

# Introduction

John of Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* recounts how in July 1248 he and his companions set sail from Marseilles to join the forces their king, Louis IX of France, had gathered for his first crusade campaign.<sup>1</sup> In doing so Joinville replicated the actions of countless other knights, including several members of his own family, who had taken the cross in the decades following pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade in 1095. Through the actions of these successive generations crusading had come to be an established feature of Christian and knightly life and, in the thirteenth century, a recurrent one: this was a period of intense crusading activity.

This study concerns the way in which thirteenth-century laymen like Joinville may have perceived crusading, and how they involved themselves with the crusading cause. For anyone interested in participants' ideas and motivations, crusading in this period is a topic that is made both more appealing and more complex by the developments that had taken place in the century and a half that had elapsed between 1095 and Louis IX's first crusade. During this period the Church and secular rulers who were responsible for instigating and executing crusade campaigns had come to use the crusade as a weapon against a variety of enemies in a range of locations and had found new ways to call on the support and assistance of their congregations and subjects. At the same time laymen, clerics and religious wrote, talked and sang to each other about the real and imagined experiences of crusaders. In the decades preceding the mid thirteenth century there was thus a profusion of media through which ideas about crusading were presented to potential participants, and an accompanying growth in the number of opportunities for them to put these ideas into practice should they choose to take the cross.

It is not my intention to provide an exhaustive examination of issues relating to the laity's perception of and involvement with crusading in relation to all the manifestations of this activity in the thirteenth century. This current study will concentrate largely, though not exclusively, on the participants in Louis IX's crusades to Egypt in 1248 and to Tunisia in 1270. This focus is determined by the contents of Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis*, a life of the king written in Old French that has at its core a first-person account of

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<sup>1</sup> *Vie de Saint Louis*, par. 125. Monfrin's edition of the *Vie* (Paris, 1995) retains the division of Joinville's text into numbered sections or paragraphs first established by N. de Wailly. For ease of reference to Monfrin's edition and accompanying translation into modern French these paragraph numbers will be cited rather than page numbers. Translations into English are my own.

the Egyptian crusade and its aftermath. It is the purpose of this study to consider the means by which the issue of the laity's response to calls to crusade in the thirteenth century might be examined in the light of the source material available, to explore themes that have been associated with crusading in this and other periods and to assert the unique value of Joinville's work in this context.

The pages that follow will outline the methodology and historiographical background of this study, which concentrates on specific themes as they feature in sources related to the promotion and practice of crusading, and on the careers of individual crusaders. Because the organization of this study is thematic rather than chronological, an initial summary of the historical context of Louis's crusades may prove helpful.<sup>2</sup>

The thirteenth century was a period of intense and varied crusading activity, on which both the papacy, as the crusades' official instigators and religious sponsors, and the secular powers of Europe, on whom the papacy depended in order to bring its crusading plans to fruition, made their own distinctive marks. Although a mutual dependence existed between the Church and secular authorities in the context of the crusades this was not enough to achieve a harmonization of aims and methods. The century opened with the departure of the Fourth Crusade, the forces of which were diverted as a result of material necessity from an intended campaign against Muslims in the East to the conquest of the Christian city of Zara and then of the schismatic Christian city and empire of Constantinople. In the wake of these events the papacy under Innocent III and his successors made efforts to facilitate the efficient gathering and direction of manpower and financial resources in order that they might be used where they were perceived to be most needed at any given time, whether that be in campaigns in Europe against heretics or the Hohenstaufen enemies of the Church, along the peripheries of Christendom against Muslims in the Iberian peninsula and pagans to the far north, or in the East in order to achieve or extend Christian control of the holy places and surrounding territory. The large force mustered for the Christian assault on Damietta in 1218 is evidence of how systematic use of preaching campaigns, vow redemptions and commutations and taxation could produce a large and potentially threatening crusade army, but the failure to carry forward its achievements after the capture of that city in the following year demonstrates that sound organization and resourcing in the early phases of a campaign were worth nothing without effective leadership and a firm set of objectives.

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<sup>2</sup> More detailed surveys of thirteenth-century crusading may be found in J. Riley-Smith, *The crusades. A short history* (London, 1987), pp. 109–78 and H. E. Mayer, *The crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham (second edition, Oxford, 1988), pp. 196–288. On crusades to the East in particular, see N. Housley, 'The thirteenth-century crusades in the Mediterranean', in *The new Cambridge medieval history. Volume V, c.1198–c.1300*, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 569–89.

Emperor Frederick II, who became the king of Jerusalem by virtue of his marriage in 1225, might have been the person to provide such leadership and sense of purpose. He lacked the stability in his German and Italian territories that might have made this possible, not least because of continuing suspicion and hostility between himself and the Curia. When he did reach the East to claim his throne in 1228 he was an excommunicate. Although his negotiated delivery of holy places in Jerusalem and other land into Christian hands under the terms of the Treaty of Jaffa in 1229 enabled him to go through an imperial crown-wearing in the Holy Sepulchre, the Christian presence in the East after Frederick's departure was insufficient to make these gains anything more than nominal and the emperor's only substantive contribution to the crusading cause was the settlement of a ten-year truce with the Ayyubid sultans.

The forces of the Barons' Crusade which arrived in the East in 1239 as this truce expired warrant this name by dint of the fact that they lacked the involvement of any of the major European rulers and were instead led by the French magnates Thibaut IV of Champagne and Hugh IV of Burgundy, who had asserted their will to campaign in the Levant over the desires of Pope Gregory IX that they transfer their efforts to the support of the beleaguered Latin empire of Constantinople. Thibaut and Hugh's campaign did not cover them in glory – the rout of a group of crusaders led by the counts of Bar and Montfort at Gaza in 1239 proved the most memorable event of this crusade. But the settlement negotiated by Thibaut with the sultan of Damascus before his departure for France in 1240, and the efforts of Richard of Cornwall in treating with Egypt and in refortifying Ascalon during 1240 and 1241 won significant territorial gains for the Christians in the East, including an enhanced possession of the Holy City, and might have provided a sound basis from which to rebuild a Christian kingdom around Jerusalem. This was prevented by the Egyptian sultan as-Salih, who used forces of Khwarizmian Turks to capture Jerusalem in August 1244 and to help him defeat the Christian forces and their allies from Damascus at the battle of La Forbie in October of the same year.

It was in the wake of these events that Louis IX of France took the cross for the first time. This was a personal decision, made on the point of the king's recovery from a serious illness in December 1244 and before consultation with the pope. Innocent IV lent support to Louis's effort by providing as legate Odo of Châteauroux, who was cardinal bishop of Tusculum and an experienced preacher and promoter of crusades, and by putting measures in place for a tax to be raised on the French Church to aid the crusade's finances. But it was Louis's personal commitment to the cause of the crusade as a pious project and attention to the preparation of his campaign that meant this crusade had the resources and leadership which gave it a greater chance of success than those of the preceding decades. Louis

gathered funds, laid in supplies on Cyprus and forwarded the construction of Aigues-Mortes, which was to be a major port of embarkation for the crusade. Through the efforts of *enquêteurs* sent to enquire into the conduct of royal officials and address any grievances, Louis worked to secure stability in his realm, including those areas such as Normandy and Languedoc which had come under Capetian rule as a result of the efforts of Philip Augustus and Louis VIII. When Louis left France in August 1248, accompanied by a force of around 2 500 knights including two of his brothers – Robert of Artois and Charles of Anjou – and to be joined later by the third, Alphonse of Poitiers, it seemed that the Church and the Christian settlements in the East might have found their champion.

The king viewed his involvement in the East as a long-term commitment, as is evidenced by the fact that in the aftermath of his startling victory in the capture of Damietta on 5 June 1249, without any need for a siege of the sort undertaken by the Fifth Crusade, he had a bishopric established in the city and had resources in place to begin Christian settlement in the region. But this was not to be. The crusaders' advance from Damietta up the Nile towards Cairo began in November 1249 but was prevented from crossing the river before Mansurah by the Ayyubid forces, who at that point were without a leader following the death of sultan as-Salih and in the absence of his successor, Turan Shah.

It was not until early February 1250 that the crusaders were informed of the existence of a ford that would enable them to cross the river. The king's brother, Robert of Artois, whose contingent formed the vanguard of the Christian army, squandered this opportunity by failing to wait for assistance and leading his men immediately into the town of Mansurah where they were wiped out. Despite this military blow and personal loss Louis was able to win that day's battle, although it proved impossible to capitalize on this victory.

Under the leadership of the newly-arrived Turan Shah the Ayyubids continually harrassed the Christian camp outside Mansurah, the forces of which were also depleted by the effects of disease and death resulting from a blockade of the Nile which prevented supplies reaching them from Damietta. In early April 1250 the decision was made to retreat to that city, but during the course of this attempt Louis and his fellow crusaders were forced to surrender and face captivity. It was during the following month, while the king and his army were still prisoners of Turan Shah, that there was a revolt against the sultan. Egypt passed into the control of the Mamluk regime, and it was from them that Louis bought his freedom with the surrender of Damietta, while that of his army was to be paid for with 400 000 *livres*. Half this sum was paid immediately, but not all of the captive Christians were released. It was in order to bring this about and to work for the defence of Christian possessions in the Levant that Louis sailed to Acre after his release in May 1250. After the departure of Alphonse of

Poitiers, Charles of Anjou and many other French knights Louis remained in the East with a reduced force until the spring of 1254, spending the intervening four years refortifying the cities of Acre, Jaffa, Ascalon and Sidon and undertaking negotiations for the return of prisoners and for truces with the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt to the south and the Ayyubid sultans of Damascus and Aleppo to the north.

Louis's departure from Acre in 1254 did not signal a break in his concern for the well-being of the Christians in the East: he left at his own expense a force of French knights at Acre under the leadership of Geoffrey of Sergines. The Acre garrison was to guarantee a French presence in the East and to grant Louis and his heirs a stake in the affairs of the Levant until the fall of the last of the Christian territories on the mainland. The process of the destruction of these territories began after the Mongol defeat of the Ayyubid sultanates of Damascus and Aleppo and the subsequent defeat of the Mongols by the Mamluks at Ain Jalut in 1260, which meant that Mamluk control of the lands around Acre and the Christian holdings was complete. Under sultan Baybars the Mamluks captured Mount Tabor in 1263, Caesarea and Arsuf in 1265, Safad, Toron and Chastel Neuf in 1266, Beaufort, Jaffa and Antioch in 1268 and Montfort, Gibelacar and Crac des Chevaliers in 1271.

It was in the midst of this series of losses for the Christians that, in 1267, Louis announced his intention of going on crusade again. Once more his preparations were meticulous and he had the vital support of his brothers Alphonse of Poitiers and Charles of Anjou (now king of Sicily after the prosecution of crusade campaigns against the remnants of the Hohenstaufen dynasty in southern Italy) as well as contingents led by Edward of England and James I of Aragon, though only small portions of the Aragonese group ever joined the crusade army. The failure of this crusade was due to the decision that, after its departure from France in July 1270, it should go to Tunisia. This plan may have been favoured by Charles of Anjou as an element of his empire-building, but it was certainly hoped by Louis that he would be able to bring to fruition the Tunisian king's apparent interest in conversion to Christianity. This was never achieved and nor was much else; many members of the crusade army, including Louis himself, succumbed to illness soon after their arrival.

The king died on 25 August 1270, truces were agreed with the Tunisians and both Charles of Anjou and Louis's heir, Philip III, decided not to continue with the crusade, leaving only Edward to sail to Acre, with a contingent too small to be of any great assistance against the might of the Mamluks. Although there was concern in Europe for the plight of the Christian East, vocalized most clearly by Gregory X who came to the pontificate in 1271, the manpower and other resources needed to back up his plans were not effectively mobilized. The Mamluk advance into Christian territory in the 1280s went unchecked, Tripoli was lost in 1289 and in the

wake of the siege and fall of Acre in May 1291 all the Christian holdings on the mainland were surrendered.

The final loss of the Christian settlements in the East has inevitably had a significant bearing on historians' assessments of crusading in the thirteenth century. Although campaigns to recover these lands were mooted and even planned for in Europe in the decades after 1291, none actually materialized and proactive crusading in the East was therefore at an end.<sup>3</sup> In this context Louis IX's crusades have been seen as a turning point for crusading, marking 'both the culmination and the beginning of the end of the crusade movement'.<sup>4</sup> This assessment by Joseph Strayer signals the great achievement of Louis's campaigns in terms of their organization and resourcing, which may only have served to increase potential disillusionment with crusading when these efforts resulted in failure. Steven Runciman's famous history of the crusades portrayed the thirteenth century as a period of inexorable decline not only for the condition of Christian holdings in the Levant but also for enthusiasm for crusading in the West, during which Louis's commitment stands in stark contrast to the indifference of most of his peers.<sup>5</sup>

Recent research has tended to consider crusading in this period less in terms of its overall successes or failures, but instead has focused on how institutions and individuals responded to the challenges and opportunities that faced the crusading cause.<sup>6</sup> It has thus been demonstrated that the appetite for and interest in crusading was not stagnating or declining, and that in many ways crusading in the thirteenth century was characterized by vitality and innovation. This is evident in the readiness of the Church and Christendom's temporal rulers to employ the crusade widely as a weapon, and to experiment with new ways of bringing their crusade plans to fruition. So, for example, Norman Housley has shown how the Church was able to recruit crusaders and generate funds necessary for its campaigns in southern Italy.<sup>7</sup> Christoph Maier has examined the way in which the newly-founded mendicant orders were enlisted by the Church to play a key role in the preaching and promotion of crusade campaigns.<sup>8</sup> The importance of existing

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<sup>3</sup> Mayer, *The crusades*, p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> J. Strayer, 'The crusades of Louis IX', in *The later crusades, 1189–1311*, ed. R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard, vol. 2 of *A History of the Crusades*, general editor K. M. Setton (Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969), p. 487.

<sup>5</sup> S. Runciman, *A History of the crusades. Volume III: The kingdom of Acre and the later crusades* (Cambridge, 1954), p. xi.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade. A call to arms and its consequences* (Philadelphia, 2005) was published as this work was in the final stages of preparation and will be an important contribution in this area.

<sup>7</sup> N. Housley, *The Italian crusades: the papal–Angevin alliance and the crusades against Christian lay powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford, 1982).

<sup>8</sup> C. Maier, *Preaching the crusades: mendicant friars and the cross in the thirteenth century*, (Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought 28, Cambridge, 1994).

social structures in generating the manpower and money necessary to prosecute a crusade has been demonstrated by Simon Lloyd's work on England in this period.<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Siberry's work on the crusades and their critics from the time of the First Crusade to the late thirteenth century has demonstrated continuing widespread enthusiasm for the cause of the crusade, alongside some concern as to when, where and how the crusade and measures associated with it should be exercised.<sup>10</sup> Many of these areas of interest were brought together in James Powell's in-depth study of the planning and prosecution of the Fifth Crusade, which describes how this campaign was conceived by the papacy, promoted through preaching, recruited for, financed and how, ultimately, this careful preparation was not enough to bring success.<sup>11</sup>

In the meantime issues associated with the motivation of laymen who joined crusades or their understanding of the nature and value of the campaigns in which they took part have not been addressed in detail for the thirteenth century. The work in the mid twentieth century of the French scholar Paul Alphandéry and his pupil Alphonse Dupront resulted in a study of Christianity and the idea of the crusade from the late eleventh to fourteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> The broad chronological sweep of this work and its readiness to treat Latin Christendom as a homogeneous unit with a 'collective spirituality' and 'collective unconsciousness'<sup>13</sup> left little space for discussion of variety of response to crusading or the beliefs and behaviour of individuals. One individual whose activities as a crusader have attracted considerable attention is, of course, Louis IX himself. The works of William Chester Jordan, Jean Richard and Jacques Le Goff are the most notable contributions to this field.<sup>14</sup> Jordan and Richard have both given Louis's desire to crusade and the impact of the failure of his first campaign a pivotal role in his thinking as a Christian and as a king. For Le Goff the place of the crusade in Louis's reign is somewhat diminished; this was just one of many activities through which he sought to embody the ideal of Christian kingship. These studies are of interest and use to my work as Louis is among those whose actions and attitudes I will consider. Nevertheless, he is only one of many who took the cross during the mid thirteenth century and he is made exceptional both by his status as king and by his extreme piety.

It is in the context of the earliest years of the crusade movement, and the First Crusade in particular, that the greatest efforts have been made to

<sup>9</sup> S. Lloyd, *English society and the crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1988).

<sup>10</sup> E. Siberry, *Criticism of crusading, 1095–1274* (Oxford, 1985).

<sup>11</sup> J. Powell, *Anatomy of a crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986).

<sup>12</sup> P. Alphandéry and A. Dupront, *La Chrétienté et l'idée de croisade* (L'évolution d'humanité, synthèse collective, 38 and 38b, Paris, 1954–9), 2 vols.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> W. C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the challenge of the crusade. A study in rulership* (Princeton, 1979); J. Richard, *Saint Louis, roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1983); J. Le Goff, *Saint Louis* (Paris, 1996).

identify who was likely to take the cross, how they are likely to have heard about crusading and how they may have interpreted the Church's appeal for an armed expedition to the Holy Land.<sup>15</sup> Although many features of the crusade preached by Urban II in 1095 were not without precedents in earlier holy wars, the Peace and Truce of God movements and the practice of pilgrimage, the project he proposed was in many ways a novelty. This has made the study of recruitment and motivation for the First Crusade in some ways a simpler prospect than might be the case for later campaigns: because the call for participants in this new endeavour issued by Urban at Clermont was new it was primarily through the institutions of the Church that this message was likely to have spread. Marcus Bull's work in particular has highlighted the central place of religious houses in south-west France in the recruitment of crusaders from families with which these institutions had established relationships. In the conclusion to his work on the response of the laity to the call for the First Crusade, Bull warned that an examination of the issues of the recruitment and motivation of crusaders over the course of the movement's development would need to take into account the changing nature of the crusade as an institution and its place within medieval society. So, for example, the use of the mendicants as crusade preachers and the possibility of redeeming vows for cash contributions meant that the call to crusade was introduced to a potentially far wider audience, whose involvement with crusading would not necessarily entail participation in a crusade campaign. In the decades following the First Crusade decisions as to whether or not to join a crusade army might be influenced by family traditions or the chivalric values that had emerged with the formation of knight-hood as a distinctive group within medieval society.<sup>16</sup>

This study does not attempt to present a detailed analysis of crusade recruitment and motivation of the sort that was envisaged by Bull. Rather, it intends to illustrate problems associated with the study of these issues in the thirteenth century in the light of the growth in the number and variety of the crusades' manifestations and the accompanying profusion of source materials relating to crusades in this period. In doing so it will also suggest ways in which this material might effectively be employed in an effort to understand how and why people engaged with crusading at this time.

There are two main premises underlying my approach to the study of the presentation and practice of crusading in the thirteenth century. The first is that while in the century and a half that separated the First Crusade and Louis IX's decision to take the cross for the first time in 1244 the Church and secular rulers had made efforts to influence the processes of preparation

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<sup>15</sup> M. Bull, *Knightly piety and the lay response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c.970–c.1130* (Oxford, 1993); J. Riley-Smith, *The first crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997).

<sup>16</sup> Bull, *Knightly piety*, p. 282.



and prosecution of crusade campaigns to meet their own needs, they could not control the way that individuals exchanged ideas about crusading. While Marcus Bull was able to look to monasteries and abbeys as a main channel for the communication of ideas about crusading to potential participants in the First Crusade, the experiences of those who took the cross then and over the succeeding decades must have provided the basis for many conversations and debates from which those who had the choice of taking part in Louis's crusades might have learned about the nature and value of these projects.

Of course we have no records of these exchanges and can only rarely catch glimpses of what they might have consisted of, but we should be confident that they did take place; such an interaction was foretold in the light-hearted comment of John II of Nesle, count of Soissons, made to John of Joinville during the battle of Mansurah that 'we'll speak about this day again, you and me, in the ladies' chamber'.<sup>17</sup> But conversations about crusading were not just exchanges of good adventure stories; Joinville also reported how his belief that Louis should stay in the East in 1250, and his own desire to remain were formed in part as a result of the advice given to him before departure by his cousin, Geoffrey of Bourlémont, that it would be a shame to him and his fellow crusaders to return to France while Christians remained in captivity.<sup>18</sup>

The importance of crusading and crusaders' conduct can therefore be seen to have been subjects for serious discussion, which might influence individuals' behaviour. The way in which memories of crusade campaigns were told and re-told is demonstrated by John of le Vignay's insertion into his translation into Old French of Primat's Latin chronicle of an account of the grounding of Louis's ship on its return voyage to France in 1254, at which John's own father had been present.<sup>19</sup> John's inclusion of this episode as a digression from Primat's chronicle is evidence of the value he attached to his father's memories of crusading, of which he may well have spoken on several occasions in the eighty years that separated the voyage from the production of this translation in the 1330s. Rutebeuf's production of the poem 'Le débat du croisé et du décroisé', an account of an imagined discussion between a man who had taken the cross and another who was initially reluctant to do so, although probably not realistic in its representation of such an exchange, does suggest that the scenario itself was one which his audience might have recognized.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> *Vie*, par 242.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pars 421, 431.

<sup>19</sup> 'Chronique de Primat traduite par Jean du Vignay', in *RHGF*, 23, pp. 65–6.

<sup>20</sup> Rutebeuf, 'Le débat du croisé et du décroisé', in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. M. Zink (Paris, 1989–90), 2 vols, 2, pp. 355–73.

It is in the absence of further evidence for the discussions among laymen of the nature and value of crusading that we must turn to the vernacular literature produced by them and for them for material relating to the presentation of the crusade to potential participants. The likely enthusiasm of laymen and would-be crusaders for such literature is reflected in the fact that some of those who did take the cross took books containing songs or poems with them on crusade. The reports of Odo of Nevers's executors reveal that when he died in Acre in 1266 he had with him texts of the romance *Loberains* and a work referred to as 'li romanz de la terre d'outre mer' ('romanz' indicating only that this work was written in the vernacular), as well as a book of songs.<sup>21</sup> Examples of this secular literature, in the form of Rutebeuf's poetry, *chansons de geste* and song lyrics which described crusades or crusade-like wars will provide the basis for chapter three of this study, which concerns the presentation of crusades to potential participants. These literary sources will be used alongside evidence for crusade preaching in the thirteenth century. The recent edition by Christoph Maier of model sermons for the preaching of the cross has not only provided a valuable research resource but has also suggested a methodology with which to approach the presentation of crusading in the thirteenth century. His analysis of these sermons suggests that a 'framework of ideas' can be identified within which these preachers worked, and which may have helped form perceptions of the crusade among the laity. This framework of ideas was built of 'general ideas and common elements shared by all, or at least most, of the crusade model sermons' included in his edition.<sup>22</sup>

The aim of chapter three is to consider whether and how the framework of ideas Maier proposed might be extended if we were to incorporate other sources circulating in the thirteenth century in which crusades were described. In this way we might work towards establishing a much wider framework of ideas concerning crusading in the thirteenth century which acknowledges the input of agencies other than the Church in the formation of crusade mentalities. By examining the way in which a range of themes appear in the descriptions of crusading provided in these sources my study considers whether and how the ideas of clerical authors of crusade sermons about the nature and value of crusading differed from those presented by the authors of works of secular literature. The themes on which I will concentrate are ones that have been of interest to crusade historians in the past and, as will become evident in my discussion, I have therefore been able to benefit from and respond to existing scholarship in these areas.

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<sup>21</sup> 'Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, comte de Nevers (Acre 1266)', ed. M. Chazaud, *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 32, fourth series, 2 (1871), 188.

<sup>22</sup> C. Maier, introduction to *Crusade propaganda and ideology: model sermons for the preaching of the cross*, ed. C. Maier (Cambridge, 2000), p. 51.

These themes are: pilgrimage, service, the memory and uses of the past, the dangers of crusading, martyrdom and the value of suffering.

In chapter four I will examine the same themes in source material relating to the conduct of thirteenth-century crusade campaigns and the experiences of those who took part in them in order to consider their role in the practice of crusading. In this respect my approach to crusading in the thirteenth century has been influenced by Matthew Strickland's study of war and chivalry in England and Normandy in the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries. Strickland saw that although chivalry could be and has been studied as a social phenomenon, with an ideology expressed through written texts like the *chansons de geste* and through rituals such as dubbing,<sup>23</sup> the mentality of elite warriors could only be identified by examining the conduct of war itself.<sup>24</sup> In the same way, the idea of the crusade presented in sermons, songs, poems and *chansons de geste* may tell us what poets and preachers wanted the crusades to be, but only by studying the beliefs and behaviour of those actively involved in crusades can we understand what a crusade actually meant to those who took part.

At this point the other premise underlying the methodology of this study needs to be expressed. This is that the full potential of John of Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* as a source for the motivation and experiences of crusaders in the thirteenth century has not been fully exploited. The usefulness of this text as a 'way in' to the study of crusaders and crusading in the mid thirteenth century is demonstrated by its inclusion in Norman Housley's recent work on crusaders and the texts in which they recorded their experiences.<sup>25</sup> But the crusade-related contents of Joinville's work warrant much more detailed analysis. This is not a simple task, because the *Vie de Saint Louis* is not a simple text. Difficulties emerge as soon as one tries to identify what kind of a text it is and when, how and why it was produced. As will be discussed in detail in chapter two, the *Vie de Saint Louis* contains elements that appear to make it at the same time hagiographical, historical and autobiographical in nature. Efforts to iron out these complex issues relating to the production of this text have been one of the dominant themes in studies of Joinville's work.<sup>26</sup> Another strand in research based on the *Vie de Saint Louis* has focused on Joinville's opinions of Louis IX or the

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<sup>23</sup> On the ideology of chivalry see M. Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven and London, 1984) and J. Flori, *L'essor de la chevalerie XIe–XIIIe siècles* (Geneva, 1986).

<sup>24</sup> M. Strickland, *War and chivalry. The conduct and perception of war in England and Normandy, 1066–1217* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> N. Housley, *The crusaders* (Stroud, 2002), pp. 95–137.

<sup>26</sup> See for example: A. Foulet, 'Notes sur la *Vie de Saint Louis* de Joinville', *Romania*, 58 (1932), 551–64; A. Foulet, 'When did Joinville write his *Vie de Saint Louis*?', *Romanic Review*, 32 (1941), 233–43; G. Paris, 'La composition du livre de Joinville sur Saint Louis', *Romania*, 23 (1894), 508–24.

relationship between these two men.<sup>27</sup> But the recent edition of the *Vie de Saint Louis* by Jacques Monfrin seems to have sparked renewed interest in this text.<sup>28</sup> This is most clearly evident in the publication of two collections of essays the contents of which demonstrate the richness of the *Vie de Saint Louis* as a source for many aspects of life in France and on crusade in the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup> So we have two essays outlining the potential usefulness of Joinville's work to the crusade historian,<sup>30</sup> and others exploring its value in relation to specific topics such as Joinville's experiences of the warfare of the Ayyubid and Mamluk armies or his knowledge and depiction of other non-Christian peoples.<sup>31</sup> Philippe Ménard contributed an essay to an earlier collection on Joinville's 'esprit de croisade', which is in some ways a precursor to aspects of this current study.<sup>32</sup> I share Ménard's interest in Joinville's religious motivation, which he sees as defining Joinville's crusade mentality, but I will depart from his approach in chapter four of this study by examining Joinville's experiences of the crusade alongside those of his contemporaries as described in other crusade narratives and documentary sources. It is intended, and perhaps inevitable, that Joinville should be a dominant figure in this study, for the crusade narrative contained in the *Vie de Saint Louis* is uniquely detailed and personal in nature. It is important, though, that his experiences should not be treated in isolation; the ideas and experiences of other crusaders may be perceived, though perhaps with less clarity, through other sources. The conduct of these other crusaders helps set Joinville's crusading career in relief and at the same time highlights the singular value of his testimony.

The final chapter of this study has the purpose of stepping back from the detailed examination of specific aspects of belief or experience relating to

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<sup>27</sup> Recent work includes: P. Archambault, *Seven French chroniclers: witnesses to history* (Syracuse, New York, 1974), pp. 42–57; Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, especially pp. 473–98; M. Perret, 'A la fin de sa vie ne fuz je mie', *Revue des sciences humaines*, 183 (1981–3), 17–37; M. Slattery, *Myth, man and sovereign saint: King Louis IX in Jean de Joinville's sources* (American university studies, series II: romance languages and literature 11, New York, 1985); M. Zink, 'Joinville ne pleure pas mais il rêve', *Poétique*, 33 (1978), 28–45.

<sup>28</sup> *Vie*: John of Joinville, *Vie de saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1995).

<sup>29</sup> J. Dufournet and L. Harf, eds, *Le prince et son historien. La Vie de Saint Louis de Joinville*, (Collection Unichamp 55, Paris, 1997); D. Quéruel, ed., *Jean de Joinville: de la Champagne aux royaumes d'outre-mer* (Langres, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> J. Richard, 'Joinville à la croisade', in *Le prince et son historien*, eds Dufournet and Harf, pp. 23–31 and P. Contamine, 'Joinville, acteur et spectateur de la guerre d'outremer', in *Le prince et son historien*, eds Dufournet and Harf, pp. 33–49.

<sup>31</sup> J.-C. Faucon, "'La grant foison de feu ...' Joinville sous les feux Grégeois", in *Jean de Joinville: de la Champagne aux royaumes d'outre-mer*, ed. Quéruel, pp. 157–73 and J. Paviot, 'Joinville et les Mongols', in *Jean de Joinville: de la Champagne aux royaumes d'outre-mer*, ed. Quéruel, pp. 207–18.

<sup>32</sup> P. Ménard, 'L'esprit de la croisade chez Joinville. Etude des mentalités médiévales', in *Les Champenois et la croisade. Actes des quatrième journées rémoises, 27–28 Novembre 1987*, eds Y. Bellenger and D. Quéruel (Paris, 1989), pp. 131–47.

crusading in order to examine the place of crusading in knightly careers as a whole. This section of the study is founded on the idea that individuals' decision-making about participation in crusades was not only based on their beliefs, but also on their circumstances and wider experience. Just as Joinville's experiences of crusading should not be treated in isolation from those of his contemporaries, so his crusade should not be treated in isolation from his other interests and activities as a Christian, lord, vassal and family man. This section of the study will therefore present two case studies that highlight different ways in which the crusade could be present in and impact on the lives of participants. The first of these case studies concerns the career of Oliver of Termes, whose career was dominated by his association with the cause of the Albigensian heretics and struggles against royal authority in Languedoc. Oliver subsequently took part in both Louis IX's crusades and spent additional periods in the East serving in the defence of Christian territories there. His career has been the subject of a recent biography, and may be traced through chronicle accounts and numerous communications between the French Crown, the papacy and Oliver himself.<sup>33</sup> Oliver's circumstances and decision-making about crusading stand in stark contrast to those of John of Joinville himself, whose career is considered in the second half of chapter five. Through an examination of information relating to Joinville's own life contained in the *Vie de Saint Louis* and in documentary sources concerning his career at home in Champagne it is possible to identify reasons why this individual's first crusade was also his last. But Joinville's failure to join Louis's second crusade did not signal an end in his interest in crusading: his activities as a writer demonstrate the need for us to consider the engagement of individuals with crusading not only in terms of their active participation.

John of Joinville and the *Vie de Saint Louis* are also of central importance to this study in helping to impose some loose boundaries on the range of sources and subjects to be tackled. In chronological terms this means that the main focus will be on Louis IX's crusades although the interest of Joinville and others in events outside this frame mean that references to other crusading activity will not be excluded. Similarly, this study will concentrate on the activities of crusaders in the East although the involvement of many of Joinville's contemporaries in European crusades means that they cannot be omitted either. Joinville's crusading contemporaries must be taken to refer generally, but not exclusively, to laymen who shared his status as a knight. Clerics, members of military orders, women and men who did not have Joinville's noble ancestry or experience of battle on horseback were present on Louis's crusade, are mentioned in the *Vie de Saint Louis* and will be referred to in this book. But as Joinville's main interest was in

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<sup>33</sup> G. Langlois, *Olivier de Termes, le Cathare et le croisé (vers 1200–1274)* (Toulouse, 2001).

his knightly colleagues, so is mine. In the same way, I will share Joinville's focus on the French contingents that dominated Louis's two crusades, but will not exclude references to crusaders of other nationalities. And, as the literature Joinville produced was written in the vernacular, as was most of the literature he is likely to have read or listened to, so the literary material selected for inclusion in chapter three is taken from the body of such sources available in Old French.

While it is true that Joinville's work allows us a uniquely personal insight into the experiences and attitudes of crusaders in the thirteenth century, additional research using material relating to crusaders from all backgrounds who were involved in other campaigns in this period could extend our knowledge and understanding of crusaders and crusading in this period much further. The research presented in this current study is intended to demonstrate the richness of this field of study and suggest approaches that could be used more widely.