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Kathryn Hurlock and Paul Oldfield, eds., *Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2015. xiii + 234 pp. List of contributors, timeline, map, bibliography, and index. \$99.00 U.S. (cl). ISBN 978-1-78327-025-5.

Review by Laurence W. Marvin, Berry College.

Since 1066 the Normans remain most famous for their duke's conquest of England that year. More recently, the place that bears their name became notorious as the site of the largest amphibious landing in history, which initiated the Anglo-American opening of the second front during World War Two. For medievalists the Normans as a people or concept still provide ongoing, surprisingly fertile topics for study. The Anglo-Norman world of England draws the most interest but the Norman world of southern Italy and the Normans' role in the First Crusade flourish too. If we think merely in terms of genetics, men (and women) from Normandy--themselves the descendants of Scandinavians who settled in Northern France in the early tenth century--had a deep impact on Ireland, Wales, England, France, Italy, and the Latin East in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Crusading and Pilgrimage in the Norman World consists of an introduction and four parts. Six of the eleven chapters originated from a 2012 symposium from the Faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Sciences at Manchester Metropolitan University. The editors invited five additional scholars to contribute chapters to complement the others. Part one concerns the Normans and the First Crusade. The second part considers the Normans in South Italy. Part three's papers emphasize pilgrimage, while part four examines pilgrimage and crusading as the Normans wrote about them.

The short introduction outlines the collection's parameters. Even medievalists take as a given that the Normans existed as a unique ethnic group with a recognizable culture and distinct written and spoken versions of Old French. The introduction points out, reinforced by most of the papers, that this cultural identity was less tangible than it seems. To a degree being "Norman" was an artificial edifice constructed by twelfth-century authors, mostly in the wake of the First Crusade. These authors emphasized the contributions of men who just happened to be either from Normandy, or only one or two generations removed from it. The editors allowed a "maximum" approach to the contributors as to defining what a Norman was (pp. 3-4). Consequently, although the rulers and many nobles of southern Italy were two or more generations removed from their ancestors from Normandy by the mid-twelfth century, modern scholars still consider them to be Norman. Several of the papers, however, question ideas of "Normanness," and thus challenge our own preconceived notions of culture and ethnicity.

In chapter one, William Aird seeks to examine how the Normans thought about courage and manhood in the context of the First Crusade, especially the siege of Antioch. Despite their reputation for bravery, several Norman leaders, most notably Stephen of Blois, broke at the siege of Antioch in 1098 and deserted. Aird argues that this was not due to a lack of courage, but rather a reaction to the extreme conditions of the siege. Stephen and others like him, warriors of proven courage and veterans of many a previous conflict, were unused to the extended privation and abandoned the army because of this, not

the fear of warfare. In other words, like modern boxers, the Normans fought well in comfortable conditions, but age and a lack of endurance undid many of them at the siege. Aird concludes that despite their reputation, the Normans were no more or less courageous than any other ethnic group on crusade (p. 29).

Alan Murray's chapter dissects the two relatively disparate groups on the First Crusade that contemporary and modern authors refer to as "Normans." One consisted mostly of those from Normandy or Northern Francia led by Robert Curthose, Duke of the Normans and eldest son of William the Conqueror. The Southern Normans of Italy had no overall commander though Bohemond of Taranto played a major role. These groups, or at least certain individuals like Bohemond, had contrasting goals according to Murray. While the main goal of the crusaders writ large was to liberate Jerusalem from Muslim control, Murray makes no bones about stating that from the time he took the cross, Bohemond's own personal agenda of aggrandizement contrasted sharply with that goal (pp. 41, 46-47).

Johanna Drell's chapter attempts to assess what impact the crusades had on the kingdom of Southern Italy and Sicily. She notes, as others have, that Southern Norman participation in crusade activity precipitously dropped off after the First Crusade. In accounting for this decline, she argues that Norman rulers wanted to ensure their control of Southern Italy, which only became a sovereign kingdom in 1130. The realm had its genesis in the eleventh century as Norman freebooters fought their way into a complex world of Greeks and Muslims on the Italian Peninsula's southern end. Their rule, or *regno*, remained tenuous partially because they constituted a linguistic and cultural minority that ruled via their military reputation and force. Norman monarchs remained quite conscious of their minority control over a diverse majority, and thus sought to avoid alienating either Greeks or Muslims because it was not in their political self-interest. Hence they remained aloof from direct participation in crusades to avoid antagonizing either of those groups.

The contribution by Kathryn Hurlock highlights the military contribution of Anglo-Normans (Normans from England) from the First Crusade up to and including the Fourth Crusade. Compared with the two continental Norman groups, Anglo-Normans generally stayed away from the First Crusade. The Norman Conquest was only thirty years in the past, and an absence from the kingdom by large groups of warriors might have invited rebellion by Anglo-Saxons. Neither William Rufus, King of the English at the time, nor Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, promoted it. In fact the former prohibited some of his barons from participating in it, and Anselm appeared to be lukewarm about the virtues of armed pilgrimage compared to monasticism. The Anglo-Norman presence was much heavier on the Second Crusade, however, most famously at the siege and capture of Lisbon in 1147. Still its leaders were nobles of the second or third rank, so even by the mid twelfth century, crusade activity had not attracted the leading lights of the kingdom. During the Third Crusade, which Richard the Lionhearted, King of the English heavily promoted and essentially led, the Anglo-Normans finally participated in large numbers because of their king's championing of it and his direct leadership.

David Spear discusses the involvement of Normans from Normandy itself to crusades and pilgrimage of the twelfth century. By the Second Crusade this support was very light. The Third Crusade contained marginally more Normans because the aforementioned Richard, also Duke of the Normans, led it. Overall though, subsequent to the First Crusade, as other scholars have noted, Norman participation and leadership in crusade activity was undistinguished in quality or quantity.

In chapter six, Lucas Villegas-Aristizábal parses Anglo-Norman motivation and participation in Iberian Crusades and the evolving relationship between Normans and Iberian monarchs. He notes a shift in participation from the upper nobility to lower nobility and below as well as a move in location for crusading. Earlier activity drew Normans to the eastern side of the Iberian Peninsula, but over time the front shifted to what became Portugal, partially because this was an opportune place for ships coming

from the North Atlantic to make landfall before they entered the Mediterranean. By the early thirteenth century, as the Anglo-Norman world fell apart because of the on-going rivalry between the English and French royal houses, few Normans or Anglo-Normans bothered with the Peninsula. By 1212 and the decisive victory over the Muslims at the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, Iberian rulers required less foreign help anyway, and thus the Peninsula ceased to hold much interest for Northern Europeans.

Andrew Abram details the pilgrimage and crusade activity of the Anglo-Norman earls of Chester. Because of Chester's unique role in England between 1071 and 1232—as a semi-autonomous area tasked with keeping the Welsh at bay—its aristocracy had enough to fill its plate thus the rewards of crusading did not appeal to its earls and barons. In fact, Abram suggests that no one from the area went on the First Crusade. The Second Crusade and Third Crusade enticed few either, even though recruiting was heavy in the Chester region during the latter. Not until the Fifth Crusade did sizeable numbers from the area go eastward, partially because the earl at the time, Ranulf III, participated.

Chapter eight, by Paul Oldfield, returns to some of the themes discussed in Drell's chapter about Norman Italy. Oldfield echoes how vital southern Italy was for pilgrims and crusading even as Norman monarchs exhibited lackluster interest in direct participation. Because their own regime was tenuous they stuck close to home. Yet they purposefully constructed infrastructure such as roads and ports in the kingdom to facilitate the large numbers of pilgrims and crusaders who used Southern Italy as a stopover and staging area to the Eastern Mediterranean. By encouraging pilgrimage and making Sicily a popular destination for both pilgrims and crusaders, the monarchs of Sicily showed what good Christians they were without crusading themselves. Thus they performed vital services for those passing through which bolstered their legitimacy as pious, Christian kings.

Emily Albu seeks to answer why the Normans were considered particularly adept at crusading as well as how Antioch became the defining moment of the First Crusade for participants and writers (pp. 159, 174). Whereas Murray states that Bohemond's goals contrasted with those of other lords, Albu nuances this. She suggests that Bohemond's actions revealed a distinct, concrete "clarity of purpose" to improve his own circumstances rather than the more quixotic goal of the liberation of Jerusalem of his counterparts (pp. 167, 172).

Chapter ten, by Leonie V. Hicks, uses Norman narrative case studies to evaluate the "landscape" for pilgrimage and miracles (p. 177). She analyzes several sources composed between the 1050s and 1170s including William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, Wace, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, and Ralph of Caen. These authors used the landscape and geography to help their various audiences imagine both the familiar and unfamiliar.

Natasha Hodgson's contribution attempts to tease out what being a "Norman" meant. For Hodgson, Norman traits were conflated with masculine ones by medieval authors. In fact she argues, being "Norman" could mean geographical origin or masculine traits (pp. 213-214). To medieval writers, the adoption of Christianity helped mellow the Norman tendency towards hyper-masculinity (pp. 198-199). Authors used visions of masculinity and "Normanness" to approve or disapprove various characters on crusade (pp. 212-213).

Three themes stand out in this collection. One is the character, personality, leadership, and constructed myths of Bohemond of Taranto. Bohemond was the scion of one of the Norman adventurers whose family had carved out the chunks of southern Italy that eventually became a kingdom in the early twelfth century. As a younger son Bohemond was largely left out and, possessed with an entrepreneurial spirit, sought his fortune in a number of places and ways. Norman and even Greek authors described Bohemond as the quintessential Norman: physically attractive, hyper-masculine, skilled in battle, ruthless in both war and politics, and self-aggrandizing above all else. He was a tour-de-force certainly, and therefore most of the articles under review end up using him to illustrate their arguments. He

comes off neither as hero or villain, however, but as a complex man who remains hard to understand by our standards.

The second theme, the siege of Antioch, also concerns Bohemond directly. The siege loomed large in what medieval writers wrote in the wake of the First Crusade. Even in an era where sieges were as common as air, Antioch stands out as a siege of sieges. Antioch was both the forge upon which the crusade was heated almost to the melting point, and the hammer that nearly shattered the crusaders in a horrible, eight-month siege and counter siege. In twelfth century accounts, the siege of Antioch overshadows the taking of Jerusalem and represents a sort of climax for the crusade. Bohemond, the quintessential Norman, played a critical role in the city's capture. Through trickery and deceit Bohemond engineered a successful assault on the city and then seized it for his own, which was at odds with what the leaders of the crusade wanted and went against their agreement with the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus to return Antioch to its prior owner, the Empire. Bohemond had agreed to this as well, but clearly had no intention of keeping his word. In retaining control of the city he antagonized his fellow leaders and set back relations between the Latin States created after 1099 and the Byzantine Empire.

Finally, several authors address the issue of what being a Norman meant. To be Norman, according to medieval writers, was to be warlike, tough but also impulsive. The authors of this collection all appear to agree that "Norman" was an artificial composite given life by authors in the late eleventh but particularly twelfth century due to what appeared to be their outsized role in the improbable success of the First Crusade. As Murray, Hodgson and others successfully argue, being Norman could refer to the members of an ethnic group with defined characteristics or personal qualities of masculinity.

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William M. Aird, "'Many others, whose names I do not know, fled with them': Norman Courage and Cowardice on the First Crusade"

Alan V. Murray, "The Enemy within: Bohemond, Byzantium and the Subversion of the First Crusade"

Joanna Drell, "Norman Italy and the Crusades: Thoughts on the 'Homefront'"

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