by the fact that it was written in the knowledge that it would be read by participants in the First Crusade, and in particular by its editor, Arnulf, the chaplain to Robert I, duke of Normandy who became patriarch of Jerusalem in 1099 and again from 1112 until his death in 1118.⁹¹

Ralph's first reference to the *iuventus* as a distinct social group occurs in a speech of Duke Robert II of Normandy rallying those who, including Bohemond, were described as wavering at the battle of Dorylaeum. Robert appealed to the *iuvēnes* to charge with him into the middle of the enemy force and die. Admonished by these words, the *iuvēnes* joined themselves to the leaders and were more ready for death than for flight.⁹² Once battle was joined, Ralph described the *iuventus* as being intemperate and a dangerously undisciplined force. The minds of the *iuvēnes* boiled over in passion but Bohemond forbade them to charge in case the rashness of a few threw the whole battle order into confusion.⁹³

Ralph was yet another source who associated a following of *iuvēnes* with the contingent of Hugh the Great, in this instance at the battle

⁹⁰ AA xii.6 (832).

⁹¹ RC 604. See also B. S. Bachrach and D. S. Backrach, eds., *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen* (Ashgate, 2005), pp. 2–4.

⁹² RC 622.

⁹³ RC 623.

of Dorylaeum: in other words, a year earlier than the battle against Kerbogha in which they are grouped with Hugh by Robert and Gilo. The historian wrote that under Hugh's leadership the supporting *iuventus* ardently smote whatever fell before them.⁹⁴

According to Ralph, Tancred was accompanied by *iuvenes* during his expedition through Cilicia. At a battle outside Tarsus c. 20 September 1097, the faithful *iuventus* were described as following Tancred in a charge.⁹⁵ Count Baldwin of Boulogne was able to attract some Norman *iuvenes* to his following, on or around 15 September 1097, by obtaining the services of their leader, Cono of Montaigu.⁹⁶

As with the other sources under discussion, Ralph assigned to the *iuventus* the key role in the capture of Antioch on the morning of 3 June 1098. 'The flying winged *iuventus*, well girded with swords, flew by means of the ropes. Gouel of Chartres was the first, like an eagle calling forth its young to fly, and flying over them. This noble man since boyhood desired and thirsted for nothing more eagerly than praise.'⁹⁷ Gouel of Chartres has been understood to be that Fulcher of Chartres described by Robert and Gilo who led the *iuvenes* on to the walls of the city.⁹⁸ Ralph's version of the event supplements that of the French sources discussed here; they all shared a view that it was appropriate to term those willing to risk their lives in the climb as *iuvenes* and, if the sources are being consistent about who they applied the term to, it can be speculated that the *Chanson d'Antioche* might have been correct in including figures like Thomas of Marle and Everard of Le Puisset among the company who climbed up with Fulcher to be first on to the walls of Antioch.

Ralph next mentioned the fiery *iuventus* as coming up to join the advance forces of the crusade, before the city of Jerusalem, probably on 7 June 1099.⁹⁹ On 15 July 1099 the crusaders stormed Jerusalem. Ralph's description of the day's events included phases of the struggle

⁹⁴ RC 625.

⁹⁵ RC 631.

⁹⁶ RC 632–3.

⁹⁷ RC 654–5: *iuventus volucris pennata corpora accincti gladiis per funes volant: Gouel Carnotensis primus, 'sicut aquila provocans pullos suos ad volandum, et super eos volitans' [Deut 32:2], vir ille nobilis, et a puero nihil esuriens ut laudem neque sitiens, non propter vitam laudari, sed propter laudem vivere cupiebat.*

⁹⁸ C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 145; J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 206.

⁹⁹ RC 686.

where the attackers became weary and disheartened. It was during the storming of the city that Ralph assigned the epithet *iuvēnis* to Tancred, the hero of his poem.¹⁰⁰

Ralph further wrote that the first on to the wall of Jerusalem was the brave knight and *iuvēnis*, Raimbold Croton.¹⁰¹ According to Ralph, Raimbold's lead was followed up by other *iuvēnes*.¹⁰² Ralph named another knight as leader of this party, Bernard of St Valéry.¹⁰³ Ralph also praised Everard of Le Puiset for a battle inside the city, where a rally of the inhabitants threatened to turn back the Christian attack. Everard, however, engaged a thousand and moved the *iuventus* to follow him.¹⁰⁴ All in all, Ralph's account of the fall of Jerusalem fits very well with the conjecture that when Guibert of Nogent refused to name those *iuvēnes* who played a prominent role in the taking of the city, the abbot was thinking of a grouping of knights that included Raimbold, Everard and Thomas of Marle.

If the historians who wrote in the aftermath of the First Crusade employed a vocabulary that distinguished those who they understood to be *iuvēnes* from the other fighting forces of the Christian army, can the same be said of the eyewitness accounts?

The *Gesta Francorum* is a complicated text, sharing a great deal of material with another eyewitness account, that of the Poitevin priest, Peter Tudebode, but for the purposes of this discussion they can be considered as one as their variations do not bear on the question of *iuvēnes*.¹⁰⁵ The text is relatively crude in its depiction of the social layers of the Christian army and typically the author simply writes of 'us' rather than differentiate among the various classes present. It also has an Italian bias in its language.¹⁰⁶ It is therefore perhaps not too surprising that there is no mention of *iuvēnes* in this text. It is, however, curious that one of those knights who were first on to the walls of Antioch is described in the *Gesta Francorum* as a *serviens* and that this term, which

¹⁰⁰ RC 688.

¹⁰¹ RC 689.

¹⁰² RC 693.

¹⁰³ RC 693. For other references to Bernard of St Valéry see J. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 202.

¹⁰⁴ RC 698.

¹⁰⁵ For a discussion of the relationship between the two texts see above pp. 23–4.

¹⁰⁶ J. G. Gavigan, 'The Syntax of the *Gesta Francorum*,' *Language* 19, III (1943), pp. 10–102, here p. 11.

encompassed a very wide range of contemporary meanings, was elsewhere used in the *Gesta Francorum* in a passage where Gilo of Paris preferred the term *iuvenes*.¹⁰⁷

Rather more disappointing is Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*. Although Fulcher had a richer social vocabulary than the anonymous author, this tended to be manifest in his more theologically inspired passages. In detailing the narrative of events Fulcher tended to be direct, terse and far less florid than the later historians. As a consequence, he did not employ the term *iuvenes* or its equivalents.

Lastly, the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers had a very distinct theological perspective that saw the lower social orders as especially meritorious in the eyes of God, because of the hardship that they had to endure during the expedition. Raymond did, however, also write about knights and here are four references *iuvenes* in his history that seem to be references to a certain type of combatant rather than simply those young in age.

The first possible mention of such a *iuvenis* occurs in Raymond's description of a skirmish during the siege of Antioch, 29 December 1097, in which the standard bearer of the papal legate, bishop Adhémar of Le Puy was killed, and his standard was captured. Raymond wrote that there also perished at that time a certain most noble *iuvenis*, Bernard Ato, viscount of Béziers.¹⁰⁸ As with Gilo's reference to William of Benium's raising of the banner of Hugh the Great, there seems to be a connection between defending the standard and being a *iuvenis* and it is this military context and the phrase *nobilissimus iuvenis* that suggests Raymond meant something other than simply the adjective 'youth' here.

A further very striking example of a *iuvenis* who was also a standard bearer occurred in the next reference to the *iuventus* given by Raymond of Aguilers, namely his account of a vision of St George. Raymond wrote that when the priest and visionary Peter Desiderius discovered the relics of an unknown saint, the crusading clergy decided to leave them

¹⁰⁷ GF 46; 43, compare with GP 123.

¹⁰⁸ RA 40–1 (244). For Bernard Ato see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 201. The standard bearer mentioned here was not the better-known Heraclius I of Polignac who bore Adhémar's standard at the battle against Kerbogha, for whom see J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 211.

behind, but in the night which followed a certain *iuvēnis*, about fifteen years old, most beautiful, was present with him as he kept vigil.¹⁰⁹ In seeking the identity of this *iuvēnis*, Peter Desiderius was asked by the vision to name the standard bearer of the army and learned that he was in the presence of St George.

The fact that Raymond reported the age of the saint as fifteen means that the term *iuvēnis* might have simply meant 'youth' here. On the other hand, the cult of St George was to grow, considerably accelerated by the success of the First Crusade, until by the fifteenth century he was the personification of chivalry. From Raymond's theological perspective the embodiment of the highest ideal of a crusading warrior and standard-bearer of the whole expedition was St George, whose prowess was assisting the Christian army. Raymond's employment of the term *iuvēnis* for the warrior saint might have been to intentionally evoke some of the qualities associated with the term in its social sense: bravery, eagerness for battle, willingness to take the most dangerous place by carrying the standard. Another eyewitness, the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, provided evidence that on the crusade it was popularly believed that St George was offering military assistance to the Christians, in his description of the battle against Kerbogha, where St George was described as being among the resplendent saints who rode into battle with the crusading forces.¹¹⁰

The third mention of a *iuvēnis* in Raymond of Aguilers's history is made with regard to a detachment of knights under Count Galdmar Carpenel of Dargoire, who were sent from the siege of Jerusalem, 18 June 1099, to make contact with six Christian vessels that had arrived at Jaffa. This expedition ran into a troop of Arab and Turkish riders, dispersing them after some losses, including three or four knights of the following of Geldemar and Achard of Montmerle, a most noble *iuvēnis*, and renowned knight.¹¹¹ This last example is an important one for demonstrating that the term *iuvēnis* could be used by Raymond of Aguilers in different sense than that of a young person, for he would have known Achard was a mature man. Albert of Aachen described

¹⁰⁹ RA 291–3 (290).

¹¹⁰ GF 69. For further discussion of St George and the First Crusade see C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, trans. M. W. Baldwin and W. Goffart (Princeton, 1977), pp. 6, 54, 87, 135, 273–81.

¹¹¹ RA 318–9 (294).

Achard as being 'white-haired'.¹¹² The former castellan of Montmerle had mortgaged his patrimony to the monastery of Cluny in return for 2,000 solidi and four mules in order to join the crusade and his donation charter included a clause covering the case he might stay in the Levant.¹¹³ While the later stories that sprang up about Achard, such as those in the *La Gran Conquista de Ultramar*, were clearly legendary, it is significant that local traditions indicated that he had already something of a career and reputation for bravery before departing on the First Crusade.¹¹⁴ Again, also, the context is an appropriate one for a *iuvēnis* in the social sense of the term. Achard was *nobilissimus* and died bravely, fighting against the odds.

The last possible reference to *iuvēnis* in the work of Raymond of Aguilers occurs with regard to the storming of Jerusalem, 15 July 1099. Although Raymond did not describe them as being first on to the wall, he described a *iuvēnis* as playing a key role at the point where the breakthrough occurred: this *iuvēnis* devised arrows, firing at the coverings which protected ramparts that the Saracens had made to face the wooden tower of Duke Godfrey of Lotharingia and Count Eustace of Boulogne.¹¹⁵

Lacking decisive examples from the eyewitness accounts, there has to remain a certain element of speculation about the role of *iuvēnis* in the First Crusade. Certainly there seem to have existed a distinct stratum of the nobility to whom later authors found it appropriate to apply the language of 'youth'. A band of a particular sort of knight appears to have formed during the crusade, at the core of which were Thomas of Marle, Rainald of Beauvais, Drogo of Nesle, Clarembald of Vendeuil and Everard of Le Puiset. What they had in common was an illustrious, if not quite princely background, an unsettled career and a reputation for bravery. Their behaviour was characteristic of those who from the latter half of the Twelfth Century, perhaps more precisely, fitted George Duby's definition of the 'young'.

It might well have been this faction that Guibert of Nogent had in mind when he wrote that Hugh the Great was 'supported by certain *proceres* so that if, by right of battles, the Gentiles were conquered and

¹¹² AA ii.23 (100).

¹¹³ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, ed. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, 6 (Paris, 1876–1903), v. 51–3.

¹¹⁴ See C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History*, p. 193, n. 3.

¹¹⁵ RA 343 (300).

it came to pass that they occupied [the land] they planned to make him king.¹¹⁶ Following the victory over Kerbogha, however, Hugh was sent as a messenger to Alexios but did not return, causing his potential supporters to disperse. Some of this band sought work with Baldwin of Edessa in the plague-filled summer months at Antioch in 1098. They also seem to have been to the fore in pushing the expedition on to Jerusalem. After completing the pilgrimage, Thomas and Raimbold Crotton returned to France where they pursued very violent and troublesome careers.

The most important turning points of the expedition were the battle at Dorylaeum; the capture of Antioch; the battle against Kerbogha; the decision to leave Ma'arra and push on to Jerusalem and the storming of Jerusalem. From the descriptions of these early crusading historians a picture emerges that has these knights and others termed *iuvenes* to the fore at each of these moments, seeking glory in being the first into battle and the first on the walls in the storming of cities. They were a small layer of crusaders, but distinct enough to catch the eye of the historians and be identified with a vocabulary that contemporary readers would have understood not so much as meaning young knights, but as champions out to prove their worth.

¹¹⁶ GN 131: *Huic quidam procerum innitebantur; et si quid bellorum jure evictis gentilibus: eos obtinere contingeret, ipsum sibi regem praeficere meditabantur.*