Stephen Bennett[1]

Queen Mary, University of London

Fear and its Representation in the First Crusade.

This paper argues that depictions of fear were the product of systems of representation in which the First Crusade became the significant manifestation of divine will based on the pure spiritual desires of its participants. It reflected the Church's changing attitude to war and a desire to influence the military classes. In preaching the First Crusade, Pope Urban II created a synthesis of holy war and pilgrimage, but, by analysing the depiction of fear in histories of the First Crusade, this article supports the position that it was only after the success of the Crusade that a coherent and internally consistent body of thought on crusading developed.

It is a challenge for the modern reader to make the mental adjustments necessary to understand the alterity or 'otherness' of people from medieval Europe and their particular understandings of such concepts as space, communication and emotions.[2] Analysis of participants in the First Crusade is particularly complex given that they came from many social groups and cultures.[3] In considering the construction and representation of fear as a physical, material or spiritual trigger in early accounts of the First Crusade, this paper seeks to unlock the interplay between established institutional

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[1] Stephen Bennett's (bennett_stephen876@btinternet.com) academic interests are primarily in medieval military history with emphasis on military science and the art of war, representations of close combat, and the interplay between military cultures. He holds a BA (Hons.) in Humanities (1990), and MAs in Defence Diplomacy (2005) and Crusader Studies (2011). He is also a graduate of Royal Military Academy Sandhurst (1991) and Spanish Command and Staff College (2004). He is presently undertaking a part time PhD at Queen Mary, University of London with a thesis entitled 'Networks of Nobility: The nature of elite participation in the Third Crusade'.

[2] See Marcus Bull, *Thinking Medieval: An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 131-4.

[3] Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 7-21, p. 189-90.

devotional practice and emerging norms in transmission of crusading.[4] In endeavouring to look into the mental spaces crusaders occupied by considering the representation of fear, it is possible to analyse influences on each writer and how this may have affected the mental mapping of participants in later crusades, as well as the broader development of crusading.

There are three areas to be considered in the course of this work: approaches to emotions in western history, the concept of representation, and early histories of the First Crusade. This paper will compare the representation of fear in four works that are considered 'eyewitness' accounts; the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the histories of Raymond of Aguilers, Peter Tudebode and Fulcher of Chartres, with later historians of the Crusade, such as Albert of Aachen and Robert the Monk.[5] To focus analysis of how the representation of fear, or the types of fear emphasised by writers, changed during in the first decades that followed the conquest of Jerusalem, this work will focus on three specific events in which these texts strongly represent fear as a physical or spiritual trigger: the Battle of Dorylaeum on 1 July 1097, and critical moments concerning the siege of Antioch in January and June 1098.

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[4] Thomas S. Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2010), p. 660-4; John France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 3; Jonathan S.C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd Edition (London: Athlone, 2009), p. 135.

[5] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum: The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, ed. & trans. Rosalind Hill (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1962); Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, trans. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974); Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, ed. Harold S. Fink, trans. Francis R. Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tenessee Press, 1969); Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968); Albert of Aachen, *Historia Iherosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. & trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 2007); Ralph of Caen, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, trans. Bernard S. Bachrach and David S. Bachrach (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Robert of Rheims, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade. Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). These works can be cross-referenced with nine surviving letters written by and for participants, a circular from the town of Lucca, and accounts from Byzantine, Armenian and Muslim writers as well as later chronicles. For a review on the discussion on eyewitness accounts see Riley-Smith, *Crusading*, p. 60.

Emotion: Fear and its Representation

Fear as an emotion is not a static category; it can describe mild anxiety or extreme paranoia. Like all emotions, fear is relational and requires an object or target, but fear is also a process that includes the fearful, the feared and society's behavioural norms. Thus fear is a culturally defined phenomenon. Until recently, however, the understanding of emotions in Western History followed a 'hydraulic model' whereby emotions were akin to great liquids flowing through the body like medieval 'humours'. It assumed that emotions were universal and were either switched on or off depending on restraints – social or otherwise.[6] This influenced Febvre and underpinned his view of the Middle Ages as a childlike precursor to the Modern World that, in 'separating ideas from emotions, turned medieval men and women into passive slaves to their own mental structures, incapable of making sense of the world around them'.[7]

In the mid-1980s a new field for historians of emotions emerged called 'emotionology'. It was coined to describe the values a group or society gave to basic emotions and their appropriate expression, as well as the way that institutions include emotions within their normative behaviour.[8] The focus was not on emotions – how people felt or represented their feelings - but what people thought about displaying their emotions. It assumed that what people thought about emotions they would eventually feel.[9]

However, emotionologists, as the followers of this paradigm came to be known, rejected its application to the pre-modern world. In their paper on emotionology, the Stearns

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[6] See Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 104-6.
[7] Lucien Febvre, 'Le sensibilité et l'histoire: Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?', *Annales d'histoire sociale,* 3 (1941), 5-20. See also, Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review,* 107 (2002), 831.
[8] See Peter N. and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *American Historical Review,* 90 (1985), 813.
[9] Rosenwein, 'Emotions', 824; 826.

explicitly ruled out courtly love literature, for example, as 'it simply did not penetrate far enough into popular culture or into institutional arrangements'.[10] Instead, they retained the view of a childlike period that had 'less precise standards', tolerated 'significant anger', which was expressed more 'frankly and overtly' than in the modern period so that people lacked 'general emotional control'.[11] It is a view reinforce by Elias,

> People [in the Middle Ages] are wild, cruel, prone to violent outbreaks and abandoned to the joy of the moment. They can afford to be. There is little in their situation to compel them to impose restraint on themselves.[12]

Elias focused on knights, who could pursue their base desires unconstrained by a state. Restraint and renunciation was initiated though courtly love and led to the 'transformation of drives, tempered by love of a lady of high station'.[13] Elias' argument proved attractive because many could recognise a civilising process at work in the development of courtly behaviour.[14] Dinzelbacher supported Delumeau's view of the church as the civiliser when he argued that the church knew how to awaken the imaginative fears and hopes of medieval men for their own purposes.[15] It was an approach that one can find mirrored in France's views on knightly piety.[16]

A 'grand narrative' developed whereby the history of emotions of the West was one of

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[10] Stearns, 'Emotionology', 830.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), p. 327.
[13] Elias, *Civilizing Process*, p. 327.
[14] See Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2 vols, 2nd Edition (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1968).
[15] Rosenwein, 'Emotions', 833. See also Piero Camporesi, *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Medieval Europe*, trans. Lucinda Byatt (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991); and Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), p. 21.
[16] France, *Victory in the East*, p. 7. For contrasting views on knightly piety see Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade, The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1998) and David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c.300-c.1215* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003).

increasing emotional restraint. Marc Bloch described 'a civilization in which moral or social convention did not yet require well-bred people to repress their tears and their raptures' and treated 'emotional instability' as a primary characteristic of medieval people.[17]

The 'grand narrative' is challenged with two alternate views.[18] In cognitive theory, emotions are not forces for release, but are part of a process of perception and appraisal. Rather than irrational, emotions result from judgments about whether something will be good or harmful – as perceived by an individual.[19] The process begins with appraisal, which followed by emotional signals prepares the body for action – commonly known as the fight or flight mechanism. Whilst cognitive psychologists recognise some common 'basic' emotions (like fear and anger), different perceptions produce varying emotions in individuals even in similar settings.[20] Therefore, the capacity of a society to permit 'emotional liberty' determines the degree of 'emotional suffering' caused by failure to conform to its collective emotional management style.[21]

In social constructionism, emotions and their display are formed and shaped by the society in which they operate. Harré, for example, considers that there are no 'basic' emotions, but takes a more subtle view that every society tempers, encourages, manages and shapes various emotions through language and cultural practice.[22] For both approaches emotions are not seeking an escape, but are created rather than restrained.[23]

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17 Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyon (London: Routledge, 1961), p. 73.
18 Rosenwein, 'Emotions', 834-7.
19 For evaluative judgments see Robert C. Soloman, 'Emotions and Choice', *Review of Metaphysics,* 28 (1973), 20-41.
20 See Magda B. Arnold, *Emotion and Personality*, 2 vols. (New York: Cassell, 1960); Paul Ekman and Richard J. Davidson (ed.), *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
21 William M. Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
22 Rom Harré (ed.), *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960); see also, Ronald de Sousa, *The Rationality of Emotion* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989). For the importance of affect in the

Based on social constructionism, but mindful of evaluation judgments from cognitive theory,[24] this study on the representation of fear by early historians of the First Crusade will start with the assumption that 'emotional meaning is fundamentally structured by particular cultural systems and particular social and material environments'.[25] This suggests the existence of many 'emotional communities' with varying tolerances of histrionic expression, privileged gestures or bodily symptoms (emotional liberty).[26] It will be argued here that the representation of fear had a religious function. In line with the social constructionist and cognitive approaches, there were triggers, of which the physical and spiritual will be considered. Against this background the display of fear by crusaders, or rather the representation of such displays is vital.[27] As this work will show, there was considerable variation in how fear was displayed and represented in texts.

Representation refers to the construction in any medium of aspects of 'reality' such as emotions, sexuality, gender, cultural identities and other socially organising concepts. The term refers to the processes involved as well as to its products, so representation involves not only how identities are represented (or rather constructed) within a text, but also how they are constructed in the processes of production. As direct experience is mediated by perceptual codes, fear is always represented and representation involves the construction of reality rather than its reproduction. By comparing the texts through content analysis one may identify a common system of representation in which fear is framed and the

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analysis of (objectified) emotion, see Patricia Greenspan, *Emotions and Reasons: An Inquiry into Emotional Justification* (London: Routledge, 1988) and Michael Stöcker, *Valuing Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[23] For other research on emotions and crusading see Susanna A. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[24] See Soloman, 'Emotions and Choice', *Review of Metaphysics,* 28, 20-41.

[25] Catherine A. Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago, 1988), p. 5.

[26] Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Controlling Paradigms' in Barbara H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middles Ages* (New York, 1998), pp. 233-47.

[27] Stephen D. White, 'Politics of Anger' in Barbara H. Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of Emotion in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1998), p. 130-1.

subjects 'positioned'.[28] To represent fear medieval sources use a variety of Latin words. Based on a review of Latin usage, the verbs *fugere, metuo*, *timeo*, *trepido* and *vereor*, and the nouns *formido*, *metus*, *pavor*, *terror*, *timor*, *tremor* and *trepidatio* are equivalent to fear or its effects. Consideration will also be given to *reverentia* in the relevant context.[29]

Fear and the First Crusade

Physical fear, the fear of death, injury or disease, is unsurprising in war. Military campaigning in the Middle Ages was rigorous and debilitating. Sieges were often protracted, which required reliable supplies of food and water. In combat, missile weapons disrupted infantry formations and, with cavalry, dislocated elements of an enemy army. An, often mounted, assault force could then exploit the loss of cohesion. If the defeated army failed to disengage in an orderly manner, dispersed infantrymen would suffer heavy casualties from more agile horsemen. Yet the victorious force might also disintegrate in the pursuit, leaving leaders vulnerable to death or capture.

Moreover, expeditionary warfare, like pilgrimages, exposed participants to an unfamiliar diet, uncertain logistical support and disease, especially when concentrated for a lengthy siege. In combining the dangers inherent in war with those of a pilgrimage, a crusader faced certain hardship and the risk of serious injury or death.[30]

Despite probably outnumbering their opponents at the Battle of Dorylaeum, Turkish tactics were represented as a rude surprise to the crusaders, being described as *'irruerunt uehementer'* [rushing vehemently] upon Bohemond in the *Gesta*.[31] Moreover Fulcher says,

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[28] Stuart Hall (ed.), *Cultural Representations and Signifying Practice* (London: Sage, 1997).
[29] All unreferenced translations are by the author.
[30] France, *Victory in the East*, p. 22.
[31] *Gesta Francorum*, p. 18. In 'What is the Gesta Francorum and Who was Peter Tudebode?' *Revue Mabillon,* 16 (2005), Jay Rubenstein describes the *Gesta* as a 'hastily assembled compilation of anecdotes and of

'nec hoc mirandum, quia nobis omnibus tale bellum erat incognitum' [nor is this remarkable because to all of us such warfare was unknown].[32] The battle provides a useful tool in comparing the depiction of fear in the primary sources.

The *Gesta* provides a short, matter of fact account, where the crusaders under Bohemond dismount and make camp in anticipation of the Turkish attack. There they hold under increasing pressure until the timely arrival of Duke Godfrey drives the enemy from the field.[33] *Fugam* and *fugerunt* are therefore only used in respect to the Turks. However, it is made clear that they were a real physical threat to the defenders for *'Nos itaque quamquam nequiuimus resistere illis'* [Although we had no chance of withstanding them], but there is also another underlying spiritual threat through the use of 'diabolical'.[34]

Continuo Turci coeperunt stridere et garrire ac clamare, excelsa uoce dicentes diabolicum sonum

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wisdom that circulated around the campsite and that had been preached about by clerics', produced almost immediately after the crusade. Previously the anonymous author had been viewed as a southern Italian vassal of Bohemond. Perhaps a lay crusader, probably a knight, but in 'Crusade and Narrative: Bohemond and the *Gesta Francorum*', *Journal of Medieval History,* 17 (1991), 208, Kenneth Wolf proposes he was a cleric. In 'The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History', *Reading Medieval Studies,* 19 (1993), 55-71, Colin Morris adds a compelling view of a non-Benedictine clergyman with an accessible Latin style compiling disparate low-level accounts from the Southern Italian contingent. Textual relationships with other works are also debated. In 'A Neglected Passage in the *Gesta* and its Bearing on the Literature of the First Crusade' in Louis J. Paetow (ed.), *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays presented to Dana C. Munro by his former students* (New York: Crofts & Co, 1928), August Krey considers the *Gesta* the basis for Guibert, Robert and Tudebode with the original work completed in Jerusalem *c.*1102. John France champions this view presenting the *Gesta* as an original work and the basis for Tudebode, which greatly influenced Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres. See 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere* of Peter Tudebode' in John France and William G. Zajac (eds), *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 39-69 and John France, 'The Use of the Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* in the Early Twelfth-Century Sources for the First Crusade' in Alan V. Murray (ed.), *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 29-42. However, in their translation of Peter Tudebode, the Hills propose the existence of a lost source that formed the foundation for the four eyewitness accounts. In 'What is the *Gesta*?' Rubenstein substantially supports the existence of a Jerusalem history that underpinned both Tudebode and the compiler of the *Gesta.* It is a theme revisited by Marcus Bull in 'The Eyewitness Accounts of the First Crusade as Political Scripts', *Reading Medieval Studies,* 36 (2010), 23-38.

[32] Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 85. Until becoming Baldwin of Boulogne's chaplain, Fulcher of Chartres was part of Robert of Normandy and Stephen of Blois' contingent, and took a Northern French perspective. The First Crusade was covered in the first instalment, written around 1101, but following the capture of Edessa, the Hills argue that it cannot be taken as a first-hand account.

[33] *Gesta Francorum*, p. 18-21.

[34] Ibid., p. 19.

> *nescio quomodo in sua lingua.*
>
> These Turks began, all at once, to howl and gabble and shout, saying with loud voices in their own language some devilish word which I do not understand[35]

Fulcher's description of the impact of the Turks is related to aggression and the Turks are metaphorically linked to animals through their howling,

> *Turci autem ululatibus concrepantes et pluviam sagittarum vehementer emittentes; nos ilico stupefacti mortique proximi, etiam multi laesi, mox dorsa fugae dedimus.*
>
> Meanwhile the Turks were howling like wolves and furiously shooting a cloud of arrows. We were stunned by this. Since we faced death and since many of us were wounded we soon took flight[36]

It was an image he continues in the encampment where,

> *Nos quidem omnes in unum conglobati tanquam oves clausae ovili, trepidi et pavefacti ab hostibus undique circumvallabamur, ut nulla tenus aliquorsum procedere valeremus.*
>
> We were all indeed huddled together like sheep in a fold, trembling and frightened, surrounded on all sides by enemies so that we could not turn in any direction[37]

Not only is there a link to God as the good pastor, a theme he returns to again at Antioch, Fulcher is clear in laying down the spiritual aspect of their trial, *'quod nobis visum*

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[35] *Gesta Francorum*, p. 18.
[36] Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 85.
[37] Ibid.

est propter peccata nostra contigisse' [that this happened because of our sins].[38]

Of the later works, Albert and Ralph supplemented the eyewitness accounts so, for example, Albert also used a metaphor drawn from the natural world with the *'grandinis tempestate'* [hailstorm] of arrows that the Turks use to cover their flight after the battle.[39] After the *'clamor magnus et tremor in populo exoritur'* [A great shouting and shaking arose among the people] he uniquely describes the women's attempts to make themselves look attractive and be spared death when the Turks broke into the camp.[40] This link between women and sin will be touched upon later. Adding to the *Gesta*'s account, both Ralph and Robert highlighted the vital role of Robert of Normandy in rallying Bohemond's knights. Thus they used fear as a vehicle for the courage and leadership of Robert and other eminent figures, *'verticem nudat, Normanniam exclamat'* [He uncovered his head and shouted "Normandy"].[41] In a representation of a transitional moment between fear and fearlessness, Ralph described Robert calling on Bohemond who had followed him in flight with the words,

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[38] Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 85.

[39] Albert, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 134. Albert of Aachen was not a participant in the First Crusade, but his is the only detailed source for the German contingent. Susan Edgington argues that the account of the First Crusade was probably written shortly after the crusaders' return. In 'Albert of Aachen Reappraised' in Alan V. Murray (ed.), *From Clermont to Jerusalem, The Crusades and Crusader Societies 1095-1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 55-67, she concludes that the *Historia* was produced independently with no textual relationship to Fulcher, the *Gesta* or those that relied heavily on it for their accounts such as Robert the Monk. However, she also states that it is also impossible at present to demonstrate the existence of a lost Lotharingian chronicle. So one is left with a work probably based on oral accounts from eyewitnesses returning to or passing through the Rhineland, embellished by poetic sources such as the *Chanson d'Antoiche* and, perhaps, written fragments written *c.*1100. See also Susan B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the Chansons de Geste' in John France and William G. Zajac (eds), *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 37. Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 85; *Gesta Francorum*, p. 19; Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p. 27.

[40] Albert, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 131.

[41] Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 46 and Robert, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 109. Ralph of Caen was recruited in 1106 by Bohemond during the latter's tour of France, as chaplain, and accompanied him on his unsuccessful campaign of 1107-8. Thereafter, Ralph travelled to Antioch and joined the entourage of Tancred, the new prince of Antioch. In their translation of his work, the Bachrachs present that the *Gesta Tancredi* was probably finished after the death of Tancred, whilst Ralph was living in Jerusalem, and may well have been influenced by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Robert the Monk was a Benedictine who probably attended the Council of Clermont, but there is no evidence that he went on the First Crusade. In her translation, Sweetenham argues that the *Gesta* was probably his primary reference with some detail drawn from Raymond and suggests that it was written 1106-7. In addition she states, 'Robert was not an eyewitness to most of what he recounts but he adds significant extra material to the base text throughout'.

> *Eho! Boamundum, quorsum fuga? longe Apulia, longe Hydruntum, longe spes omnis finium Latinorum; hic standum, hic nos gloriosa manet aut poena victos, aut corona victores.*
>
> Ho Bohemond, why are we fleeing? Apulia is far away, Otranto is far away. Hope for the borders of any Latin land is far from us. We should make our stand here for we will have either the glorious punishment of the defeated or the victor's crown.[42]

In other ways, Robert's account is closer to Tudebode and the *Gesta*, but enhances the religious aspects, such as Robert of Normandy's cry of '*Deus vult! Deus vult!*' [God wills it! God wills it!].[43] Here the same transitional moment between fear and fearlessness was linked directly to God as the highest arbiter in this spiritual war.

When the crusaders were besieged in Antioch by Kerbogha, members of the expedition are represented as so scared that some fled while others refused to fight and had to be burned out of their hiding places. William of Grandmesnil, Bohemond's brother-in-law, departed with a group of Northern French, as did Stephen of Blois. Indeed the threat of a mass breakout was so severe on the night of 10 or 11 June that Bohemond and Adhémar had the gates bolted.[44] The depiction of these events provides another opportunity to compare sources.

The *Gesta* describes William of Grandmesmil and his associates as *'timore perterriti de hesterno bello'* [scared by the previous day's battle]. They *'fugientes pedibus'* [fled on foot]

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[42] Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 46.
[43] Robert, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 107-111.
[44] Albert, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 303-7, 311, 482; Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 246-7; *Gesta Francorum*, p. 56-7; Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, p. 97-8; Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 662; Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p. 66-8.

rather than as mounted knights and others *'fugerunt cum illis'* [fled with them]. When they reach St. Simeon's Port, they relate their tale to the sailors, who are *'stupefacti, ac timore perterriti cucurrerunt ad naus'* [horrified and rushed in terror to their ships].[45] Later, in the battle against the Turks in the citadel of Antoich, Bohemond is unable to convince his men to attack, *'nam qui erant inclusi in domibus timebant alii fame alii timore Turcorum*' [for they stayed in their houses cowering, some for hunger and some for fear of the Turks].[46] Both events show physical fear represented without a spiritual dimension in an early account.

However, Fulcher returns to God as the good pastor who, *'oves suas gregatim constringeret, proculdubio prorsus inde omnes aufugerent, licet obsidionem obtinendum iurassent'* [held his sheep together, without doubt they would all have fled thence at once in spite of the fact that they had sworn to take the city].[47] Rather, it those that sought food in the surrounding villages who abandon the siege. In Raymond's version the fearless were also represented in relation to faith. The people,

> *Tunc juraverunt principes quod de Antiochia non fugerent, neque egrederentur, nisi de communi consilio omnium. Etenium populus ea tempestate existimabat quod principes vellent fugere ad portum. Confortati sunt itaque multi. Etenim in nocte praeterita pauca steterunt in fide, qui fugere non voluissent.*
>
> The masses believed that the princes now wished to escape to the port and only a few of them, steadfast in the faith, did not contemplate flight during the night past.[48]

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[45] *Gesta Francorum*, p. 56-7.
[46] Ibid., p. 61.
[47] Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 95.
[48] Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p. 56. Raymond of Aguilers was chaplain to Raymond of St. Gilles, count of Toulouse. From this position he enjoyed insight into the high level deliberations of the army council and provided a Provençal perspective. His co-author, Pons of Baladun, died as a result of wounds sustained at 'Arqah and according to France, Raymond was the probable author of Archbishop Daimbert's letter to Pisa. Runciman believed that Raymond completed his work to 1099, but the Hills demonstrate that it must

Earlier he had described the departure via ropes over the walls of those who had given up hope,[49] for Raymond it was a trial to be endured by the crusaders to earn God's victory, a victory that was accompanied by a strong clerical element.

> *Etenium sacerdotes et multi monarchi, induti stolis albis, ante militum nostrorum pergebant, Dei adjutorium et santorum patrocinia invocando cantantes … Egressis namque ordinibus, stabant sacerdotes nudis pedibus et induti sacerdotalibus vestimentis supra muros civitatis, Deum invocnates ut populum suum defenderet, atque testamentum, quod sanguine suo sancivit, in hoc bello per victoriam Francorum testificaretur.*
>
> Priests and many monks wearing white stoles walked before the ranks of our knights, chanting and praying for God's help and the protection of the saints … barefoot priests clad in priestly vestments stood upon the walls invoking God to protect His people, and by a Frankish victory bear witness to the covenant which He made holy with His blood.[50]

Both Tudebode and Raymond stated that their flight triggered the departure of many ships prior to the arrival of the Turks. In the meantime, Tudebode described the dual fears of starvation and death, which caused others to consider desertion,

> *… quatinus equos et asinos manducabamus. Alia parte fuimos in maximo terrore Turcorum, ita quod nostrorum majorum volebant fugere nocte, sicuti alii fecerunt.*
>
> … we were so hungry that we ate horses and asses. Besides we lived in such

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have been later and support Krey's dating to 1102. However, as France points out, in not mentioning the death of Raymond of Toulouse in 1105 and its use by Fulcher of Chartres, it is very likely to have been written before that date – probably by 1101.

[49] Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p. 50. The use of ropes followed by an escape on foot also appeared in Tudebode, but he included people not listed in the *Gesta Francorum,* p. 73.

[50] Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p. 62-3.

> mortal terror of the Turks that many of our leading men wished to flee in the night as had the deserters.[51]

Tudebode and the *Gesta* covered Stephen of Blois' departure separately, but with similar words. It is doubtful that either writer had knowledge of Stephen's emotional state, but they were likely to be following well-understood conventions about when it was appropriate to impute fear to individuals about whose emotions they had no definitive knowledge.

> [Stephen] … *videnque innumerabilia tentoria, vehementer perterritus recessit. Hic itaque nimio correptus timore, una cum suo exercitu turpiter cum magna festinatione; veniensque suo castro eum exspoliavit, et celeri cursu retro imprudenter iter revertit.*
>
> [Stephen] … gazed upon the countless tents of the foe, and as a result retired. Suddenly he was terror stricken and disgracefully fled in wild flight with his army. Upon arrival at camp, he stripped it of goods and cowardly returned in haste.[52]

Notably, both accounts lack a spiritual dimension to the representation of fear here. Fulcher's account is short and focuses on the disgrace Stephen would have been spared had he endured to see the surrender of the city, *'si perseverasset, multum inde cum ceteris gauderet'* [If he had persevered he would have rejoiced with the rest].[53]

Tudebode's comments on an army with whom he had direct and daily contact can,

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[51] Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, p. 73-4. Peter Tudebode was a Poitevin priest from Sivrey who went on crusade with his two brothers, Arvedus and Arnaldus. Both of whom were killed during the course of the expedition. Rather than a writer or collator, Tudebode was a veteran of the First Crusade who, according to Rubenstein, combined several works with his own experiences. His work has strong textual links to Raymond's, shares details found in the *Gesta* and the author only claims credit for a passage concerning Jerusalem.

[52] Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, p. 81. See also *Gesta Francorum*, p. 63.

[53] Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 96.

perhaps be taken as more descriptive than representational.

> *Interea exercitus noster in ultraque tremefactus parte, ignorabat quid facere debuisset. In una enim parte coangustabat eos crucialis fames; in alia constringebat eos Turcorum timor.*
>
> In the interim our army, demoralized by fear, was undecided on a course of action. In fact they were on the horns of a dilemma; caught on one side by cruel hunger and on the other paralyzed by fear of the Turks[54]

Of the later accounts, unsurprisingly, Ralph is less damning of Stephen in his passage titled in later editions, *'Multi duces ab obsidione recesserunt'* [Many leaders leave the siege], but each author represented fear of death overcoming fear of loss of status.[55]

Robert also described the lack of supplies in Acre and the story of Stephen's flight. He noted, *'Propter haec et his similia aliqui de nostris militibus, immoderate perterriti, fuga in ipsa nocte lapsi sunt …'* [some of our soldiers, scared out of their wits by these and similar privations, gave up and fled that night] and continued in an account very close to that of Tudebode and the *Gesta*.[56] His version was also less damning than the eyewitness accounts, but not to the same degree as Ralph.[57] Faced by dire hunger, Ralph's account was more directly aimed at recounting the spiritual battle of the crusaders, *'animis praestantibus, omnem tristitiam pellunt; superant quibus omnia praestant'* [With the support of their spirits they drove away all sadness. With the support of their high morale, they overcame all of the other disadvantages].[58]

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[54] Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, p. 85.
[55] Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 84.
[56] Robert, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 158.
[57] Ibid., p. 158-9.
[58] Ralph, *Gesta Tancredi*, p. 97.

Yet when faced with the overwhelming prospect of death, even the more evangelical eyewitness accounts portrayed residual religious fervour as insufficient, requiring intervention by the princes and the church. In the second wave accounts this element was adapted to represent fear as an element of suffering vital to harden the army before its march on Jerusalem. The prospect of death in battle could be expected perhaps to be more acceptable to a warrior than starvation or serious illness. Supply was a constant concern to medieval commanders and all sources agree on the fear of starvation both in early 1198 outside Antioch and then inside the city after the arrival of Kerbogha.

It is a period that was covered only briefly by Tudebode, but his description and choice of words is notable,

> *Majores quoque nostri in nimio erant pavore. Succursus quidem aut adjutorium nobis penitus deerat. Gens minuta et pauperrima fugiebat, alii Cypro, alli in Romaniam, alii in montaneis.*
> Our leaders were in great fear, and the possibility of aid and succour was completely lacking. So the little people along with the miserably poor fled either to Cyprus, Romania, or to the mountains.[59]

Robert used famine as a backdrop for the heroism of Bohemond and Godfrey, and the purpose of suffering. Through Bohemond's exhortation to those planning to flee, *'Hic et talibus dictis animos eorum enervatos robustos reddidit, et in effeminatas mentes virilitatem induxit'* [He restored strength to their faltering hearts with these and other such words and brought manly courage to effeminate spirits].[60] Whilst the flight of Peter the Hermit and William the Carpenter was seen as damaging, it allowed the army to learn that,

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[59] Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, p. 50.
[60] Robert, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 126.

> *Hanc itaque famis acerbitatem, ut suos probaret, evenire permisit Deus, ut et terror suus fieret in universis nationibus … Et ideo numquam est a tali Domino desperandum; quia quaecumque agit, "diligentibus se cooperantur in bonum".*
>
> God allowed this suffering from hunger to come about so that he might test his people and strike terror of himself into all nations … So one should never despair of such a God: whatever he does, all things work together for good to them that love God[61]

The representation of fear had now reached a point where it had a function as a test of faith. As such it transcended the represented reality and became a part of the relationship between God and crusaders, legitimising fear as part of reality when if was overcome by faith. As well as fear of death and foreshadowed by Fulcher, fear of physical trauma served in the second wave of accounts as a process crusaders had to endure to win God's favour and the 'right' to liberate Jerusalem.

The religious revival of the late eleventh century heightened a desire to be released from the burden of sin.[62] The remission of sins promised by Pope Urban II to crusaders provided an escape route for warriors caught between the reality of warfare and church dogma.[63] It was an endorsement from the highest authority to cause death and destruction, as well as gain plunder and renown.[64] The penitential aspect of the First Crusade was reflected in the vow many crusaders made to God, to fight for Him on a journey to Jerusalem.[65] As part of their status as pilgrims, the representation of sin remained a constraint on crusader's actions. As mentioned earlier, Fulcher placed the

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[61] Robert, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 128.
[62] France, *Victory in the East*, p. 6; Riley-Smith, *Crusading*, p. 36.
[63] Riley-Smith, *Crusading*, p. 28-9.
[64] France, *Victory in the East*, p. 10-14.
[65] Riley-Smith, *Crusading*, p. 22.

blame for the difficulties at Dorylaeum on the sinfulness of the crusaders.[66] It was a vision of victory through purity,

> *Sed forsitan supplicatione nostra Dominus placatus quia nec nobilitatis pompae nec armis lucidis triumphare favet, sed menti purae et virtutibus divinis munitae in necessitate pie subvenit, paulatim vigorem nobis tunc praestitit et Turcos magis magisque debilitavit.*
>
> The Lord does not give victory to splendour of nobility nor brilliance of arms but lovingly helps in their need the pure in heart and those who are fortified with divine strength. Therefore He, perhaps appeased by our supplications, gradually restored our strength and more and more weakened the Turks.[67]

Thus, and as was seen in Albert's account of the Battle of Dorylaeum, the representation of the fear of sin was often linked to purity, sexual conduct and, specifically, women. The crisis of January 1098 precipitated Adhémar's attempts to raise morale through religious celebrations, of which one notorious part was the expulsion of women from the crusader camp. Fulcher represented sin as a fundamental thing to be feared, and one that brought immediate and quantifiable consequences,

> *haec autem incommoda putabamus sic Francis propter peccata sua contingere, et quod urbem tam longo tempore non poterant capere: quos quidem tam luxuria quam avaritia sive superbia vel rapina vitiabat.*
>
> We felt that misfortunes had befallen the Franks because of their sins and that for this reason they were not able to take the city for a long time. Luxury and avarice and pride and plunder had indeed vitiated them.[68]

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[66] Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 85.
[67] Ibid., p. 86.
[68] Ibid., p. 95.

In comparison, the representation of fear was often through portents and signs. Raymond states, *'Interea terrae motuc factus est magnus III kalends Januarii; et signum in caelo satis mirabile visimus'* [there was an earth tremor on the Kalends of January and we also saw a very miraculous sign in the sky]. While in Fulcher, *'tune temporis vidimus in caelo unum ruborem mirabilem, insuper sensimus terrae motum magnum, qui nos pavidos reddidit omnes'* [we saw a remarkable reddish glow in the sky and besides felt a great quake in the earth, which rendered us all fearful].[69] The reaction of the Papal Legate was, perhaps, a foretaste of importance of communal religious action at Jerusalem,

> *Praedicavit eo tempere episcopus triduanum jejunium; et cum processione, orationes, et eleemosynas ad populum, ad presbyteros autem mandavit ut vacarent missis et orationis, et clerici psalmis.*
>
> [He] urged the people to fast three days, to pray, to give alms, and to form a procession; he further ordered the priests to celebrate masses and the clerks to repeat psalms.[70]

Raymond revisited this theme later, *'In primo terrae motu qui apud Antiochiam factus est … tantus timor me invasit, ut nihil praeter "Deus adjiva me" dicere possem*' [at the time of the first tremor, I was terror stricken and speechless except for "*God save me*"].[71] In all accounts it was a representation of the crusaders coming through a time of trial so that those that remained had the spiritual strength and endurance to complete God's mission. The vision of Stephen of Valence of Christ promising divine aid and its transmission by Adhémar was represented as vital in shoring up the army's will in the crucial days leading

[69] Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p. 36; Fulcher, *Expedition to Jerusalem*, p. 95. See also *Gesta Francorum*, p. 62.
[70] Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p. 36.
[71] Ibid., p. 52.

up to the battle against Kerbogha, *'Haec dicit Dominus, "Convertimini ad me et ego revertar ad vos"'* [he should command, "turn from sin and I shall return to you"].[72] Raymond of Aguilers' account had a higher number of visionaries and most were associated with the Provençal contingent or Southern France. Riley-Smith suggested that it was possible that this was related to those societies and their attitudes towards visions.[73]

Conclusion

It is clear from the sources that the First Crusade imposed extraordinary stresses on its members with a high incidence of death and injury. In an alien environment, separated from friends and family, they were represented as experiencing fear in the form of death, depravation and ruin – both material and spiritual. Fear was often represented in situations where, in line with cognitive theory, the human impulse was towards fight or flight. It represented the intervention of God as an active participant in the Crusade's struggle between fear and faith. Thus, the representation of fear also had its own politics because representation is unavoidably selective, foregrounding some things and backgrounding others. It ideologically represented certain features of fear as functional to religious practice and helped crusaders to understand them, such as fear as a test of faith.

The first wave of accounts, although predominantly written by or at least compiled by clerics, seemingly remained close to the experience of the crusaders and recognisable to them. They may have included elements of an earlier text, a Jerusalem history, but the eyewitness accounts reflected the inconsistent influence of the church on members of the expedition and the vital role played by the princes in supporting Adhémar and maintaining cohesion. Yet it is also possible to see how important the representation of

[72] Raymond, *Historia Francorum*, p. 56. See also *Gesta Francorum*, p. 57-9; Albert recounts a faithful brother receiving a vision of Ambrose of Milan at this point, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, p. 308-9.
[73] Riley-Smith, *Crusading*, p. 100.

faith was at times of significant stress and fear, and how, given the astounding success of the Crusade, participants could see God's hand at work. In this context, displays of fear did not themselves carry pejorative connotations, were not practiced only by unrestrained, emotion-prone lay people, and need not be read as signs or symptoms of high emotionalism or irrationality.

The second generation of clerical historians took the disparate collection of eyewitness accounts and attempted to form a coherent narrative of a spiritual enterprise in which spiritual fear received greater emphasis than physical fear. Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent were both French Benedictine monks seeking to improve on the *Gesta* and add theological content. Albert's near contemporary account, although unlinked to the French works, also incorporated a strong theme of ordeal and purification. So it is quite probable that there were well-understood conventions about the representation of fear such as when it was appropriate for an author to impute fear to individuals about whose emotions they had no definitive knowledge, and when it was appropriate to display fear. This suggests that writers attributed fear to specific characters, not because they had direct knowledge of their feelings, but because they considered it suitable to the scene and a appropriate vehicle to carry their message. Whether or not sources ever provide accurate information about the emotions actually experienced or expressed by medieval people, they encode well-understood conventions about displaying fear in certain settings. Given the heightened spiritually of the later texts, it is unsurprising that the authors chose to emphasise spiritual fear.

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