

WHO WAS ORGUEILLEUSE OF HARENCE?

by Charles Cawley¹

ABSTRACT

Orgueilleuse of Harenc was the first wife of Bohémond III Prince of Antioch but her parentage is unknown. This article explores the possible origins of Orgueilleuse in light of the obscure history of the fortress of Harenc in the 12th century.

Foundations (2010) 3 (4): 293-302

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Orgueilleuse was the first wife of Bohémond III Prince of Antioch, first named in a charter dated 1170 under which "Boamundus III Raimundi filius, princeps Antiochenus" donated property in Laodicea and Antioch to the church of Santa Maria and the archbishop of Pisa, with the consent of "uxoris Orgollosoæ."² She is last named in a charter dated Mar 1175.³ She is not named in the charter dated 29 Nov 1177 under which her husband confirmed donations to the Knights Hospitallers.⁴ The date of the couple's marriage is not known. Orgueilleuse is not named in her husband's charter dated 1168 (before September),⁵ although her absence from the document does not constitute proof that the couple was not already married at the time. Her birth date is not known, but it seems unlikely that she was older than her husband whose birth is estimated to around 1144. If one assumes marriage for a noblewoman between 12 and 14 years of age, Orgueilleuse would have been born between 1144 and 1156, maybe in the later part of the range. The couple had two known children, Raymond who was named after his paternal grandfather, was invested as Count of Tripoli in 1187, but who predeceased his father, and Bohémond who later succeeded as Bohémond IV Prince of Antioch. According to the *Lignages d'Outremer*, Bohémond repudiated Orgueilleuse.⁶ Her name is unique and atypical, suggesting that it may have been a nickname which reflected her character rather than a baptismal name.

The only primary source which gives an indication of Orgueilleuse's origin is the *Lignages d'Outremer* which in one manuscript names her "une dame d'Antioche...Orgueilouse",⁷ in another "une dame d'Antioche, fille au seignor de Harenc...Orguilouse",⁸ and in a third "Orgogliosa, figliola del signor Hurres."⁹ The last two references are clear (assuming that "Hurres" indicates "Harenc"), but the *Lignages* is a work in which the genealogical details cannot always be corroborated by other primary sources. For example, in the same passage all three manuscripts

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² Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (1893), 478, p.125.

³ Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 524, p.139.

⁴ Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 550, p.146.

⁵ Röhricht, *op. cit.*, 451, p.118.

⁶ Marie-Adélaïde Nielen, ed., *Lignages d'Outremer* (2003), Marciana Ms Francese 20, CCC.I, p.83.

⁷ Nielen, *op. cit.*, Marciana Ms Francese 20, CCC.I, p.83.

⁸ Nielen, *op. cit.*, Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789, CCC.XXXIV, p.93.

⁹ Nielen, *op. cit.*, Le Vaticanus Latinus 7806, Il parentado de Beimonte principe 9, p.173.

reverse the order of the first and second marriages of Bohémond III Prince of Antioch, while stating that the prince repudiated the Byzantine princess after the death of Emperor Manuel I. As the emperor died in 1180, this princess could not therefore have been his first wife. How far, then, can we rely on the *Lignages* for the supposed Harenc origin of Orgueilleuse? The best way of testing the question is to examine the history of the fortress of Harenc in an attempt to identify the "seignor de Harenc" who could have been her father.

History of Harenc

The fortress of Harenc, known as Harim in Arab sources, was built before the arrival in Palestine of the First Crusade, as it is mentioned in a passage dated to 1098 which records events occurring before the crusading armies captured Antioch. Harenc is located 14 miles north-east of the city of Antioch along the route between Aleppo and the Mediterranean coast, in what is today north-western Syria. It was of significant strategic importance, to both the crusaders and their Muslim opponents, being the gateway to Aleppo which from the late 11th century was a major Seljuk stronghold and was never conquered by the crusaders. The Arab historian Hamd Allah Mustaufi records that the Seljuk Sultan Malik Shah granted "*le gouvernement d'Alep*" to "Cacim-Eddaulah-Asoncor [known as ak-Sonkor], duquel descendirent les atabegs du Fars, du Dairbecr et de la Syrie".¹⁰ According to another Arab historian Abul-Feda, "Ak-Sonkor" was defeated and killed in AH 487 (AD 1094/95) by "Tutuch" (younger brother of Sultan Malik Shah),¹¹ who established the sultanate of Aleppo and whose son Radwan was the main adversary of the Christian settlers in the principality of Antioch during the first decade of the 12th century.

The first mention of Harenc in crusader sources dates to 1098, when William of Tyre records that the reinforcements requested by the Muslim defenders of Antioch, then besieged by the crusaders, first grouped at "*castrum...Harenc*" before attempting to relieve the city.¹² At that time, Harenc was therefore still in Turkish hands. It is assumed that the castle fell to the crusaders soon after the capture of Antioch, but the precise date has not been traced. The first mention of a Christian governor of Harenc is provided by Albert of Aix who records "...*Gudo Fraxinus cognomine tenens civitatem Harich...*" among the Christian nobles from the Antioch region who campaigned against the Turks, dated to [1110/11] from the context.¹³ The Christians did not retain Harenc for long, as Albert of Aix records that the Turks attacked "*Gastum et Harich et Sinar, civitates Gallorum*" and "*terram invadentes*" destroyed everything, dated to [1115] from the context.¹⁴

Thereafter, control of the town oscillated between Muslims and Christians, until its final recapture by the Muslims in 1164. The Christian recapture of Harenc after [1115] has not been dated. It most likely occurred in the early 1120s, during the

¹⁰ M. Defrémy, trans., "Histoire des Seldjoukides, extraite du Tarikh guzideh," *Journal Asiatique* 4.XI (1848): Chapter 4.6, p.451.

¹¹ *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades ("RHC"). Historiens orientaux*, Tome I (1872), Abul-Feda, p.2.

¹² *RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I, *Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum ("L'estoire de Eracles Empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer")* ("William of Tyre") V.I, p.195.

¹³ *RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, Tome IV (1879), *Alberti Aquensis Historia Hierosolymitana* ("Albert of Aix"), Liber XI, Cap. XL, p.682.

¹⁴ *RHC, Historiens occidentaux*, Tome IV, Albert of Aix, Liber XII, Cap. XX, p.701.

successful campaigns led by Baudouin II King of Jerusalem in the northern crusader states during which many Turkish-held strongholds were captured. No mention has been found of Harenc at that time in the contemporary sources. The Christians retained Harenc until 1149. The fortress survived an attack by Zengi (son of ak-Sonkor and ruler of Mosul from 1127), dated to [1130], when the *History of Kamel-Altevarykh* records that Zengi besieged "la forteresse de Harem, située aux environs d'Antioche" but withdrew after the inhabitants offered him "la moitié de leurs revenus".¹⁵ William of Tyre refers to "*castrum Harenc*" in his account of the campaign of Foulques King of Jerusalem in the principality of Antioch in 1132, and records that Archbishop Serlo died at "*castrum Harenc*" after being expelled from Antioch in 1141.¹⁶ Harenc was recaptured by the Turks in 1149: the Annals of Abul-Feda record that "*Nour-ed-Din entreprend le siège de Harem*" and defeated and killed "*le prince d'Antioch*" (Raymond de Poitiers, first husband of Constance princess of Antioch) in 1149.¹⁷ William of Tyre also records that "*Noradinus*" besieged and captured "*castrum Harenc*" and killed "*Antiochia...principem*".¹⁸

Harenc was recaptured by the Christians in 1158. William of Tyre records that Baudouin King of Jerusalem besieged and recaptured "*castrum urbi Antiochiae vicinum*" (not named in the text, but named "*castrum Harenc*" in the heading of the relevant chapter) and that the king restored it to "*domino principi, cuius jurisdictionis fuerat*", the text in old French specifying that "*li rois bailla le chastel au conte Renaut, por ce qu'il devoit estre de sa princée*" (presumably indicating Renaud de Châtillon Prince of Antioch, as suzerain of the area).¹⁹ The *Chronicle of Patriarch Michel le Grand* is more specific, recording that "*Hérim*" was captured by "*le roi de Jérusalem*" who gave it "*au fils de Djoslin qui portait le même nom que son père et qui était héritier de Romgla*", dated to 1158 from the context.²⁰ Robert de Torigny introduces another element, discussed more fully below, when he records that "*Balduinus rex Jerosolimitanus*" captured "*castrum Harenc*" and granted it to "*Rainaldo de Sancto Valerico*", also dated to 1158.²¹ The Arab sources add some further relevant details: the *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul* records that "*Nour ed-Din*" besieged "*Harem, forteresse occupée par les Francs et appartenant à Boémond seigneur d'Antioche...une des plus fortes et des plus difficiles à prendre*", adding that it was ruled by "*un de leurs démons dont [les Francs] connaissaient l'intelligence, homme de bon conseil, dont ils suivaient toujours l'avoir*", dated to [1156/57] from the context of the passage but presumably dated to a couple of years later.²² The same passage records that Nur ed-Din withdrew after payment of half the castle's revenues, which curiously echoes the report dated to [1130] which is cited above and suggests that there may be confusion between the two reported events. The *Livre des Deux Jardins* records that in May 1158 "*Ased ed-Din*" defeated "*les Francs de Saïda*" and captured "*le fils du gouverneur de la citadelle de Harim*".²³

¹⁵ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome I, Extrait du Kamel-Altevarykh, p.385.

¹⁶ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I, William of Tyre XIV.VII, p.616, and XV.XVI, p.685.

¹⁷ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome I, Abul-Feda, p.28.

¹⁸ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I, William of Tyre XVII.IX, pp.774-5.

¹⁹ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I, William of Tyre XVIII.XIX, pp.851-3.

²⁰ Victor Langlois, trans., *Chronique de Michel le Grand patriarche des syriens jacobites* (1868), ("*Chronicle of Michel le Grand*"), p.316.

²¹ Léopold Delisle, ed., *Chronique de Robert de Torigni, abbé de Mont-Saint-Michel* (1872), ("*Robert of Torigny*"), Tome I, p.316.

²² RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome II, *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, p.194.

²³ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome IV, *Livre des Deux Jardins*, pp.97-8.

Harenc was held by the Christians only until 1164, when William of Tyre records that "*oppidum...Antiochenis, Harenc*" was besieged.²⁴ The Annals of Abul-Feda record that "*dans le mois de ramadan [July/August] Nour-ed-Din enleva Harem aux Francs*" in 1164.²⁵ The *History of Kamel-Altevarykh* records that "*au mois de ramadhan Nour-eddin Mahmoud*" conquered "*le château de Harem*" from the Franks and that "*le prince Boémond souverain d'Antioche, le comte, maître de Tripoli...le fils de Josselin...et le duc*" were captured, dated to 1164 from the context, adding in a later passage that "*Boémond prince d'Antioche*" was later released on payment of "*une rançon considérable*".²⁶ The *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul* records that "*Nour ed-Din*" captured "*Harem*" in 1164.²⁷ The *Annales de Terre Sainte* record that Harenc was recaptured by the Muslims in 1165.²⁸

William of Tyre states that Bohémond III Prince of Antioch unsuccessfully laid siege to Harenc in 1177,²⁹ and the Annals of Abul-Feda record that the Franks besieged "*Harem...pendant quatre mois*" in 1178 (presumably referring to the same incident) but withdrew after being bribed by "*El-Malec es-Salah*".³⁰ A last reference to Harenc in the Continuator of William of Tyre records its capture by the Tatars in 1260.³¹

Lords of Harenc

Looking in more detail at the primary sources quoted above, let us attempt to trace the succession of Christian lords of Harenc in the 12th century. Only a handful of these sources refer to specific lords of Harenc:

- Albert of Aix records Guy Fraisnel as lord of Harenc ("*Gudo Fraxinus cognomine tenens civitatem Harich*") in [1110/11].³²
- William of Tyre states that Baudouin III King of Jerusalem restored Harenc to "*domino principi, cuius jurisdictionis fuerat*", the old French text specifying that "*li rois bailla le chastel au conte Renaut, por ce qu'il devoit estre de sa princée*" in [1158].³³
- The *Chronicle* of Patriarch Michel le Grand records that the king granted "*Hérim*" to Joscelin [III] de Courtenay (ex-Edessa) in 1158.³⁴

²⁴ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I, William of Tyre XIX.IX, pp.896-7.

²⁵ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome I, Abul-Feda, p.35.

²⁶ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome I, Extrait du Kamel-Altevarykh, pp.537-40.

²⁷ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome II, *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, p.220.

²⁸ Paul W Edbury, "A New Text of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*", in *Laudem Hierosolymitani*, eds. I Shagrir et al., (2007), 149 [available in Google Book, <http://books.google.com> (accessed June 14, 2010, "limited preview")].

²⁹ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I, William of Tyre XXI.XIX and XXI.XXV, pp.1036 & 1047; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (1978), Vol.2, p.419.

³⁰ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome I, Abul-Feda, p.48.

³¹ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome II, *Historia Rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* ("L'*estoire de Eracles Empereur et la conquête de la terre d'Outremer*") Continuator ("William of Tyre Continuator") XXXIV.III, p.444.

³² RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome IV, Albert of Aix, Liber XI, Cap. XL, p.682.

³³ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I, William of Tyre XVIII.XIX, pp.851-3.

³⁴ Langlois, *op.cit.*, *Chronicle of Michel le Grand*, 316.

- Robert de Torigny records that the king of Jerusalem granted Harenc to "Rainaldo de Sancto Valerico" in 1158.³⁵
- The *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul* states that Harenc was commanded by "un de leurs démons dont [les Francs] connaissaient l'intelligence, homme de bon conseil, dont ils suivaient toujours l'avis" in [after 1158].³⁶
- The *Livre des Deux Jardins* records that in May 1158 "Ased ed-Din" captured "le fils du gouverneur de la citadelle de Harim".³⁷

We shall discuss each of these individuals in turn, before considering whether Orgueiluse could have been related to any of them.

Guy Fraisnel Lord of Harenc [1110]-1115?

Du Cange (as edited and supplemented by Rey) assumed that "Harich" in Albert of Aix refers to the castle of Harenc, a reasonable assumption, and that Guy Fraisnel was therefore the first recorded lord of Harenc.³⁸ No reference has been found to Guy before Albert of Aix in [1110/11]. The Fraisnel family was recorded in Normandy: Orderic Vitalis quotes a charter dated 1099 under which "*Guillelmus de Bretolio, filius Guillelmi comitis*" donated property to Evreux, the document being signed by "*homines mei Ricardus Fresnel...*"³⁹ In another passage, Orderic states that "*Ricardus Fraxinellus...Emmæ uxoris suæ*" had eight sons, dated to 1138 from the context,⁴⁰ and in a third passage records a rebellion in Normandy by "*Guillelmus Fraxinellus et sex fratres eius...*", also dated to 1138.⁴¹ The last sentence accounts for only seven of the eight brothers. It is possible that Guy was the eighth brother, who had left to seek his fortune in Palestine. Three other references to Guy Fraisnel have been identified. "...*Wido Fraisnel...*" signed the charter dated 4 Jun 1118 under which Roger Prince of Antioch confirmed donations to the Knights Hospitallers.⁴² The *Bella Antiochena* records that "*Guidonis Frenelli*" commanded one of the divisions at the battle in which Prince Roger was killed, dated to 19 Jun 1119.⁴³ William of Tyre records that "*Gaufridus Monachus et Guido Fremellus*" fought in campaigns, undoubtedly the same as those reported by the *Bella Antiochena* as William of Tyre records the death of Prince Roger in the succeeding chapter.⁴⁴ None of these later sources connect Guy Fraisnel with Harenc, which had in any case been lost to the Turks in [1115] as noted above.

³⁵ Delisle, *op. cit.*, Robert of Torigny, Tome I, 316.

³⁶ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome II, *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, 220.

³⁷ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome IV, *Livre des Deux Jardins*, 97-8.

³⁸ Emmanuel G Rey, *Les familles d'Outremer de du Cange* (1869), 337.

³⁹ Auguste Le Prévost, *Orderici Vitalis Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ* (1840) ("Orderic Vitalis"), Vol. II, Liber V.XIII, 405-6.

⁴⁰ Prévost, *op. cit.*, Orderic Vitalis, Vol. IV, Liber XII.XIII, 342.

⁴¹ Prévost, *op. cit.*, Orderic Vitalis, Vol. V, Liber XIII, 106.

⁴² Röhricht, *op. cit.*, (1893), 86, p.20.

⁴³ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome V, *Galterii Cancellarii Bella Antiochena*, Art. V.I, 108.

⁴⁴ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, Tome I, William of Tyre XII.IX and X, 525-6.

Unknown Lord(s) of Harenc [1122]-1149

As discussed above, Harenc was recovered by the Christians, maybe in the early 1120s. No indication has been found in any primary sources for the identity of the lord or lords of Harenc during the succeeding period of nearly 25 years during which the castle remained in Christian hands. The fact that archbishop Serlo found refuge there in 1141 suggests that the lord of Harenc exercised some autonomy from his suzerain and that relations with the principality of Antioch may have been strained. Du Cange/Rey assumed that Guillaume Fraisnel probably ("comme je crois") succeeded Guy Fraisnel as lord of Harenc.⁴⁵ As noted above, it is unlikely that there could have been a direct successor to Guy as the Christians lost Harenc in [1115]. In any case, no primary source indication has yet been found that Guillaume Fraisnel was ever lord of Harenc. Only a single primary source reference has been found to him: "...Willelmus Fraisnelli..." subscribed the charter dated 19 Apr 1140 under which "Raimundus I princeps Antiochenus" donated property to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, with the consent of "uxoris Constantiae".⁴⁶ No indication has been found of the parentage of Guillaume Fraisnel, but presumably he was closely related to Guy. A reference has been found to a third member of the Fraisnel family: "...Tancredus Fraisnellus..." subscribed a charter dated Mar 1160 under which Renaud Prince of Antioch donated property to the Knights Templars.⁴⁷ However, there seems little likelihood that he ever held Harenc, which was recorded around that time in the hands of Joscelin de Courtenay.

Joscelin de Courtenay Lord of Harenc 1158-1164

The *Chronicle* of Patriarch Michel le Grand records that "Hérim" was captured by "le roi de Jérusalem" who gave it "au fils de Djoslín qui portait le même nom que son père et qui était héritier de Romglá."⁴⁸ Joscelin is identified as the son of Joscelin [II] de Courtenay, who had been expelled by the Turks from the county of Edessa in 1144 and later died in prison in Aleppo. William of Tyre records the recapture of Harenc by Baudouin III King of Jerusalem but says that it was restored to "domino principi, cuius jurisdictionis fuerat," the old French text specifying that "li rois bailla le chastel au conte Renaud, por ce qu'il devoit estre de sa prince."⁴⁹ It is assumed that William of Tyre is referring to Renaud de Châtillon Prince of Antioch (second husband of princess Constance) in his capacity of suzerain of Harenc. The *Chronicle* of Patriarch Michel records that Joscelin ravaged Aleppo in revenge for the death of his father, but after two years was captured and died in chains (although other primary sources indicate that Joscelin did not die at that time).⁵⁰ Dating Joscelin's capture more precisely is important in relation to other matters which are discussed below. William of Tyre records that Prince Bohémond attempted to relieve the attack on Harenc in August 1164, but that he and "Raimundus comes Tripolitanus, Calamannus etiam Ciliciæ procurator, Hugo quoque de Liniziac...Joscelinus ...tertius, comitis Edessani secundi Joscelini filius" were captured and taken bound to Aleppo.⁵¹ The *History* of Kamel-Altevarekh

⁴⁵ E Rey, "Résumé chronologique de l'histoire des princes d'Antioch", *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, Tome IV (1869), 337.

⁴⁶ Röhricht, *op. cit.*, (1893), 195, p.48.

⁴⁷ Röhricht, *op. cit.*, (1893), 347, p.91.

⁴⁸ Langlois, *op.cit.*, *Chronicle of Michel le Grand*, 316.

⁴⁹ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, William of Tyre XVIII.XIX, 851-3.

⁵⁰ Langlois, *op.cit.*, *Chronicle of Michel le Grand*, 318.

⁵¹ RHC, *Historiens occidentaux*, William of Tyre XIX.IX, 897.

also dates to 1164 the conquest of Harenc and capture of "le prince Boémond souverain d'Antioche, le comte, maître de Tripoli...le fils de Joscelin...et le duc."⁵² If 1164 is the correct date, Joscelin presumably held Harenc until its recapture by Nur ed-Din, although it should be noted that the sources do not link him with the fortress after 1158.

Renaud de Saint-Valery

We now turn to the knotty question whether Renaud de Saint-Valéry was at any time lord of Harenc. Robert de Torigny records that Baudouin III King of Jerusalem captured "*castrum Harenc*" and granted it to "*Rainaldo de Sancto Valerico*," dated to 1158 from the context.⁵³ This source undoubtedly refers to the same event which is recorded by William of Tyre and Patriarch Michel le Grand, but directly contradicts the statement by the latter that Harenc was granted to Joscelin de Courtenay. Renaud de Saint-Valéry undoubtedly spent some time in Palestine. The cartulary of Cercamp includes a charter of his son Bernard de Saint-Valéry which recalls the pilgrimage of "*pater meus*" to Jerusalem.⁵⁴ The precise date of Renaud's arrival in Palestine is not known, but he witnessed two charters: "...*Rainaudus de S. Valerio...*" signed the charter dated 1159 under which Mélisende Queen of Jerusalem donated property to the leprosarium of St Lazarus,⁵⁵ and "...*Rainaldus de S. Gallerico...*" witnessed the charter dated 1160 under which "*Hugo de Ybelino dominus Ramathensis*" donated property to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.⁵⁶ It should be noted that both charters post-dated the capture of Harenc, but relate to affairs in the kingdom of Jerusalem not the principality of Antioch. His featuring in these documents would be surprising if Renaud had been a vassal of Antioch, and indeed he is not named in any of the Antioch documents which are listed in Röhricht's compilation. In addition, western European primary sources name Renaud de Saint-Valéry in England and France between 1162 and 1164, suggesting that he left Palestine not long after witnessing the charter dated 1160. The Red Book of the Exchequer refers to "*Reginaldus de Sancto Valerico c m - l milites [100 marks - 50 knights]*" in Oxfordshire in [1160/61], and "*Reginaldo de Sancto Valerico j m [one mark]*" in Berkshire in [1161/62],⁵⁷ although these entries do not necessarily mean that he was present in England at the time. "...*Raginaldo de Sancto Walerico...*" witnessed a charter dated 1162 under which Henry II King of England donated the forest of Hogues to Fécamp abbey.⁵⁸ Robert de Torigny records that "*Rotrocos episcopus Ebriocensis et Rainaldus de Sancto Walerio*" recognised rights of Henry II King of England in Normandy in 1163.⁵⁹ King Henry II addressed a writ to "*R[otrou] bishop of Evreux and R[eginald] de Sancto Walerico*" confirming the possession of the church of Lion by the canons of Briweton,

⁵² RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Extrait du Kamel-Altevarykh, Tome I, 537-40.

⁵³ Delisle, *op. cit.*, Robert of Torigny, Tome I, 316.

⁵⁴ Delisle, *op. cit.*, Robert of Torigny, Tome I, 316, footnote 4, citing *Cartulaire de Cercamp*, p.81 (no precise citation reference nor date given).

⁵⁵ Röhricht, *op. cit.*, (1893), 338, p.88.

⁵⁶ Röhricht, *op. cit.*, (1893), 360, p.94; and E de Rozière, ed., *Cartulaire de l'église de Saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem* (1849), 65, p.134.

⁵⁷ Hubert Hall, ed., *The Red Book of the Exchequer (Liber rubeus de Scaccario)* (1896) ("Red Book Exchequer"), Part I, Knights fees, 25 & 31.

⁵⁸ Delisle, *op. cit.*, Robert of Torigny, Tome I, 337, charter quoted in footnote 1.

⁵⁹ Delisle, *op. cit.*, Robert of Torigny, Tome I, 344.

undated but dated to [1163/64].⁶⁰ As noted above, if Joscelin de Courtenay's capture is correctly dated to 1164, it suggests that he held Harenc until its recapture by Nur ed-Din. This leaves no time for Renaud de Saint-Valéry to have been lord of Harenc. There appears no way of reconciling all these texts other than suggesting that Robert de Torigny was in error and that he had meant to indicate Renaud de Châtillon Prince of Antioch when he named Renaud de Saint-Valéry. This would be surprising, as otherwise Robert de Torigny is a generally reliable source. Nevertheless, as William of Tyre refers to Harenc being granted to "conte Renaud," indicating Renaud de Châtillon, it would be understandable if Robert de Torigny had confused the two individuals named Renaud.

Anonymous "Governor" of Harenc 1158

The last person on our list is the anonymous "*gouverneur de la citadelle de Harim*" whose son, according to the *Livre des Deux Jardins*, was captured in May 1158 by "Ased ed-Din."⁶¹ There is no indication of the age of the son in question, but the context suggests that he was taken while fighting and therefore must have been at least a young adult. It is therefore unlikely that Joscelin de Courtenay was his father: Joscelin could not have been born earlier than 1133 as his mother's first husband's death is recorded in 1132. It is also unlikely that the passage could refer to Renaud de Saint-Valéry, if he ever was lord of Harenc, as there is no record of his family members fighting with him in Palestine. It is therefore suggested that this "governor" of Harenc was a different person, maybe administering the castle of Harenc as Joscelin de Courtenay's deputy. If that is correct, he may have been the same person as "*un de leurs démons dont [les Francs] connaissaient l'intelligence, homme de bon conseil, dont ils suivaient toujours l'avis*" who, according to the *Histoire des Atabecs de Mosul*, commanded Harenc around [1158]. This passage in the *Histoire* suggests a mature and experienced individual, which would be inconsistent with a person of the age of Joscelin de Courtenay. The difficulty is knowing whether the term "governor" (bearing in mind that the passage is a French translation of the Arabic) was ever used to indicate the deputy of the lord of a castle, or indeed that ruling lords in the crusading states did appoint deputies. No other primary source record has been found to indicate that this might be the case, except for the "vicomtes" who were appointed by the rulers of Jerusalem, Antioch and Tripoli. Another possibility is that the "governor" was a member of the lord's household, for example the castle steward or *dapifer*.

Who was the father of Orgueilleuse?

Having reviewed the sources, there are several possible answers to this question, although none of them is particularly satisfactory:

- A member of the Fraisnel family. Emmanuel Rey in 1896 suggested that the father of Orgueilleuse "devait être...Guillaume Fresnel."⁶² However, as noted above, there is no direct evidence which links the Fraisnel family to Harenc after [1110]. In any case, the Fraisnel family would have been superseded by subsequent families in Harenc, so it is unlikely that the *Lignages* would

⁶⁰ J Horace Round, ed., *Calendar of Documents preserved in France illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol I 918-1206 (1899), 491, p.175.

⁶¹ RHC, *Historiens orientaux*, Tome IV, *Livre des Deux Jardins*, 97-8.

⁶² Emmanuel Rey "Résumé chronologique de l'histoire des princes d'Antioch", *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, Tome IV (1896), 380.

refer to one of them as "*le seignor de Haren*" when recording the parentage of Orgueiluse.

- Joscelin de Courtenay. If Joscelin was born in 1133, it is possible that he had a child born in [1154/56], the latest part of the birth date range which is estimated for Orgueiluse. Joscelin's known marriage is estimated to [1170/75], so if he was the father of Orgueiluse she must have been born from an otherwise unrecorded earlier marriage or illegitimate. Neither possibility appears likely, especially as the *Lignages d'Outremer* names his two known daughters "*Biatris et Annés*" and records their marriages.⁶³ Joscelin was such a prominent figure that, if he had been the father of Orgueiluse, it is probable that one of the sources would have mentioned the fact.
- Renaud de Saint-Valéry. Even if we admit for the sake of argument that Renaud may have been lord of Haren for a short period, no record has been found of his having brought any of his children with him to Palestine. It is also unlikely that he would have left behind an infant daughter when he returned to western Europe in [1160/61], unless the marriage had already been planned at that time and he left her at the court of Antioch while she matured.
- The anonymous "governor" of Haren. Assuming that the other possibilities are eliminated, this provides the most likely answer. We know from the *Livre des Deux Jardins* that the governor in question had a son who was already mature in 1158. It is therefore not impossible that he had a younger daughter who was born in [1144/56].
- Another person entirely. As noted earlier, it is possible that the *Lignages d'Outremer* was inaccurate in referring to "*le seignor de Haren*" and that Orgueiluse's father was someone completely different. This is a possibility which cannot be excluded in considering the evidence.

One of the puzzles connected with the marriage of Prince Bohémond III and Orgueiluse is the apparent absence of diplomatic advantage which the prince would have gained from such a connection. It could hardly be said that marrying the daughter of a minor local lord, who had been deprived of his lordship, represented a splendid marriage for the prince of Antioch, especially bearing in mind the type of dynastic marriages which were otherwise contracted by the Christian rulers of Antioch. However, Bohémond III's third and fourth marriages suggest that he may have held unconventional ideas about marriage. It is therefore not impossible that the prince's eye was caught by a young girl of relatively modest background who was living at his court, having been brought there when her family was expelled from their castle.

⁶³ Nielen, *op. cit.*, (2003), Marciana Ms Francese 20, CC.LXXXIII, p.69.

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