THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE CRUSADES

How were the crusades, and the crusaders, narrated, described, and romanticised by the various communities that experienced or remembered them? This Companion provides a critical overview of the diverse and multilingual literary output connected with crusading over the last millennium, from the first writings which sought to understand and report on what was happening, to contemporary medievalism in which crusading is a potent image of holy war and *jihad*. The chapters show the enduring legacy of the crusaders' imagery, from the *chansons de geste* to Walter Scott, from Charlemagne to Orlando Bloom. Whilst the crusaders' hold on Jerusalem was relatively short-lived, the *desire* for Jerusalem has had a long afterlife in many cultural contexts and media.

Anthony Bale is Professor of Medieval Studies at Birkbeck, University of London. His previous publications include new translations of *The Book of Margery Kempe* (2015) and John Mandeville, *The Book of Marvels and Travels* (2012); *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages* (2010); and as editor *St Edmund King and Martyr: Changing Images of a Medieval Saint* (2009).

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EDITED BY

ANTHONY BALE

Birkbeck College, University of London

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CHRONOLOGY

1073	Gregory VII becomes pope and urges the engagement of the Church in temporal power, including the recovery of Spanish lands from Muslims
1088	beginning of papacy of Urban II
1095	Council of Clermont: Byzantine emperor Alexius Comnenus requests help in reconquering lost territories from the Seljuk Turks. Urban II calls upon Christian princes to undertake an armed pilgrimage to recover Jerusalem
1096	the beginning of the First Crusade. A mass movement develops in northern Europe and the crusaders, making their way towards Jerusalem, massacre Jews in the Rhineland. Fatimid conquest of Jerusalem from Seljuks
1097	the papal legate Ademar of Le Puy emerges as spiritual leader of the crusade; various princes join the crusade, including Godfrey of Bouillon, Baldwin of Boulogne, Raymond IV of Toulouse, Stephen of Blois, Robert Curthose of Normandy, and Robert of Flanders
20 October 1097	beginning of siege of Antioch, which lasts until 3 June 1098
February 1098	Kerbogha, Atabeg of Mosul, and his forces set off to defend Antioch
10 March 1098	Baldwin takes control of Edessa, thereby starting the Latin settlement in the East

14 June 1098	the crusaders of Antioch believe that they have discovered the Holy Lance
6 June 1099	the Norman crusader Tancred captures Bethlehem
7 June 1099	the crusaders reach Jerusalem
15 July 1099	crusaders capture and ransack Jerusalem
1099	the crusaders occupy Jerusalem. Godfrey of Bouillon named 'defender of the Holy Sepulchre' and ruler of Jerusalem
1101	Pope Paschal II urges a new crusade; Raymond of Aguilers completes his *Historia Francorum*, a chronicle of the First Crusade
1104	Baldwin takes the city of Acre
1109	crusaders take the city of Tripoli
1110	crusaders take the city of Beirut
1113	founding of the Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem (Knights Hospitaller)
1119	founding of the Poor Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon (Knights Templar)
1128	Fulcher of Chartres completes his Latin chronicle of the crusades
1129	failed attempt by the crusaders to seize Damascus
1144	Muslim forces, under Zangi of Mosul, conquer Edessa
1145–7	Second Crusade called by Pope Eugene II, preached by St Bernard of Clairvaux. The unsuccessful crusade was led by Louis VII of France and Conrad of Germany, to recover Edessa. In the same year, the crusade on Lisbon captured the city and it became part of the kingdom of Portugal; also, the Wendish Crusade against pagan Slavs
1169	accession of Saladin as vizier of Egypt; Saladin defeats large crusader army at Damietta

c. 1170	Chrétien de Troye's first complete work, *Erec et Enide*
1171	Saladin declares himself ruler of Egypt, in effect seceding from Fatimid empire; start of Ayyubid dynasty
1174	Saladin takes Damascus
1181	Chrétien de Troyes completes *Lancelot, Le Chevalier de la Charette*
1184	William of Tyre completes his Latin chronicle of the crusades
4 July 1187	Battle of Hattin, in which the Kingdom of Jerusalem's army is obliterated by Saladin; Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, taken prisoner
2 October 1187	Saladin retakes Jerusalem
1187	Pope Gregory VIII calls for a new crusade to recover Jerusalem; Frederick I Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard I answer the call, launching the Third Crusade
1189	beginning of the Siege of Acre, as crusaders fight Saladin's forces for control of the city
May 1191	Richard I's conquest of Cyprus
July 1191	Christian reconquest of Acre
2 September 1192	Richard I makes a truce with Saladin, giving Christians control of the coastal cities and Saladin control of Jerusalem; Christian pilgrims are permitted to visit Jerusalem
1193	Pope Celestine III calls for a crusade against Baltic pagans. Initiates the Livonian Crusade
1195	Battle of Alarcos, at which the Almohads defeat Alfonso VIII of Castile
1198	establishment of the Order of Teutonic Knights, based at Acre
1202–4	the Fourth Crusade

17 July 1203	crusaders attack Constantinople
12 April 1204	crusader seizure and sack of Constantinople
1209	beginning of the Albigensian Crusade, against heretical Cathars in southern France
1212	the so-called 'Children's Crusade', a failed movement to march on Jerusalem
1213	Pope Innocent III starts to preach the Fifth Crusade, which will be funded by a 'crusade tax' on ecclesiastical estates
1217–29	the Fifth Crusade, largely consisting of attacks on Egyptian cities; seizure of Damietta but failure to conquer Cairo/Fustat
1219	Jacques de Vitry begins to write the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, a history of the Holy Land from the advent of Islam until the crusades of his own day
1228–9	the Sixth Crusade, consisting largely of diplomacy to regain Jerusalem; treaty between Frederick II (Holy Roman Emperor) and al-Kamil (sultan of Egypt); treaty awards Jerusalem to Frederick
1230	Teutonic Knights begin attack on Prussia
1236	Ferdinand III of Castile attacks Córdoba, one of the main Muslim cities of Al-Andalus
1238	Aragonese forces take the city of Valencia
1244	fall of Jerusalem to Khwarezmian forces
1247–50	Louis IX plans and launches Sixth Crusade; seizes Damietta but is captured; ransomed in return for Damietta; establishment of Mamluk dynasty in Egypt; siege and eventual conquest of Seville by Ferdinand III
8 September 1260	Mamluk conquest of Damascus
25 July 1261	Byzantium recaptures Constantinople, ending Latin occupation

1268	Sultan Baybars captures crusader port of Jaffa
1270–1	the Seventh Crusade; Louis IX attempts to take Tunis
1283	Ramon Llull completes *Llibre qui es de l'ordre de cavalleria* (*The Book of the Order of Chivalry*)
17 June 1291	Sultan Khalil conquers crusader city of Acre
1302–3	Mamluk siege and conquest of Ruad, crusader stronghold off the Syrian coast; fall of the last crusader outpost in the Levant
1307	Philip IV of France orders the arrest of Knights Templar in France, after they refuse to extend loans to him; Grand Master Jacques de Molay arrested in Paris, and Templar persecutions begin across Europe
15 August 1309	Hospitallers capture Rhodes, and establish the island as their base, renaming themselves the Knights of Rhodes
1312	dissolution of the Templar order at the Council of Vienne
18 March 1314	Templar Grand Master Jacques de Molay burnt at the stake in front of Notre Dame cathedral, Paris
1365	the Alexandrian Crusade, in which Peter I of Cyprus sacks Alexandria
1386	official conversion of the grand duchy of Lithuania to Christianity
1396	Sigismund of Luxembourg, king of Hungary, leads a crusade against the Ottomans; he is defeated at the Battle of Nicopolis
1410	defeat of the Teutonic Order by Lithuanians at the Battle of Grunwald
1420–31	the Hussite Crusades in Bohemia, against the reformist Jan Hus

10 November 1444	Ottoman victory at Battle of Varna against Polish-Hungarian forces
1453	fall of Constantinople to Ottoman Turks
1480	Ottoman siege of the Hospitaller stronghold of the island of Rhodes
1487	Pope Innocent VIII calls for a crusade against the Waldensians in southern France
2 January 1492	Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile force capitulation of Muhammad XII of Granada, the fall of the last Islamic state in Iberia
1516	earliest version of Ludovico Aristo's *Orlando Furioso* appears
20 December 1522	surrender of Rhodes by the Hospitallers to the Ottomans
1 January 1525	Hospitallers sail for Malta, to re-establish themselves there
1581	Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* first published

ABBREVIATIONS

BdT	Occitan lyric, number refers to http://warwick.ac.uk/crusadelyrics, after A. Pillet and H. Carstens, *Bibliographie der Trobadors*, Halle, Saale, 1933
BL	British Library
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
RCL	*Richard Coer de Lyon*
RHC	*Recueil des historiens des croisades*
RS	Old French lyric, number refers to http://warwick.ac.uk/crusadelyrics, after Hans Spanke, *G. Raynauds, Bibliographie des Altfranzösischen Liedes neu bearbeitet und ergänzt*, Leiden, Brill, 1955

ANTHONY BALE

Introduction

This volume explores the culture that attached to, and continues to attach to, that most medieval of enterprises: the crusade. Broadly defined, a crusade might best be understood as a military campaign inspired by faith or piety; or, to put it another way, a crusade is a militarised pilgrimage.

The chapters gathered here might be said to be concerned with the *idea* of the crusade – the crusade as an aesthetic and cultural form – alongside its historical practice. The most enduring context for writing about crusading was the massive and tumultuous crusade, and subsequent establishment of the crusader states, in the Middle East. Yet the actual duration of the crusader state of the Holy Land – known as the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1096–1189) – and the crusader presence in the Middle East (the last crusader mainland possession, Acre, was lost in 1291, and the crusader island of Arwad in 1302) was short and precarious, especially in comparison to the ongoing fascination with the *idea* (and ideal) of crusading in the West. Perhaps no other event in the Middle Ages inspired such a flourishing of textual activity as the crusaders' battles in and for Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Yet medieval crusades did not always involve non-Christians and medieval crusades did not necessarily involve the Holy Land. The crusades to Jerusalem were only a part of the crusading zeal that animated medieval Europe: there were historical crusades in Iberia, in the Baltic, in North Africa, and elsewhere, and the crusading orders of Hospitallers and Templars developed pan-European networks. This volume includes descriptions of crusading in its many forms, including its significant overlapping with other widespread cultural structures such as the sermon, pilgrimage, the quest, the touristic travel narrative, and the heroic epic. The timescale of the chapters that follow stretches from retrospective, pre-crusade crusaders (like Charlemagne and Roland), through the period of the 'Great Crusades' from the end of the eleventh century to the fourteenth century, and all the way to the crusades' current manifestations in popular culture and political discourse.

Crusading and holy war have exerted a remarkable influence over the European imagination over the course of the last millennium, and the crusades were amongst the most frequently described medieval events. As such, this Companion neither attempts nor pretends to offer a complete picture of the enormous corpus of what might be termed 'literature of the crusades'. There are national and language traditions not represented here, and our emphasis has tended somewhat towards western European materials. Rather, the ideas articulated in these chapters point to the suppleness and variety of crusading as a textual medium, and the subjects covered are designed to give the reader prompts for further interpretation and research.

As Matthew M. Mesley describes in his chapter on crusader masculinity, medieval crusaders were unlikely to have called themselves 'crusaders' or their military undertakings 'crusades'; they were *milites* (soldiers) and *peregrini* (pilgrims). The Latin word *cruciate* – one who is marked by the cross – did emerge around the thirteenth century, but it is clear that most people whom we now called crusaders thought of themselves as taking part in an exemplary or extraordinary version of a common spiritual undertaking: sacred travel in the form of an arduous pilgrimage. Historically, there was little fundamental homogeneity to what a crusade was; but in literary terms, we will see some key trends emerge: these include the ambivalent encounter with the other; the praise of pious violence; and the role of crusading in narrating and developing a sense of collective or communal memory. Indeed, the literary construction of the crusades has played a key role in shaping our understanding of what a crusade was; certainly, whereas the crusading movement was diffuse and evolutionary, the writing of the crusades has returned time and again to several key figures (such as Charlemagne, Richard I, Saladin, 'El Cid') and places (not least Jerusalem) and thereby gives shape in the Western imagination to what a crusade was, or should be.

Words – written and spoken – were crucial to the earliest stirrings of crusading and to the inculcation of the imperative to take the cross. In this volume, the 'literature of the crusades' has been interpreted capaciously, to reflect the importance of not only the textual or literary but also the verbal in the promotion of crusading. Indeed, M. Cecilia Gaposchkin has recently characterised crusader liturgies as 'invisible weapons'; Gaposchkin argues that 'crusaders and their supporters made recourse to liturgical prayer, masses, and alms in their fight. In one sense, the liturgy was one of their weapons of war, likened often to temporal arms'.[1] The crusaders' liturgies were thus a key way in which they endowed warfare with a religious meaning and endowed religious ceremony with a martial aspect. Moreover, as Christoph Maier has stated, 'Crusades were usually announced by

sermons' and sermons acted as a kind of verbal accompaniment to the entire enterprise of the crusade:

> Propagandists preached in order to recruit participants and collect money for the crusade. Sermons also marked the departure of a crusader or a crusade army. During the campaigns, the clergy accompanying the crusade armies regularly preached sermons in order to sustain the participants' enthusiasm or to give them courage on the eve of a battle or in moments of crisis. Last but not least, sermons concerning the crusade were also preached to those at home in the context of penitentiary processions and prayers in support of crusaders in the field. Indeed, the number of different types of crusade sermons preached at various times in late medieval Europe must have been immense.[2]

The Church saw itself as responsible for promulgating the word of God, and the crusaders saw themselves as faithful servants of God, and crusading should be considered within the currents of spirituality, as well as politics, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[3] Thus preaching and liturgy can be seen as important parts of the 'soundtrack' to the crusade, from the clergy's communication with the laity to the exhortation to go into battle. The First Crusade (1096) is usually traced to Pope Urban II's sermons, in which, amongst other things, he urged for safeguarding pilgrims' access to the *loci sancti* in Palestine, then ruled by the Fatimid caliphate. This was not, however, the pope's only, or indeed primary, motivation for preaching the crusade: he also urged support for the Byzantine emperor Alexius I, then fighting Seljuk Turks invading from the East, and we must see Urban's rhetoric in the context of what was then the fairly recent East-West schism of 1054, in which the Eastern and Western, Byzantine and Roman, branches of the Church had split.

Pope Urban II urged a great 'pilgrimage' at the Council of Piacenza (March 1095) and at the Council of Clermont in November of that year.[4] No entirely reliable versions of these sermons (or speeches) survive, but they quickly attracted literary attention: the versions we have, in the *Gesta Francorum* (*The Deeds of the Franks,* c. 1101) and in texts by Fulcher of Chartres (who participated in the crusade) and Robert the Monk (c. 1106), were all written after the successful capture of Jerusalem in 1099. What we do still have, however, are several of Urban's formal letters to petitioners in which he sets out his ideas for a campaign for the Eastern churches (rather than, as would come to pass, a campaign focused largely on Jerusalem);[5] these letters continued to circulate, and to be edited and augmented, for hundreds of years after the First Crusade. Indeed, Urban's letter to the Flemings, his first letter dealing exclusively with crusading matters, only survives in copies from the seventeenth century.

It has often been argued that the First Crusade came about through a more or less impromptu expression of mob violence and religious enthusiasm. However, the immediate context of crusading in the 1090s was rhetorical in character: not only did the First Crusade gather momentum through the written word, but a large deal of what we know about it comes from highly rhetorical sources: sermons, letters, chronicles, liturgy. Stephen J. Spencer has recently explored the role of idealised and rhetorically inflected emotions in accounts of the First Crusade; Spencer shows how accounts of the crusaders' fear, their weeping, and their anger can be understood as 'textual indicators of the spirituality and motives participants were thought to have possessed'.[6] Spencer here represents a significant trend in recent crusader historiography, moving away from asserting 'what actually happened' towards thinking through the written account within ongoing traditions of 'emotional rhetoric'. Texts which claim 'eyewitness' status are no longer taken at face value, and texts by 'participants' in the crusades are considered highly partial and narratively inflected accounts, rather than statements of documentary truth. Within a very short time, men who had participated in and witnessed the First Crusade – such as Peter Tudebode, Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres, and the sources behind the *Gesta Francorum* – placed the unfolding events into the written form of chronicles which were read and cited in the West.[7] As Yuval Noah Harari has argued, concern with factual 'truth' swiftly became eclipsed by narrative concerns of shaping a compelling epic.[8] Moreover, in the fourteenth century if not earlier, the literary stereotype of the crusading knight-errant had become very familiar to western European audiences, to the extent that 'the crusader knight' had become a literary ideal as much concerned with conduct, manners, *courtoisie*, and horsemanship as with the practical retaking of the Holy Land.[9]

It is important also to remember that both pro- and anti-crusading rhetoric was a more or less constant feature of crusading in the west; as Palmer Throop and Elizabeth Siberry have shown in their detailed studies of criticism of the crusades, 'public opinion', expressed in encyclicals, letters, memoirs, sermons, and in poetical songs too, was often unfavourable to the crusades or robustly hostile to the pope. Sometimes, the pope's political and worldly motives were invoked, and horror was often shown at the idea of Christians waging war on other Christians (Greeks and Armenians for instance); elsewhere, the pope was criticised for neglecting the Holy Land.[10] These voices are mentioned here to remind us how the crusades were discursively engendered, defined, and redefined: words could make or break a crusade.[11]

Soon, crusading could be found, or represented, everywhere. The twelfth-century poet Chrétien de Troyes projected stories of chivalry and war in the Eastern Mediterranean into a story of the court of King Arthur. In his long and innovative romance *Cligès*, Chrétien describes the story of Cligès of Constantinople, at once part-Byzantine prince and great-nephew of King Arthur (Cligès's father is Alexander, son of the Greek emperor, and his mother is Soredamors, Arthur's niece). The story follows the handsome and charming fifteen-year-old Cligès from Greece to Arthur's court in England, where he proves himself as a knight, then back to a perilous situation in Constantinople, from which Cligès escapes with his lover, the peerlessly beautiful Fenice. After a long series of ruses and machinations, Cligès is crowned emperor of Constantinople, Fenice becomes the empress.

Historically, *Cligès* cannot be mapped onto the crusades, even as it was composed around the time of the Second and Third Crusades;[12] but, poetically, it is replete with crusading imagery.[13] Unlike other Arthurian tales, *Cligès* takes as its setting the flow of knights between Constantinople and Western Europe, its narrative propelled by warring factions, treacherous brothers, and rival dynasties of ambivalent co-religionists. The battle scenes taking place in central Europe are highly reminiscent of the crusaders' own passage to the Mediterranean; for instance, Chrétien describes how at Regensburg the Greeks and the Saxons 'were encamped in the meadows beside the Danube', watching and waiting, each looking to attack the other (line 3395).[14] Elsewhere, men are armed with 'Danish axes' and 'Turkish swords' (1985); Cligès has 'a fresh white Arab steed' (4911); characters attack and conquer territories with a dizzying frequency that is hard to keep track of. That Chrétien's imagination here was influenced by the crusades is beyond doubt.

Even as Cligès eventually becomes emperor of Constantinople, the text suggests that this is through his, and his father's, training at and loyalty to Arthur's court. In the worldview presented in the poem, Byzantine knights come from the east to the west, as Chrétien imagines the Christian world's centre of gravity to be not at Constantinople or Jerusalem but at Wallingford and Windsor. Indeed, one scene in the poem imagines the evil Count Angrés's own crusader-like raid on London for food, gold, and silver (1197) and his occupation and subsequent fortification of Windsor Castle like a crusader fortress, with 'walls and palisades, moats and drawbridges, ditches, barriers and barricades, iron portcullises and a great keep of dressed stone' (1236). Chrétien's perspective on crusading is hard to gauge, and *Cligès* can be read as an ironic statement on crusading, not least because the eponymous character is explicitly modelled on the vain Ovidian anti-hero,

Narcissus (2761). Furthermore, Cligès has no 'Saracen' or heathen enemies but rather navigates his way through mixed, factional Christian dynasties; identity in the poem lacks the simplicity of 'us *versus* them' and instead asks, through stratagems, violence, sea-crossings, and conquest, 'who are we?'

Chrétien's poem shows how far we should consider a crusade not only to have been a historical event but a framework for imagining entire worlds. Crusading inflected the cultural vocabulary of chivalry and romance, love and masculinity, luxury and materiality, travel and geography; and, as *Cligès* demonstrates, the crusades could be read back, projected, imagined and reimagined, with a remarkable versatility. Not only Arthurian England could become implicated in the crusades: the Frankish hero Charlemagne, as described below by Anne Latowsky, was imagined as a crusader hero, and the Spanish hero 'El Cid', discussed by Julian Weiss, have both proved incredibly durable 'crusaders' even though they lived and died before the 'First Crusade' was launched.

The chapters gathered here aim to provide a companion to some of the ways in which the crusades have been verbally constructed and reported. This book is organised in five sections: genres; contexts and communities; themes and images; heroes; afterlives. The first section, on genre, provides the reader with the coordinates to understand three key literary frameworks for crusading: the chronicle; the *chanson de geste*; and the troubadour lyric. Elizabeth Lapina shows how historical writing in the form of chronicles interpreted and re-presented the events of the crusades in a wide, and often underexplored, variety of texts. Marianne Ailes describes the role of *chansons de geste* both as propaganda and as a more ambiguous and multi-faceted genre through which to describe the 'Saracens' encountered by the crusaders. Linda Paterson shows the range of perspectives on the crusades provided in the troubadour poetry, which could offer celebration and praise but also bitter, personal portraits of the difficulties and disappointments of crusading.

'Contexts and Communities' helps us to understand who, where, and how the idea of the crusade was mediated. Connor Wilson describes the emergence of an idea of holy war in the tenth and eleventh centuries, comparing the Roman and Byzantine contexts; Wilson draws our attention to the role of both narrative histories and military manuals in theorising the morality and spirituality of warfare. Helen J. Nicholson describes women's involvement, principally through authorship and patronage, in the crusades, balancing our understanding of crusading as far from an exclusively male domain. Anthony Bale explores the literary production of the Holy Land, tracing the ways in which crusader literary culture both paralleled and departed from western European textual cultures. And Uri Zvi Shachar attends to

important non-Christian voices, from Jewish and Muslim sources, to demonstrate the ways in which the crusaders' enemies reported the tumult of holy war in which they found themselves.

In the 'Themes and Images' section, three key strands of imagery are explored: Jerusalem; the 'Saracen'; and the knight of chivalry. Suzanne M. Yeager shows the centrality of the city of Jerusalem, in both its worldly and spiritual aspects, as the object of the crusaders' desire. Lynn Ramey charts the crucial, if ambivalent, figure of the 'Saracen' in the crusader imagination, whilst Matthew M. Mesley probes the iconic 'masculine' figure of the chivalrous hero.

The final two sections of the book chart the outplaying of the idea and fantasy of the crusade. In the section on 'Heroes' we alight on English, Islamic, Spanish, and French figureheads of crusading. Christine Chism describes the multifaceted way in which Richard I of England, 'the Lionheart', and his adversary Saladin were represented, often in relation to each other. Julian Weiss chronicles the emergence of 'El Cid' as a Spanish crusader *avant la lettre*. Anne Latowsky attends to the evolving nationalist memories of a triumvirate of French heroes – Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Louis IX – who historically are from before, during, and after the first crusades.

The 'Afterlives' section takes the reader from the twilight of the later crusades in Europe up to the present day. Robert Rouse charts the development, in late medieval England, of narratives that recast crusading as part of the enduring Christian struggle against the heathen world. Lee Manion takes us into the early modern period, asking why and how memories of religious violence remained so attractive to later audiences. Louise d'Arcens brings the volume almost to the present day, to show how the crusades continue to 'haunt' Western culture, albeit for changing geopolitical messages and in widely divergent contexts.

In November 2017, on the British Broadcasting Corporation's version of the television show *The Apprentice*, one pair of entrepreneurs, Bushra and Sarah, developed, unsuccessfully, a dining recipe kit called 'Gourmet Crusaders'. The episode revealed the ongoing valence, and discursive controversy, of crusading. Sarah, who had suggested the brand name, seemed oblivious to the negative connotations of the term, and argued that it represented 'a call to action'; 'to crusade', said Sarah, is 'to stomp, to walk around, to travel, to explore'. She continued, 'As a crusader, you would be on a crusade to explore new flavours and textures'. Bushra, on the other hand, saw that the idea evoked 'an army, a fight, like a battle'; 'it's about war', she said. The potential investor Alan, Lord Sugar, regarded the use of the term 'crusader' as one of the reasons why the team and its business project failed; the name, he said, 'implied that [the team] was going to war'.[15]

This moment, broadcast to millions of people on British television, showed that crusading remains at once central to public discourse yet mobile, open, unfixed. The rhetorical and cultural construction of crusading is fundamental to Western culture, but its definition depends on what we need or want our crusaders to be.

NOTES

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3 See William Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095–c.1187*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2008, 4–8.
4 H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', *History*, 55 (1970), 177–88.
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7 Alan V. Murray, 'The Siege of Jerusalem in Narrative Sources', in *Jerusalem the Golden*, 191–215.
8 Yuval Noah Harari, 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade: The *Gesta Francorum* and Other Contemporary Narratives', *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 77–99.
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11 For an overview of poetical responses to the crusades see Michael Routledge, 'Songs', in Jonathan Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, 91–111.
12 See Sharon Kinoshita, 'The Poetics of *Translatio*: French–Byzantine Relations in Chrétien de Troyes's *Cligès*', *Exemplaria* (1996) 8, 315–54.
13 For similar texts and a cultural-historical context see Laura Ashe, 'The Ideal of Knighthood in English and French Writing, 1100–1230: Crusade, Piety, Chivalry and Patriotism', in Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf (eds.), *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission, and Memory*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 2014, 155–68.
14 Quoting from David Staines (ed. and trans.), *The Complete Romances of Chrétien de Troyes*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1990. References are given to line numbers from this edition.
15 *The Apprentice* (BBC), 'Food Boxes', series 13:9, first broadcast 29 November 2017.

1

ELIZABETH LAPINA

Crusader Chronicles

The crusades gave rise large to an unusually large and varied body of written chronicles. Some chronicles are in Latin, others vernacular; some are written by members of the clergy, others by laymen; some of their authors were participants in the events that they described, others wrote centuries after the fact; some chronicles come down to us in a single manuscript, others survive in dozens of copies; some are unadorned, others are richly illustrated.

Until relatively recently, historians tended to study chronicles of the crusades primarily as a means to reconstruct the course of events. They have since begun to redress the balance and to pay more attention to the texts themselves. Several approaches have been particularly fruitful. First, historians have turned their attention to chronicles that have hereto been set aside as unreliable or derivative. Second, they have begun to treat chronicles not as fixed entities, but as works-in-progress with a centuries-long history, spanning from the time when material began to be collected to when the last manuscript copy was produced (and beyond, to modern editions and translations). Third, they have set out to tackle the problem of the functions that the memory of crusades performed. Finally, they began to pay close attention to the intertextuality of the chronicles.

Chronicles have a lot to offer both to scholars working on crusades and to those with only a passing interest in the subject. The study of the chronicles makes possible not only a better understanding of how medieval thinkers perceived crusades at various points in time, but also of how they conceived of history in general. Both because of their unusually large number and variety and because of the originality of approaches to historical events that many of them display, chronicles of the crusades are of great – but not yet fully appreciated – importance to the study of medieval historiography.

The earliest chroniclers of the crusades probably began writing when the First Crusade was still in progress. They were pathbreakers: theirs was the first attempt to write a narrative of a military campaign since antiquity.[1] Eventually, the First Crusade went on to become the most frequently

narrated event of the Middle Ages. Many of the subsequent crusades also gave rise to separate narratives. A crucial subset of crusade chronicles deals with the history of the states established as a consequence of crusades. This includes not only the four Latin states (of Jerusalem, Tripoli, Antioch, and Edessa) founded in the course of the First Crusade, but also those that originated later, such as the Principality of Morea, created as a result of the Fourth Crusade. Chronicles of crusades continued to be produced well after the fall of Acre, the last continental possession of the Franks in the Middle East, in 1291. Chroniclers both returned to earlier events, but also wrote about recent ones, since the conception that the crusades were ongoing was widespread well into the modern period. For example, Sébastien Mamerot's *Les Passages d'Outremer* (c. 1472–4) – an overview of crusades in the Middle East – includes events that took place a century after the Mamluks took Acre, such as the campaign led by King Charles VI of France to protect the Genoese holdings in the Eastern Mediterranean in 1388 and the Battle of Nicopolis in 1396. One of the manuscripts of *Les Passages d'Outremer* also contains a letter sent by the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II to King Charles VIII of France in 1488.[2] The Eastern Mediterranean was not the only location where crusades were taking place. Within fifty years of the First Crusade, crusading activities began to expand. These other theatres of crusading warfare – the Baltic region, southern France, Italy, central Europe, and the Iberian Peninsula, where the *Reconquista* acquired most of the characteristics of a crusade – also become the subject of a large body of narratives.

Some chronicles do not fit under the rubric of 'crusader chronicles', but are, nonetheless, closely related. Crucial crusade narratives appear in a wide variety of texts, including universal chronicles and royal or proto-national chronicles. Some of these narratives are actually longer than free-standing chronicles. In addition, already in the early decades after the conquest of Jerusalem, there emerged the startling idea that crusading predates the First Crusade. A number of authors began to project crusading ideas and imagery onto conflicts, whether real or imaginary, of the past. For instance, around 1140, the *Historia Turpini* (better known as the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*) celebrated Charlemagne as champion against Islam, reinventing him 'as a kind of crusading superhero'.[3] Around the same period, the author of *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum* relied heavily on a chronicle of the First Crusade in its description of Count Geoffrey Greymantle's struggle against Norsemen and Flemings in the tenth century.[4]

Finally, a yet broader circle of chronicles that concern crusades includes narratives written by outside observers or even crusaders' opponents. In some cases, they belong to Western (as opposed to, for example, Greek or

Arabic) historiography. One example is the *Historia Hussitica* by Lawrence (Vavrinec) of Brezová (c. 1371–c. 1437), an account of a crusade against the Hussite proto-Protestant reformists, written by a Hussite.[5]

Genre

It is not easy to define what exactly constitutes a 'chronicle'. According to a narrow definition, a chronicle is a record of events arranged in chronological order. Chronicles are found halfway between annals (which offer a list of dates and events) and *historia* (that tell a story about the past). To quote Gervase of Canterbury, who wrote around 1200, 'the historian proceeds diffusely and elegantly, whereas the chronicler proceeds simply, gradually and briefly'.[6] However, these two genres merge into each other. At times, they even coexist within a single work: Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* begins as a *historia*, but ends as a chronicle.[7] The genre of *gesta* – dedicated to the deeds of a person, a people or, in the case of Guibert of Nogent's *Dei Gesta per Francos*, God – is closely related.

Jean de Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* is revealing of the difficulties of categorisation. Although ostensibly a hagiographical account of the life of King Louis IX, the work allots 550 out of 769 paragraphs to just six years of Louis's life, corresponding to his first crusade. It also covers extensively the author's experience on the crusade. One possible explanation of this hybrid work is that Jean first intended it to be an account of the crusade, but later transformed it into a hagiography.[8] Another example of the fluidity of genres, Odo of Deuil's *De Profectione Ludivici VII in Orientem* is an account of the Second Crusade that is, at the same time, a 35,000-word letter to Abbot Suger of St-Denis.[9]

The relationships between epic poems and chronicles present an especially thorny problem.[10] By the end of the twelfth century, many grew to believe that poetic works were less truthful than prose ones.[11] Already *La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne* (c. 1190) expresses the idea that poems are not reliable: 'No one is able to compose a *chanson de geste* / Without telling fibs where the verse determines / That the words be ordered and cut to fit the rhyme'.[12] However, this conviction did not necessarily translate into tangible differences. While most prose works tend to contain fewer epic characteristics than poetic ones, this is not always the case. Both prosaic and poetic works can celebrate martial deeds. Both can exaggerate the number of participants of military encounters. Both can find room for anecdotes. Both can include direct speech that the authors reconstructed or invented from scratch (for example, 26 per cent of the text of Baldric of Bourgueil's prose *Historia Ierosolimitana* is direct speech).[13]

To complicate matters, many chroniclers are prosimetric, combining prose and verse. The ratio between poetry and prose and the place allotted to poetry varies from text to text. In many cases, poetry is found throughout the chronicle. Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, for example, contains about thirty sequences of lines of verse, ranging from one line to thirteen lines for the total of ninety.[14] As much as a quarter of Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* is written in verse.[15] In contrast, the so-called 'Templar of Tyre' inserted just one long poem, composed at an earlier date, into his chronicle, so that the poem 'may always be preserved and remembered'.[16]

The decision of which parts of the narrative to compose in verse and which in prose is potentially meaningful. Marcus Bull has explained the presence of lines in verse in Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* as 'epic mood'; lines in verse frequently occur when the chronicle deals with military action.[17] In Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*, only a minority of verse chapters have anything to do with Tancred, the primary subject of the entire work. One hypothesis is that the author wanted to signal to the reader that what he wrote about Tancred was truthful, but that he could not vouchsafe for the entirety of his narrative.[18]

Language

Poetic works on the history of crusades were composed in a variety of languages. Gilo's *Historia vie Heirosolimitane,* probably written in the first decade of the twelfth century, is in Latin. The Crusade Cycle and the *Canso d'Antioca*, both of which originated in the late twelfth century, are, respectively, in Old French and Occitan. *The Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, written in the thirteenth century, is in Middle High German.

Prose narratives of crusades were written exclusively in Latin during the first century of crusading. In the early thirteenth century, however, three authors broke away from this convention: they composed chronicles that were both in prose and in the vernacular (Old French). Two of the authors, Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari, were knights; the third, Henri de Valenciennes, was a cleric. They wrote about the Fourth Crusade and the early years of the Latin empire. Their chronicles are among the earliest prose works of history written in the vernacular on any subject.[19]

Within a couple of decades of the Fourth Crusade, William of Tyre's chronicle dedicated to the history of the Latin states was translated for the first time from Latin into Old French. It was one of the earliest works of history to be translated from Latin into the vernacular.[20] It is worth noting that, in the Middle Ages, translation tended to imply transformation and appropriation of the text in question. This is apparent from the fact that

translators of William's work changed the first person into the third person (for example, in the case when William talks about his tutoring of the future King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem). William's translators often took more important liberties with the original as well, in particular by abridging it and by including continuations to various dates. Some abridgements were more meaningful than others; for instance, translators sometimes omitted theological digressions that they thought would be of little interest to a lay audience.[21] The earliest translation of William of Tyre into Castilian was executed only slightly later than the one into Old French; it was commissioned by King Alphonso X of Castile (1252–84). Other languages, however, trailed behind. The earliest partial English translation of William of Tyre's work, made by William Caxton from the Old French, appeared only in 1481.[22]

Few other crusader chronicles were translated before the modern era. Peter of Duisburg's *Chronicon terre Prussie*, written around 1326 and dedicated to the Teutonic Order, is a notable exception; Nicholas von Jeroschin translated it into Middle High German verse almost immediately after the work's completion.[23] The earliest translations (into German and Dutch) of the most popular work dealing with the First Crusade, Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, date only from the fifteenth century.[24]

Manuscripts and Editions

A comprehensive understanding of relationships between related chronicles or between different manuscripts of the same chronicle is a difficult task. Autograph copies of chronicles of crusades have hardly ever survived; we are always a step or two removed from the original. It is almost certain that a number of chronicles have disappeared without any – or almost any – trace. In many cases, in order either to explain where an author got his information or to account for similarities between sources, modern scholars propose that authors of extant chronicles have drawn upon now-lost texts.

Some chroniclers made little use of their predecessors' accounts; others drew extensively upon earlier works. Both independent chroniclers who relied on other narratives and copyists (it is, incidentally, sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two) took creative liberties with the text or texts at hand. Some abridged or expanded their source. Some updated the earlier work by adding a continuation. One copyist was interested in only one part of a chronicle.[25] Another copyist combined two chronicles into one narrative.[26] As mentioned above, some authors inserted a reworking of other chronicles into their works dedicated to a different subject. Titles, including some that are firmly established in modern historiography, such

as William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, were also often added at a later date.[27]

Finally, it was common for authors to return to the subject, sometimes once, sometimes on a number of occasions. In some cases, this was a matter of small additions and corrections. In others, two distinct versions were produced. The existence of two or more accounts of crusades by the same author sometimes makes it possible to trace the evolution of his thought on the subject, often in response to changing circumstances. This is the case of Roger of Howden's *Gesta Regis* and *Chronica*. The two works cover much of the same ground, but they are different enough for some scholars to have suspected, erroneously, that they were written by two different people.[28]

When it comes to chroniclers who reworked their predecessors' narratives, most of the time they either did not explain what they were doing at all or did so in such a manner that the explanation raises more questions than it answers. The situation is perhaps particularly complex when it comes to the *Gesta Francorum*, an anonymous chronicle of the First Crusade. A series of authors appear to have relied on the *Gesta*; their works together form what is known as the 'Gesta family'. This group of texts did not only include 'secondary', but also 'tertiary' chronicles. One example of a tertiary chronicler is Orderic Vitalis, who based his account of the First Crusade on Baldric of Bourgueil's chronicle that is, in turn, based on the *Gesta*. The reasons for the desire to re-write the *Gesta* among so many people at the same time are not immediately clear. Jonathan Riley-Smith has proposed a process of 'theological refinement', the perceived need to explain the First Crusade in more sophisticated terms.[29]

Throughout the Middle Ages, different works were often bound together. The combinations indicate what texts the copyists (and/or their patrons) saw as thematically complementary and can, thereby, reveal contemporaries' interpretations of events. Not surprisingly, three chronicles concerned with the First Crusade and the early years of the existence of the Latin states are frequently found in a single manuscript.[30] A more original textual combination brought together Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* and Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne*. The very fact of binding these two works together made a strong statement regarding the continuity, discussed in further detail below by Anne Latowsky, between Carolingian and crusading eras.[31]

In the twelfth century, it was highly unusual to illustrate historical narratives.[32] In the thirteenth century, however, manuscripts of crusade chronicles began to contain figurative representations. One example is a manuscript of Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* (BNF MS Lat.

5128) which features representations of main characters.[33] Numerous illuminations are found in manuscripts of vernacular translations of William of Tyre's chronicle, some of them produced in western Europe and others in the Latin states.[34] It is also possible to find representations of crusades in manuscripts of chronicles dedicated to other subjects, such as royal or universal chronicles.

Earliest editions of crusader chronicles and of their translations appeared not so long after the invention of the printing press. The earliest edition of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*, for example, came out in Cologne around 1470; scholarly editions of crusader chronicles trace their lineage to an anthology entitled *Gesta Dei per Francos* and published by Jacques Bongars in 1611 and to the sixteen volumes of sources known as *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* that were published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in Paris between 1841 and 1906.[35]

Sources

For many chroniclers who were not participants (and for some who were), earlier chronicles were the main source of information. In addition, many chroniclers acknowledge their debt to oral accounts of participants. Perhaps surprisingly, vernacular *chansons de geste* were also a type of oral source on which chroniclers relied.[36] Official records and legal documents, such as papal bulls, charters, deeds, treaties, and agreements, as well as letters, were also important and, at times, chroniclers actually copied them into the text. On one occasion, a chronicler relied on a diary written by a participant.[37] On another occasion, a participant's memoirs served as a key source.[38]

Many chronicles abound in quotations from or allusions to biblical passages. In some cases, authors acknowledged the fact that they are quoting the Bible. In most cases, however, they inserted quotations or allusions (the two are often indistinguishable) without any attribution; often, they just wove a few words into their own sentences. Most authors were quoting the Bible from memory, so references can be inexact. Some references are clearly either unintentional, a by-product of the authors' education or background, or merely there for stylistic purposes. In many cases, however, there is little doubt that chroniclers employed biblical references to make a point about the crusading enterprise. In those cases, they often assumed that the reader would be familiar with the context, within which this or that passage is found in the Bible. For instance, according to Baldric of Bourgueil, Urban II, when preaching the First Crusade, lamented the state of Jerusalem with the following words: 'the house of prayer has been turned into a den of thieves'. This refers the reader/listener of the chronicle to the passage in Matthew

2:13, in which Christ cleanses the Temple. Thus, Urban II, as quoted by Baldric, implicitly urges crusaders to imitate Christ in 'purifying' the holy sites of the Holy Land.[39]

In some cases, the use of biblical quotations follows a pattern. This appears to be the case of Robert the Monk's chronicle of the First Crusade. Biblical references found in the first part of the chronicle tend to be from the Old Testament; their goal seems to be to establish that crusaders were successors of the Israelites. As the narrative continues and crusaders penetrate the Holy Land, however, there is a shift towards references borrowed from the New Testament, emphasising the theme of *imitatio Christi*. The description of the conquest of Jerusalem close to the end contains two references to the Book of Revelation.[40]

Many chroniclers drew upon classical sources, both poets and historians. There are some instances of extensive quotations, but, much of the time, the authors merely borrowed a short expression. For instance, Robert the Monk describes Emperor Alexius as 'inops animi' ('powerless in mind'), an expression used by Virgil in the Aeneid to characterise Dido; in some cases, it seems that the matter is not of 'lexical echoes', but of 'scenic analogue', an invitation to the reader to recall a comparable episode found in this or that work of an ancient author.[41]

Authors, Patrons, and Readers

We know the names of some chroniclers with certainty; some sources are anonymous. In the remaining cases, the names and/or identities of chroniclers remain hypothetical. Some of the authors were participants in the events that they described. Although it is common to refer to them as 'eyewitnesses', the term is problematic.[42] On many occasions, authors were witnesses of some events, but not of others. Robert the Monk attended the Council of Clermont that launched the First Crusade, but his involvement in the enterprise ended there. Fulcher of Chartres, another chronicler of the First Crusade, got as far as Edessa and was absent from such key events as the siege and battle of Antioch and the siege of Jerusalem.

Writing chronicles was a prestigious task and high-ranking ecclesiastical figures, such as Bishop Otto of Freising or Archbishop William of Tyre, did not consider it to be beneath their dignity. Several chronicles were written by crusaders' chaplains. Among the so-called eyewitness chroniclers of the First Crusade, Fulcher of Chartres was chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne and Raymond of Aguilers to Raymond IV of Toulouse. Odo of Deuil participated in the Second Crusade as chaplain to King Louis VII. Chaplains continued to compose chronicles well into the late Middle Ages. Sébastien Mamerot,

who wrote *Les Passages d'Outremer* between 1472 and 1474, was chaplain to Louis de Laval-Châtillon, a close associate of King Louis XI of France. It is noteworthy that a substantial number of chroniclers were monks. Although monastic writers rarely ventured beyond the immediate vicinities of their monasteries, they had the advantage of being able to procure copies of written sources and to interview what must have been numerous visitors.

Civic pride was behind what is probably the earliest surviving narrative of the First Crusade written by a layman. Caffaro di Rustico was a minor nobleman, who dedicated his life to serving, as an administrator and a diplomat, the city of Genoa. He set out to compose the annals of the city of Genoa as a young man and kept updating them throughout his life. He began the annals with an account of the departure of a Genoese fleet to the East in August 1100 (Caffaro himself was on one of the boats). Caffaro also wrote a separate account of the First Crusade, *De liberatione civitatum orientis* (*The Liberation of the Cities of the East*), in which the Genoese play a major role, around 1155.[43]

For some authors, the impetus to write about crusades came from the outside – or so they would like us to believe. For instance, as he states in the preface to his work, Robert the Monk wrote his chronicle at the bidding of a certain abbot by the name of 'Bernard'.[44] In some cases, it seems that participation in Mediterranean politics provided an incentive to learn about the history of the region. In the late fourteenth century, the Grand Master of the Hospitallers, Juan Fernández de Heredia, who was involved in the affairs of the Latin Greece, commissioned a series of translations of historical works dealing with the region into Aragonese.[45] A century later, Louis de Laval-Châtillon's stint as a governor of Genoa (a city whose colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean were then threatened by the Ottomans) was possibly behind his decision to commission Sébastien Mamerot's *Les Passages d'Outremer*.[46]

In general, Ottoman advances led many people to turn to the study of history. They were probably the cause of an upsurge in popularity, as measured by the number of manuscripts produced, of Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana*.[47] Robert's chronicle functioned both to explain the history of the Eastern Mediterranean before the rise of the Ottomans and to reassure the reader that Christians have triumphed before and will, therefore, triumph again.

Some chronicles, especially written in the vernacular, were suitable for a wide audience. Others aimed at a more sophisticated listener/reader, which, at least in the early twelfth century, often meant someone with monastic education. It is worth remembering, however, that the monastic world had numerous ties with that of lay aristocracy. Monastic chroniclers responded

to developments outside the cloister; the ideas found in their works, in turn, probably reached (in a more or less roundabout way) the laity.

The number of manuscripts of various chronicles that came down to us is highly uneven. On the one hand, Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* was a 'best-seller': it survives in eighty-four copies made between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.[48] Another 'best-seller', the so-called *L'Estoire de Eracles*, a translated version of William of Tyre's chronicle, exists in fifty-one manuscripts. On the other hand, the Latin original of William of Tyre's chronicle survives in just nine manuscripts.[49] Several works were just one fire or flood away from being entirely lost: there is only one extant manuscript of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* (another one was found in Riga in 1849, but later disappeared).[50] There is also just one manuscript of Caffaro's *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*.[51] In the case of each work, the question of why it was copied frequently or seldom deserves a separate explanation.

Functions

Stated intentions of why the author decided to write a chronicle tend to be of general nature, such as the desire to provide exemplars of behaviour for future generations to imitate. However, there were also numerous more or less apparent agendas. Many chronicles strove to inspire the readers/listeners to continue the work of earlier crusaders. William of Tyre, for example, appears to have been addressing two audiences at once. On the one hand, he tried to raise the spirit of the Frankish settlers; on the other hand, he wanted to convince western Europeans that the Latin states 'not only needed assistance, but deserved it'.[52] Similarly, the unknown author of the *Livonian Rhymed Chronicle* seems to have hoped that his work would lead to an increase in the number of German crusaders to Livonia.[53]

Some manuscripts were clearly intended for future leaders of crusades. One manuscript (BNF, MS Lat. 14378), containing three chronicles concerned with the crusades and the Latin East, opens with a letter from a knight, who had taken part in the First Crusade, to King Louis VII, who was to lead the Second Crusade, urging him to imitate the first crusaders.[54] Another manuscript (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, MS Vat. Lat. 2001), a copy of Robert the Monk's chronicle, contains a frontispiece with the Provost of the Bavarian abbey of Schäftlarn presenting the codex to Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, a future leader of the Third Crusade.[55] There is at least one instance of a chronicle of the First Crusade being carried on a later expedition to the East.[56]

Many chroniclers' propagandistic agendas had to do with affairs far removed from any theatre of crusading warfare. The memory of the First

Crusade became only more popular with time; the success of the crusade became increasingly more astounding when contrasted to the failures of the vast majority of subsequent expeditions. Well into the modern era, it greatly increased a family's prestige to have an ancestor who distinguished himself during the course of the enterprise.

In his chronicle of the First Crusade, Robert the Monk strove to enhance the lacklustre performance of crusader Hugh of Vermandois, younger brother of King Philip I of France, on the crusade; his goal was to promote Capetian monarchy.[57] Slightly later, a dynastic history of the lords of Amboise, the *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, celebrated the steadfastness of a crusading ancestor, Hugh of Chaumot-sur-Loire. The chronicle contrasted Hugh's courage with the cowardice of Count Stephen of Blois, who deserted during a particularly difficult moment. Although the chronicle was narrating the past, it was primarily addressing the troubling present: it was written when the new Count of Blois held the new lord of Amboise and his sons captive.[58]

No less than individual families, cities (especially Italian ones) outdid each other in making a claim that their citizens were heroes of the First Crusade. Caffaro, for instance, was just the first in the line of chroniclers who celebrated the achievements of their fellow Genoese on the First Crusade. In late thirteenth century, Jacobus da Voragine conflated several factual episodes to claim, erroneously, that the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 was only possible thanks to a Genoese fleet of forty galleys (in fact, there were just two galleys that were dismantled to provide crusaders with timber for siege engines).[59]

It is worth noting that the disproportionate attention that a particular chronicle allotted to particular leaders or contingents is not necessarily due to the desire to celebrate them. A chronicler was almost always best acquainted with crusaders from his home region. Also, he was often under pressure to include stories about local crusaders, since his audience was often local as well. This appears to be the case of Albert of Aachen, whose chronicle of the First Crusade pays a good deal of attention to Godfrey of Bouillon and his followers, but does not go out of the way to celebrate them.[60]

One of the reasons why the present chapter has placed so much emphasis on the chronicles of the First Crusade is not only because they were the most numerous, but also because they have received the most attention in recent scholarship. Although some narratives of other crusading enterprises have also come under close scrutiny, considerable gaps remain. Crusader chronicles are crucial for understanding the meaning and impact of crusades;

they are also rich resources for the study of medieval historiography more generally.

NOTES

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2

MARIANNE AILES

The *Chanson de geste*

'Pagans are wrong and Christians are right'.[1] It is easy to take this bald affirmation of absolute values uttered in the oldest extant *chanson de geste*, the *Chanson de Roland*, as an encapsulation of the general attitude taken in this genre to the religious 'Other'.[2] The *chanson de geste* genre is particularly associated with the crusades, and war between Christian and non-Christian lies at the very heart of many of its narratives. However, while religious conflict is certainly normalised here, the attitude to the religious Other in the genre as a whole is not always one of such stark binary opposition. This chapter will nuance this understanding, examining the various approaches to the Muslim enemy in the *chanson de geste*.

The *chansons de geste* narrative poems (sometimes known in English as Old French Epic), which vary in length from under 1,000 lines to over 30,000, flourished from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. The genre can be identified both formally and thematically. It used a particular form of versification, that of *laisses*, strophes of irregular length constructed on a single rhyme or assonance.[3] The poems were disseminated orally,[4] probably (as the name of the genre suggests) sung, at least in the twelfth century.[5] This performativity is reflected in their characteristic discourse with repeated formulae and dramatic expression, using extensive direct discourse and showing, rather than describing, emotions.[6] Thematically this was a politically engaged genre, exploring through its narratives contemporary concerns: the relationship between lord and vassal, and the conflict and contact between Christian and Muslim in various geographical theatres. While many *chansons de geste* would address only one or other of these concerns, a number brought the two thematic strands together: conflict and tension between Christians assuredly affected the Christian conflict with the religious Other.

The enemy in these texts is almost always the 'Saracen', a term not unique to the *chanson de geste* or imaginative literature: it could encompass diverse peoples and represented a literary construct of the Muslim.[7] In

the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, when the *chanson de geste* as a written genre was developing, knowledge of Islam was, even among the well-informed, very limited. The confusion of 'Saracen' with 'pagan' and the representation of the religion which we find in the earliest texts, would, however, prove remarkably long-lived.

The majority of *chansons de geste* focusing on religious conflict locate that conflict not in the Holy Land but in Europe, and it is with these texts which depict Christendom itself under threat that we will begin, before turning our attention to the much smaller group of texts which depict conflict in the region known as Outremer, a general name for all the crusader states.

Crusading in Europe

Fighting for the faith in the Iberian Peninsula was, from an early date, treated as equivalent to going to the Holy Land, and conflict in both Spain and Italy is at the heart of those *chansons de geste* which might be considered canonical. *Chanson de geste* studies have, indeed, been dominated by the study of the earliest known text of the genre, cited at the opening of this chapter, the masterpiece *La Chanson de Roland*, a mythologised account of the defeat of Charlemagne's rearguard at Roncevaux as they returned from Spain in 778. While the earliest manuscript of the *Roland* dates from around the middle of the twelfth century, the poem itself is thought to have been composed around the end of the eleventh century, coinciding with the First Crusade;[8] the ethos of the text echoes the preaching of that time. The *Roland* is in many ways not typical of the genre, but its influence in critical discourse and importance in European traditions make it a suitable place to begin.

The blunt pronouncement, 'the pagans are wrong and the Christians are right', is uttered by the Christian Roland twice, in slightly different forms (l. 1015, l. 1212). From the point of view of any Christian believer the statement is undoubtedly true, and the perspective of the text would affirm this. Historically, the great emperor had undertaken his campaign in Spain to support a Muslim ally but this was transformed in the poem into a crusade, the narrative conflating events of the ninth century with the Christian desire to retake Spain more than three centuries later.[9] This characteristic of narratives centred on Charlemagne projects the crusading conflicts of the twelfth century back in time, enhancing the sense that this is an ontological conflict transcending the immediate, and presenting a reading of the past which places the present within a larger narrative. The poem opens with Charlemagne having conquered all of Spain apart from the city of Saragossa, held by the Saracen leader Marsile who sends a false message of submission

in order to persuade Charlemagne to leave his land. Charlemagne, after some consideration – and requesting hostages to guarantee Marsile's good faith – accepts the offer and sets out to return to Aachen. Marsile then attacks the Christian rearguard, led by Charlemagne's nephew Roland, slaughtering all. As the Christians prepare for the battle they are addressed by Archbishop Turpin in a clear articulation of the crusading indulgence:

> Confess your sins and pray to God for mercy.
> I will absolve you to save your souls.
> If you die you will be holy martyrs:
> You will have places in highest heaven.
>
> (ll. 1132–4)

Striking here is the accuracy of the theological underpinning: to earn the remission of sins it was not enough to fight; this had to be preceded by repentance; Turpin gives as a penance striking the enemy.

The narrative thus outlined seems to reinforce binary opposition between the two religious groups as the treacherous Saracens wipe out the noble Christians. The Saracens in the *Chanson de Roland* have indeed been considered ontologically evil; many have names beginning with the prefix 'Mal-', leaving no room for doubt.[10] However, the understanding that 'Christians are right but pagans are wrong' does not carry with it an expectation that Christians are always good. Marsile was only able to defeat the rearguard because the Christian plans were betrayed by one of their own, Ganelon, Roland's stepfather. We find also that as a Christian can be evil, so do the Saracens have the potential to be good or noble, though this potential may never be fully realised.[11] As Sharon Kinoshita has noted regarding the possibility of Saracen conversion, 'imperceptibly, the demarcation between Christian and Pagan begins to seem less intransigent, more insecure'.[12] Blancadrin, the ambassador who takes Marsile's false message of submission to Charlemagne and who will later lead Ganelon to Marsile, is described as 'one of the wisest pagans' (l. 24) and Marsile's lord, Baligant, is explicitly one who would have been noble 'if only he were a Christian' (l. 3164). There is, it seems, good and bad on both sides.

The Saracen religion is a distorted mirror image of Christianity: how else could the unknown Other be construed but in terms of what is already known? The very aspects of Christianity which, misunderstood, would be unacceptable to Islam, were at the core of this misrepresentation of the religion of the Saracens: the Christian Trinity, one God in three persons, is paralleled by three gods honoured by the Saracens; Christian statues of the saints were echoed in the Saracen idols torn down by the Christians in

the dramatic dénouement when, under Charlemagne, who had returned to avenge the massacre of his rearguard, the Christians finally take Saragossa.

Kinoshita notes that 'Charlemagne seeks less to win converts to his faith than to extend the territorial limits of Latin Christendom', reflecting the aims articulated in the early chronicles;[13] however, the resolution of the conflict could only be one of a submission by the Saracens that is expected to include conversion. In the *Roland* the conflict is not just about possession of the land, taking it under Christian control, but about conversion of the people. There are, moreover, no qualms about how this might be enforced:

> [...] his bishops bless the waters,
> lead pagans to the baptismal font.
> If there is any one now who resists Charles,
> he has him captured or burned or killed.
> (ll. 3667–70)

While, as noted, the *Chanson de Roland* is in some ways atypical of the genre, in these aspects it sets a tone which we find in many *chansons de geste*. The construct of the pagan idol-worshiping Saracen was, moreover, one which persisted. This concern with conversion is also to be found in a large number of *chansons de geste* though the conversion of individual, named Saracens is presented in a way that is very different from the mass (forced) conversions of the *Chanson de Roland*. In the *Chanson de Roland*, only Marsile's widow Bramimonde is converted 'by love' (l. 3674), a conversion which John Stranges has suggested intrudes into the binary opposition, a reading in line with Kinoshita's understanding of the whole text.[14]

Along with the desire to see noble Saracens converted, there is a sense in many texts that if conversion is refused then the only option is the annihilation of the Saracen Other. This is seen most dramatically in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, a text which, in its extant form, betrays clear evidence of having undergone a measure of *remaniement*.[15] The narrative is set in the time of Charlemagne's son Louis, and again the action takes place in Spain, on the borders of France, with France itself under threat and the legendary hero, Guillaume d'Orange, setting out to reclaim land from the Saracens. Guillaume injures the enemy leader Deramé badly, but not fatally, cutting off his leg at the thigh (ll. 1925–6). Guillaume's nephew Gui, a novice warrior repeatedly referred to as speaking wisely, then finishes the job off, killing the injured man. His uncle responds with some anger in a way which would seem utterly consonant with his status and reputation as a man of high ideals:

> You bloody brat, how dare you lay hands on a disabled man? You'll be reproached for it in noble courts. (ll. 1965–7)

Nevertheless, Gui has the final word:

> If he didn't have feet to walk on he had eyes to see with and balls to breed more children. (ll. 1969–71)

For Gui, no Saracen should be allowed to live – displaying a ruthlessness abhorrent to modern readers. Guillaume's protests suggest that not all medieval readers and listeners would have approved either. The poet, however, makes it clear, in Guillaume's inability to repost, that it is the younger man's belief in the absolute rightness of his cause that is to be commended. This early text, then, reinforces our preconception of the genre as one where the Saracen Other is to be either obliterated or converted, for here too there are Saracens who are converted, including Guillaume's wife, Guibourc, and her unconventional brother, Rainouart.

The *Chanson de Guillaume* (c. 1140), like the *Roland*, dates from an early period in the development of the genre. While *chansons de geste* about Guillaume are widespread it is difficult to gauge the popularity of this, the oldest extant poem centred on this hero. Indeed, given the way texts were reworked, translated and adapted, over, sometimes, hundreds of years, it may be more appropriate to think in terms of popular narratives than popular texts.

A later *chanson de geste* called *Fierabras*, like the *Roland*, survives in several manuscripts and two distinct redactions, and was also translated into several languages. This narrative was predicated on the issue of conversion: the text as it has come down to us is the tale of a converted Saracen prince, Fierabras. Like the *Roland*, and Guillaume, *Fierabras* is set in Spain. However, the prologue recounts an attack on Rome when Fierabras had sacked St Peter's and stolen precious Passion relics; there is evidence that an older version of the narrative was set in Italy. Composed at the very end of the twelfth century,[16] in a different crusading climate, the extant poem develops the idea of the noble Saracen. While the Christians had suffered something of an impasse in Outremer at the end of the Third Crusade, this was not without the creation of heroic figures on both sides: both Richard and Saladin became legendary king-heroes even during their own lifetimes.[17] In the *Roland*, Baligant 'would have been noble' had he only converted, but Fierabras is shown to behave in a noble and chivalrous fashion while still a Saracen, despite his role in the sack of Rome, perhaps to pave the way for his conversion. The idea that a Saracen could behave with at least as much probity and nobility as a Christian presented challenges; the creation of a noble Saracen who converted presents as one way to deal with this anxiety.

Fierabras includes another notable convert, Fierabras's beautiful and feisty sister Floripas, who converts for love of Gui de Bourgogne, one of

the Christian knights. She is doubly 'Other', both female and Saracen, her actual baptism delayed until late in the poem, allowing the poet to depict her engaged in activities which would be far from the ideal of Christian womanhood: not only does she betray her own lineage by converting, she actively supports Charlemagne's peers, who have been taken prisoner by her father, brains their gaoler, defenestrates her governess, and threatens Gui de Bourgogne into accepting betrothal to her. She is probably the most violent of the popular 'type' of the *belle sarrasine*,[18] while Guibourc in the *Chanson de Guillaume* is the most assimilated to Christian society.[19]

All this arguably reinforces the binary opposition of good Christians and bad Saracens. However, as in the *Chanson de Roland* the Christians are not all paragons of loyalty. In this text, unusually, Ganelon is presented as an honourable and loyal supporter of Charlemagne,[20] but other members of his lineage propose abandoning Charlemagne when he is trapped between the fortifications of the city of Mautrible. On the other side, Saracens might be alien but they are human and capable of family feeling. There is awareness in the text that the desired conversion of the individual Saracen brings with it a necessary betrayal of one's own side, often of one's own family. The Emir Balan, father of Floripas and Fierabras, is distraught at the idea of his daughter being converted. Towards the end of the poem the dilemma of the converted Saracen is shown very dramatically as Fierabras pleads with his father to convert at the same time as his sister is urging Charlemagne to get on with it and execute him. There is no narrator's intervention, but the contrast between the siblings is telling. Balan himself embodies intransigence; he spits in the font and strikes the Archbishop Turpin who wants to baptise him, forcing Fierabras to accept the inevitable and making his capitulation palatable without being impious in seeking the death of his own father.

The narrative of *Fierabras* emphasises that power comes from two sources: military and spiritual. The trigger for the narrative was the theft of the relics from Rome; the other major narrative strand is the imprisonment of the peers by Balan. Charlemagne's efforts are to recover both the relics, source of spiritual power and authority, and the peers, his closest advisors and as such the source of his military and power.

Also associated with the period of the Third Crusade, possibly indeed composed in Italy itself, is the *Chanson d'Aspremont*.[21] Here we see a friendship develop between Naimes, one of Charlemagne's wisest peers, and the Saracen messenger, another Balan. The dilemma raised by conversion is clearly articulated by a Saracen who behaves with great chivalry. Naimon makes a gift of a cross to Balan, who responds: 'My fine lord Naimon, I do not wish to hide anything from you. I can see how things will end, but

I cannot at this time abandon my lord who raised me, who made me a king and gave me arms'.[22] There is a profound tragedy in the fact that loyalty to his lord, a value highly prized by the Christians, prevents him from conversion and saving his soul. Though sympathy is aroused, the same poem also clearly articulates the fear of Islam: when Charlemagne is interrogating Balan about the Saracen leader's intentions, Balan iterates several times that Agoland's intention is to destroy Christianity and crown his son in Rome.[23]

Already in these late twelfth-century *chansons de geste* one can detect a note of respect for the noble Saracen. In most *chansons de geste* this does not translate into clemency or a suggestion that the defeated Saracen who does not convert can be allowed to live; indeed, as we witnessed in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, the contrary is normally the case. There are, however, a few *chansons de geste* which develop the respect shown to Saracens, even affection as seen between Naimes and Balan. The most surprising example is perhaps the early thirteenth-century text *La Chevalerie Ogier* in which Karaheu, a Saracen defeated in combat by Ogier le Danois, is allowed to go free, with Charlemagne's blessing, and supplied with provisions;[24] moreover, Karaheu's beloved defies the convention of the *belle sarrasine*; not succumbing to the charms of the French warriors, she accompanies Karaheu.[25]

The good and honourable Saracen Other is also used to underline the unacceptable behaviour of Christians. This is depicted most dramatically, not in a *chanson de geste* but in a related text, the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, where the Saracen Agoland, on the eve of his baptism, is shocked by the way paupers are treated at Charlemagne's court and changes his mind about being baptised. The motif, taken from the Pseudo-Turpin, is developed in the thirteenth-century *Anseïs de Carthage*, where it is Marsile who refuses baptism having seen the treatment of the poor men. A similar lesson is at least implied in those *chansons de geste* which show a victimised or vulnerable Christian fleeing the West and taking refuge at the court of a Saracen, for example in the now fragmentary *chanson de geste Mainet*, where the young Charlemagne himself takes refuge at a Saracen court after the murder of his father.[26]

Even in later texts, composed when there was greater knowledge of the religion of Muslims, the enemy remains a construct of Islam; improved understanding did not find its way into the narratives of the *chanson de geste*. In the fourteenth-century Franco-Italian *Entrée en Espagne*,[27] Roland, serving effectively as a mercenary, accompanies his Saracen master into a temple where idols of the Saracen trinity of gods are worshipped. This does not mean complete ignorance on the part of everyone who composed a

chanson de geste or all who listened to them; rather it suggests that these aspects of the construct of the Saracen religion, misrepresentations which also found their way into chronicle accounts, were so powerful in the medieval imagination that they became essential to the narration.

In the texts considered here, in which the theatre of war is Europe, the conflict can be readily seen as a defensive war. The historical events behind the narratives lay in the more distant past, but the conflict was clearly presented as one between a Saracen aggressor and a threatened Christendom. That Charlemagne's wars in Spain were not straightforward wars of conversion is a fact lost in the mythologised narratives. The wars in Italy may contain distant reminiscences of attacks from the sixth to the ninth centuries,[28] but they could also contain a message of encouragement for support to a beleaguered pope, calling for a crusade to defend his own rights in the thirteenth.[29] Admittedly in some texts, notably narratives of Guillaume d'Orange, the hero may also be seen to be carving out a fief for himself, but these 'aggressive' wars are in Spain, and an expedition to Spain was specifically considered to be the penitential equivalent of crusading in Outremer.

The *Chansons de geste* and Crusading in Outremer

The best-known *chansons de geste* deal with largely defensive wars in Spain and Italy, wars analogous to the great expeditions to the East. When the heroes of canonical texts set in the time of Charlemagne or Louis undertake penitential pilgrimage it is more often to Rome than to Jerusalem. There is, however, a distinct group of texts which take the theatre of war to those regions we associate most with crusading, the countries of the Middle East. Dealing with the relatively recent past, the oldest texts of this 'Crusade Cycle' relate the events of the First Crusade. While the later texts become more fantastical, the original core display characteristics of both chronicle and *chanson de geste*. Before considering the Saracen Other in these texts it is necessary to summarise their complex development.

There seems to have been a quasi-historical kernel formed of three texts: the *Chanson d'Antioche*, relating the taking of Antioch in 1098, the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, which parallels the *Antioche*, and, bridging the gap between them, the *Chanson des Chétifs*.[30] The Antioche gives a more or less historical narrative of the First Crusade, apparently drawing on chronicle sources of the First Crusade, though including elements which owe more to *chanson de geste* tradition.[31] The *Jérusalem* is a fictional account of the taking of Jerusalem constructed largely in such a way as to parallel the *Antioche*. A fourth text was added to this cycle, *La Chrétienté Corduban*, which recounts the conversion of the Saracen Corduban, an event prepared

for by his contact with the Christian prisoners of *Les Chétifs*, demonstrating continuity of theme with the 'Carolingian' epics. Later accretions to the cycle, developing the narrative chronologically backwards to the lineage of Godfrey of Bouillon, became ever more fantastical: for example the folk tale of the *enfants cygnes* is attached to the historical branches by turning Elias, the 'Chevalier au Cygne', into an ancestor of Godfrey of Bouillon.[32]

Considerably reworked versions from the fourteenth century are sometimes referred to as the Second Crusade Cycle.[33] The narratives extended forwards to the time of the Third Crusade, though only a late prose redaction of what may have been a verse *Saladin* survives.[34] Outside the Crusade Cycle there is another narrative in *chanson de geste* form which also covers the events of the First Crusade: only part of this text, variously known as the *Estoire d'Antioche*, the *Siège d'Antioche*, and the *Chanson de la première croisade*, has been edited.[35]

In some of these *chansons de geste* set in Outremer there seems to be greater awareness that the Saracens are not just a single race and, equally, that there may be a Christian Other, such as the Armenians in the *Estoire d'Antioche*. Again, not all Saracens are represented negatively. Historically the fall of Antioch came about due to a traitor, probably an Armenian Christian, though this is unclear.[36] In the *Chanson d'Antioche* the traitor becomes a Saracen, a very human family man seeking conversion. This contrasts with the *Destruction de Rome*, the post-written prequel to *Fierabras*, where the Roman who opens the gates of Rome to the Saracens is considered so base that the noble Saracen Fierabras simply beheads him.

As with the Carolingian *chansons de geste*, several of the admirable Saracens are clearly presented as noble to presage future conversion.[37] However, the Crusade Cycle also has examples of noble Saracens who do not convert or whose conversion is delayed. The *Chanson des Chétifs* follows the (fictional) fate of captives taken at the (real) battle of Civetot. They are held by the Saracen Corduban; having led the Saracen army to defeat at Antioche, Corduban is out of favour with the Sultan of Persia, whose son, entrusted to Corduban, had been killed at Antioche. In the *Chétifs* it is the prisoners who support the vulnerable Corduban, with Richard of Caumont defending his honour in a judicial duel. By the end of the *Chétifs* the Saracen is not yet converted but he is on excellent terms with the *chétifs* who are set free and rejoin the crusaders.[38] Corduban converts in the later *Chrétienté Corduban*, but he is, in the *Chétifs*, held back by family considerations. Edgington and Sweetenham comment that 'his main concern is what his mother will say';[39] this could more generously be described as a demonstration of the awareness we have seen elsewhere that conversion brought with it disloyalty, and loyalty was the primary secular virtue in the *chanson*

de geste. Never converted in the tradition is the exceptional Cornumarant who 'dies a Muslim, fighting against the Christians, yet … is presented as an extremely attractive personality'.[40] The Christians are so impressed by him that Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, has his body cut open to reveal a heart of extraordinary dimensions, a trait he shares with the rebellious baron Raoul de Cambrai in a *chanson de geste* which deals with the consequences of a king who acts unjustly.[41] Both *chansons de geste* thus demonstrate rather graphically that those who are in the right do not have a monopoly on righteousness and nobility.

The *chansons de geste* as crusading propaganda or potential recruitment tool is more clearly articulated in some of the Crusade Cycle poems. The *Chanson d'Antioche* makes an explicit appeal in its extensive prologue, evoking the concept of avenging Christ (a concept also briefly evoked in *Fierabras*):

> Christians should take the sign of the Cross for His sake and seek revenge on the descendants of Antichrist.[42]
>
> Our Lord asks you to go to Jerusalem to kill and confound the wicked pagans who refuse to believe in God and adore His works or pay heed to His commandments. He asks you to help liberate His Cross and Sepulchre; to smash and destroy Mohammed and Tervagant, melt down their images and offer them to Him, to restore the holy churches and minsters … If anyone willingly allows his body to be broken for God, Jesus King of Glory will not forget him.[43]

We see here a fusion of the appeals found in chronicles giving accounts of the Urban II's sermon calling the First Crusade, with a rhetoric of liberation, and the construct of Islam with idols and multiple gods, as found in the earliest *chansons de geste*. The later Crusade Cycle texts also seem to serve a similar purpose. As Margaret Jubb asserts in her discussion of the Continuations, 'by recalling the triumphs of the past, there was no doubt an intention to inspire unity and strength in the future'.[44] She goes on to note a critical consensus that these texts 'were intended to stir up dwindling enthusiasm for further crusade activity … at time when there was much real or projected crusade activity'.[45]

These narratives which begin with the actual historical expeditions show the power also of the mythology. The Crusade Cycles develop in a way which was very similar to the development of other cycles, writing 'preludes' to the oldest texts as well as sequels, weaving together the historical and the fantastical. Like the texts set in the West, there is no doubt that for these poets the Christian cause is right and the Saracens wrong but this need not mean that all Christians are good and all Saracens bad.

Conclusion

Whatever the theatre of war, both the rewards of crusading, spiritual and temporal, and its costs are depicted. The defeat of the Saracen may lead to conversion and does lead to an extension of Christendom. In *Fierabras*, Charlemagne, having agreed first to the marriage between Floripas and Gui de Bourgogne, then makes Gui king of Balan's realm, with Fierabras holding half the country under Gui. Guillaume d'Orange, after the taking of Orange in the *Prise d'Orange*, ends up both marrying his *belle sarrasine* Orable who takes the baptismal name Guibourc, and ruling over the lands which had belonged to her former (Saracen) husband. To take the land and restore Christian faith in it went together in the *chanson de geste*; even Karaheu in the *Chevalerie Ogier* must leave the land to the Christians. At the end of texts set in Europe, the leaders are united in the defence of Christendom, often under the rule of Charlemagne. At the same time the costs of fighting these wars are not ignored: the *Chanson d'Antioche* most famously records an incident in which crusaders (in this case explicitly the Tafurs) are so desperate that they resort to cannibalism; in the *Chanson de Roland* Roland dies, along with the rest of the rearguard; Guillaume loses several nephews in the *Chanson de Guillaume*, including one of his wife's nephews who reneges before his death; one of the peers is killed in *Fierabras*.

We have noted how the idea of crusading as an act of penance is explicitly articulated in the *Chanson de Roland*. None of these texts presenting a more ambivalent image than we might expect of the religious Other in any way challenges the underlying ethos of the crusades. Even in those later texts where Christians make alliances with Saracens for pragmatic reasons, there is no questioning the absolute rightness of the Christian faith, nor would we expect to find such a thing in a medieval text. There is in these texts plenty of implicit criticism of divisions within Christendom, of vassals who initially refuse to fight for their lord in the defence of Christendom, and of kings who do not give their vassals appropriate support or reward. Similar criticisms of divisions among Christians are prevalent in the chronicles, sometimes directly linked to the *chansons de geste*; for example in Ambroise's *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, a chronicle of the Third Crusade, the author criticises those on the Third Crusade for their divisions, comparing them with the (mythologised) First Crusaders, and with Charlemagne's campaign against Agoland recounted in Aspremont.[46]

The *chansons de geste* have sometimes been treated as crusading propaganda, and this may be the case for some, and is explicitly so in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, but many are as concerned with the unity of Christendom as with the nature of the enemy. They neither offer a straightforwardly glorious

perspective on crusading nor do they provide a univocal or straightforward image of the Saracen.

NOTES

1 *The Song of Roland*, trans Joseph J. Duggan and Annalee C. Rejhon, Turnhout, Brepols, 2012, l.1015, see also l.1212, 'We are right but these wretches are wrong'; for the edition see Ian Short (ed.), '*La Chanson de Roland*, Part I, The Oxford Version', in Joseph J. Duggan (gen. ed.), *La Chanson de Roland, The Song of Roland: The French Corpus*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005.
2 On the absolute values of the *Song of Roland* see my study, Marianne Ailes, *The Song of Roland: On Absolutes and Relative Values*, Lampeter, Edwin Mellen Press, 2002, 5–21.
3 On the *laisse* see Catherine Jones, *An Introduction to the chansons de geste*, University Press of Florida, 2014, 10–17; François Suard, *La Chanson de geste*, Que sais-je?, Paris, PUF, 1993, 10–17; Dominique Boutet, *La Chanson de geste*, Paris, PUF, 1993, 77–86.
4 On the debate over whether the poems were orally composed see W.G. van Emden, '"La Bataille est aduree endementres": traditionalism and individualism in *chanson de geste* studies', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 13 (1969), 3–26; Jones, *An Introduction*, 3–6.
5 Suard, *La Chanson de geste*, 12–13.
6 On the discourse of the *chanson de geste* see Jones, *An Introduction*, 16–19; Suard, *La Chanson de geste*, 29–39; Boutet, *La Chanson de geste*, 86–98.
7 Lynn Tarte Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, New York, Routledge, 1964, 8–9; Paul Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, Aix-en-Provence, Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1982, 1–32; on the use of 'Saracen' and 'pagan' to designate the Muslims opponents in charters around the time of the First Crusade see Nicholas Morton, 'Encountering the Turks: The First Crusaders' Foreknowledge of the their Enemy; Some Preliminary Findings', in Simon John and Nicholas Morton (eds.), *Crusading and warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2014, 47–68.
8 Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 23; this contains the text often referred to as 'the' *Chanson de Roland*; other manuscripts contain a *remanié* version referred to as the *Rhymed Roland*. On the date of the text see W.G. van Emden, *La Chanson de Roland*, London, Grant & Cutler, 1995, 10–11; on the date of the manuscript see Short, 'The Oxford version', I/14–I/20; all line references relate to this edition.
9 On Charlemagne's Spanish campaign see Roger Collins, *Charlemagne*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1998, 65–8, 73–5.
10 G. Brault, *The Song of Roland: An Analytical Edition*, 2 vols., University Park Pennsylvania, Penn State University Press, 1978, I:108–10.
11 Ailes, *The Song of Roland*, 69–74.
12 Sharon Kinoshita, '"Pagans are wrong and Christians are right": Alterity, Gender and Nation in the *Chanson de Roland*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), 79–111, 84.
13 Kinoshita, '"Pagans are wrong"', 86.

14 John Stranges, 'The Significance of Bramimonde's Conversion in the *Song of Roland*', *Romance Notes*, 16 (1974), 190–5 ; also Hans-Erich Keller, 'La Conversion de Bramimonde', *Olifant*, I (1973), 3–22; G. Brault, '"*Truvet li unt num de Juliane*": sur le rôle de Bramimonde dans *La Chanson de Roland*', *Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à Pierre Le Gentil*, Paris, S.E.D.E.S., 1973, 134–49.
15 Philip E. Bennett (ed.), *La Chanson de Guillaume*, London, Grant & Cutler, 2000, 10–27. All translations are from this edition.
16 M. J. Ailes, 'The Date of *Fierabras*', *Olifant*, 19 (1994–5), 25–71; Marc Le Person (ed.), *Fierabras*, Paris, Champion, 2003, 139–44.
17 Margaret Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography*, Lampeter, Edwin Mellen, 2000; John Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart*, 2nd edition, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989, 7–8.
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21 F. Suard (ed.), *Aspremont*, Paris, Champion, 2008, 11.
22 Suard (ed.), *Aspremont*, ll.2279–83 (my translation).
23 *Ibid*., ll. 311–26.
24 Mario Eusebi (ed.), *La Chevalerie Ogier*, Milan, Cisalpino, 1963.
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31 *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. Susan B. Edginton and Carol Sweetenham, Crusade Texts in Translation 22, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011, 15–26.
32 For a summary of the narratives see Jones, *An Introduction*, 45–9; see also Emanuel Mickel, 'Writing the Record: The Old French Crusade Cycle', in Philip E. Bennett, Anne Elizabeth Cobby, and Jane E. Everson (eds.), *Epic and Crusade*, Edinburgh, British Rencesvals Publications, 2006, 1–17.

33 See Robert F. Cook and Larry S. Crist, *Le Deuxième Cycle de la croisade*, Geneva, Droz, 1972, 9.
34 On the *Jérusalem* Continuations see Margaret Jubb, 'Saladin in the Continuations of the *Chanson de Jérusalem*', in Bennet *et al*. (eds.), *Epic and Crusade*, 19–37.
35 Jennifer Gabel de Aguirre (ed.), *La Chanson de la Première Croisade en ancien français d'après Baudri de Bourgueil: Edition et Analyse Lexicale*, Heidelberg, Universitäetsverlag Winter, 2015.
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42 Edgington and Sweetenham, *The Chanson d'Antioche*, 104, Laisse 4.
43 Edgington and Sweetenham, *The Chanson d'Antioche*, 105, Laisse 6.
44 Jubb, 'Saladin in the Continuations', 21.
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3

LINDA PATERSON

The Troubadours and Their Lyrics

Who Were the Troubadours?

The troubadours were poet-musicians composing in Occitan, the language of what is now the South of France, as opposed to the Old French language of their northern French counterparts, the *trouvères*. The troubadours' most highly regarded lyric genre was the *canso* or love song, where not only the words but, normally, the tune was an original creation. Other genres such as the *sirventes* (usually a moralising or political song) and the *tenso* (a dialogue song) would often be modelled on the melody and versification of a *canso*. The troubadours invented highly complex and varied verse forms, involving upwards of 900 different metrical structures.[1] They also developed a range of different poetic styles, such as *trobar clus*, a 'closed' style involving layers of meaning or difficulty of comprehension, *trobar leu*, a 'light' and accessible style, *trobar ric* or *car* which sought out rare words and rhymes, *trobar plan* or smooth style, *trobar prim* involving tightly chiselled sounds and images, and the *trobar brau* which exploited harsh, rough sounds, particularly (though not exclusively) suited to poetry of invective.[2]

Although scholars have attempted to define a genre of 'crusade song' this has never proved satisfactory, and from the point of view of historians it is more interesting to draw on a broad corpus of texts referring to the crusades and providing evidence of what their authors and audiences thought of crusading.[3] Their earliest comments date from 1137 at the time of the Spanish Reconquista (the Christian reconquest of the Muslims) and on through the Second to the Eighth Crusades, including the crusade of Frederick II and the Albigensian wars, to the Aragonese Crusade of 1285. The latest date from the 1330s.

Exhortation

Many songs exhort their listeners to engage with 'l'afar Dieu' ('God's business') in the Holy Land. The earliest focus on the 'via de Hispania' rather than the Holy Land. In 1137–8, the troubadour Marcabru, who had no love for the French, contrasts the heroic efforts of King Alfonso VII of Castile-Leon against the Saracens in Spain with the feebleness of the French (*BdT* 293.22), who do nothing there or elsewhere for God's cause. After the fall of Edessa to Zengi (the ruler of Mosul and Aleppo) in 1144, when Louis VII of France enlisted St Bernard to preach the Second Crusade, an anonymous Old French song echoes his appeal (RS 1548a). Addressed specifically to knights, it deploys the language of feudal law to illuminate the justice of God's cause, imagining the crusade as a tournament between Hell and Heaven to which God summons all his supporters.

The failure of Louis's crusade prompted one of the most powerful and famous Occitan hortatory songs (*BdT* 293.35), in which Marcabru, scathing about the French enterprise, extols Spain over the Holy Land as a place of spiritual cleansing:

Pax in nomine Domini!
Fez Marcabruns los moz e·l so.
Auiaz qe di:
cum nos a fait per sa dousor
lo seignorius celestiaus,
probet de nos, un lavador
c'anc for outramar no·n fon taus
en de lai enves Josaphat;
e d'aquest de sai vos conort. (vv. 1–9)

(Peace in the name of the Lord! Marcabru made the *vers* and the tune. Hear what he says: how the heavenly Lord in His loving-kindness has created for us, in our vicinity, a washing-place such as never existed before, apart from over there near the valley of Jehosaphat in Outremer; but it is about the one over here that I exhort you.)

Although he calls on all to avenge God the wrongs being done to Him 'both here and over there towards Damascus', he draws a conspicuous contrast between the Spanish and the French, as he lauds Count Raimon Berenguer of Barcelona and the Templars while deriding the French leaders' craven performance.

The mixture of praise and blame here anticipates a typical feature of Occitan songs of exhortation which, unlike French ones, in the vast majority of cases target specific noblemen, named or implied. Troubadours extol those leaders who have distinguished themselves in their eagerness to take

the cross or by their successes in the field, and chide them for their tardiness or disinterest. Richard the Lionheart came under extensive pressure as he delayed his departure on the Third Crusade. As soon as he took the cross, Bertran de Born was quick to praise him for being the first to do so, and roused people to arms (*BdT* 80.30).

Chansons de départie

The Third Crusade saw the most prolific flowering of both Occitan and French lyric responses to crusading. The French ones evolved in a more homogeneous and more class-bound direction than the Occitan ones, as songs of separation or *chansons de départie*. One of the most influential (RS 1125) was composed by Conon de Béthune soon after the fall of Jerusalem in 1191:

> Ahï! Amors, com dure departie
> me convenra faire de la millor
> ki onques fust amee ne servie!
> Diex me ramaint a li par sa douçour,
> si voirement ke m'en part a dolor.
> Las! k'ai je dit? Ja ne m'en part je mie!
> Se li cors va servir Nostre Signor,
> li cuers remaint del tot en sa baillie. (vv. 1–8)

> (Ah, Love, how hard it will be for me to part from the best lady who was ever loved Alas! What have I said? I am not leaving her at all! If my body goes off to serve our Lord, my heart remains entirely in her service.)

Luca Barbieri notes its echoes of themes and motifs typical of papal documents and contemporary preaching: the double reward, spiritual and worldly; the lost heritage; Christ's passion as the highest manifestation of God's love, requiring reciprocation through assistance to the One who died for our salvation; exemption from crusade service accorded to the poor, the old, and the sick; the promise of an indulgence to those who contribute financially to the expedition; dying in order to be reborn; the need to avenge God. He shows how this marks a critical turning point in the history of Old French crusade lyrics, which then come to be dominated by the love element at the expense of political and religious elements.

While Old French *chansons de départie* lament the pain of separation from the beloved, Occitan songs of departure hardly ever conform to this broad model. They may celebrate an imminent crusade, announce departure in a local political context, regret departure from a specific court, emphasise the lovers' fidelity rather than the pain of separation, claim that the

lady has driven the poet overseas, or give thanks for safe landfall. These differences, enhanced by the troubadours' much more varied responses as a whole to crusading, may result from their respective manuscript traditions. Barbieri has shown how the Old French songbooks generally appear to be aristocratic, luxury productions, emphasising an exclusive, monothematic canon of love songs, and making more rigid generic distinctions. Their uniform and exclusive nature probably explains the proliferation of *chansons de départie* where crusading is largely subsumed into, and subordinate to, the theme of love, reflecting the tastes of the songbook compilers and those who commissioned them, though a peripheral manuscript tradition contains texts closer in nature to the Occitan *sirventes*.[4]

Barbieri has also remarked on connections between Conon de Béthune and the troubadour Bertran de Born, but their tone and approach to the crusade are very different. Bertran, this poet of arms as Dante dubbed him, waxes lyrical at the prospect of action (*BdT* 80.30):[5] no elegiac thoughts of separation from his beloved (elsewhere he offers lame excuses for not departing himself), no sorrowful dwelling on the suffering and death of Christ upon the cross, but vigorous anger, justified violence, and a faith inspired by the miracle of the Holy Fire at Jerusalem.

Songs by other troubadours at the time of the Third Crusade reveal differences of tone and persona which highlight the sheer variety of troubadour poetic production and the individuality of its composers. Written after his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1179–80 and before setting out again on the Third Crusade, Giraut de Borneil's first crusading song composed after the loss of Jerusalem (*BdT* 242.41) signals a major shift in public attitude towards the way of life devoted to courtly joy, and the troubadour's concern both to defend that way of life and to adapt to the change. Evidently some were critical of courtly entertainment at a time when the West was awash with calls for penitent soul-searching. The immediate answer for this troubadour – whom Dante dubbed the model poet of rectitude, and who according to his *vida* used to spend the winters teaching 'letters' – is to appeal to scriptural authority and to adopt a preaching mode. Nothing in the scriptures, he declares, rules against the pleasure of song, and he goes on to exhort men to prove their worth in a way that is compatible with, and indeed essential to, the aristocratic way of life, once knightly prowess and even costly display are directed to God's service. Several of his crusade-related songs show him treading a fine line between courtly and religious matters, either distancing himself from courtly life with its customary joys of spring in the face of the leaders' delays and quarrels and 'such great peril' – the Muslim threat – 'being borne as lightly as this' (*BdT* 242.6), or else exploring ways

of making crusading and courtly values mutually compatible. One approach is to draw attention to the art of playful folly which is an essential component of Occitan courtly sociability, while artfully reminding his audience of his serious credentials as a promoter of the crusades (*BdT* 242.18, 242.15, 242.24).

Peire Vidal also composed a song (in 1187–90) which aims for a fusion of courtly love and crusading (*BdT* 364.43), but his strategy diverges from that of the *poeta rectitudinis*. Where Giraut is troubled and defensive, Peire goes on the attack through his uniquely extravagant persona. If the Occitan tradition of entertainment and sociability blends seriousness with folly, as Giraut argues rather solemnly, Peire Vidal takes 'folly' to comical extremes, yet with a serious twist. Beginning with a defiant maintenance of courtly values in the face of 'trouble and anxiety', he postures as a swaggering warrior who, single-handed, can recapture the Holy Sepulchre: 'But I, through tremendous effort, believe I can quickly recover Syria and Damascus and Tiberias from the evil miscreants!' While crusade songs often remind listeners of death in order to impress upon them the need for penitence and God's service, Peire does so to stress the value of speaking and acting well and behaving in a courtly way. There are different kinds of foolishness, he argues, and comical braggadocio is better than the hypocrisy of a ruler who puts on a long face because of the losses in the Levant, but is too avaricious to do anything about them.

It is hard to know in general what effect hortatory songs had on their audiences, beyond reinforcing in their minds the values of the knightly classes. We know of songs which intervened in particular crusading situations and whose outcomes conformed to their aims. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras was deeply disappointed that Baldwin had been elected emperor in 1204 instead of his patron Boniface, and resented Baldwin's delay in honouring his promise to the marquis concerning Thessalonica. The negotiations were difficult, and the emperor's councillors were urging him to break his promise to Boniface. Through a hard-hitting *sirventes* (*BdT* 392.9a) the troubadour lobbies the emperor directly, intervening forcefully in the dispute and attempting to bypass the influence of his privy council. The dispute was apparently settled in Boniface's favour in precisely the way the troubadour advocated.[6] Similarly, when Louis IX was deliberating whether to remain in the Holy Land after his release from captivity, or to sail for home, abandoning the French prisoners in Egypt and the last cities remaining in Christian hands, an anonymous *trouvère* composed a song (RS 1887) to combat the efforts of the 'cowards and flatterers' who were urging him to leave for France. Louis stayed.

Political Polemics

In the South, crusading was intertwined with political polemics. Marcabru's preference for the Spanish *lavador* over the call of the Holy Land was not only the consequence of widespread disillusionment at failure of the Second Crusade. It also reflected his anxiety at the troubadours' loss of their patron William X of Aquitaine (d. 1137), and regional concerns at the transfer of the ancestral lands of the house of Poitou to Capetian control and what the French might represent for the customs of the former independent duchy.

In 1208 Pope Innocent III launched the Albigensian Crusade and in September 1213 the southerners were defeated by Simon de Montfort's army at the battle of Muret. This overlapped with Innocent's crusade encyclical *Quia maior*, issued earlier in 1213 to set the Fifth Crusade in motion. Troubadour song was apparently being recruited to preach a new oriental expedition even before the pope's bull (*BdT* 10.11), and *Quia maior* sparked off several more troubadour crusade songs. Some supported the pope's plans: writing in northern Italy at the court of William Malaspina, Aimeric de Peguilhan urged men to go to the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre under the guidance of 'the constant, wise and good Pope Innocent' (*BdT* 10.11), and at first Pons de Capdoill, a nobleman from the Auvergne, also responded positively, echoing terms of the papal bull:[7]

> Seignor, pois sai nos a trames
> per cardenals e per legatz
> absout cel q'es en loc pausatz
> de saint Peire, cui Dieus promes
> q'en cel et en terra pogues
> solver chascun de sos pechatz,
> qui so non cre, al mieu veiaire,
> fals es e fellos e trichaire
> e de nostra lei mescrezens. (*BdT* 375.8, 13–21)

> (Lords, since St Peter's representative, to whom God promised that in heaven and on earth he might absolve each one of his sins, has sent us an indulgence here through cardinals and legates, it seems to me that whoever does not believe this is false and treacherous and deceitful and one who misbelieves our religion.)

But as Francesco Annunziata has observed, a second song by this troubadour (*BdT* 375.22), probably composed shortly afterwards, is very different in tone. While Pons still blames the lay rulers for staying in the West 'making war for silver and for land', he turns against the clergy, specifically attacking them for losing all interest in the oriental expedition, they being more

concerned to disinherit Christians at home, and stifle criticism by accusing people of sinfulness – perhaps even heresy.

> Cui que sabon las leise a las leissos
> e·ls bes e·ls mals no·i volon jes anar;
> q'ie·n sai de tals c'amon deseretar
> mais crestians que sarrazis fellos;
> e si·n parlatz diran vos q'etz pechaire;
> e cill qe·is fant dels autres predicaire
> deurion si predicar eissamen,
> mas cobeitatz tol a clercia·l sen. (33–40)

> (Those who are experts in the Scriptures and lessons do not want to go there (to the Holy Land) at all; for I know some that prefer to disinherit Christians rather than the evil Saracens; and if you speak of it they will say you are sinful; but those who act like preachers to others should preach to themselves in the same way, but greed makes the clergy lose their senses.)[8]

Annunziata explains this shift of viewpoint in relation to events of the Albigensian Crusade and the circumstances of the troubadour's personal and territorial conflicts with regional bishops, which may well have particularly rankled as he saw the pope's oriental project becoming obscured by the crusade against heresy in lands not far from his own, under the aegis of overbearing and self-serving prelates.

If Pons in the Auvergne decries the interference of the Albigensian crusade with the proper pursuit of God's business, in the Languedoc, troubadours' resentment at the French invasion most deeply colours their view of any Eastern expedition. Tomier and Palaizi thunder their outrage at Innocent III's decision, at the Lateran council of 1215, to deprive Raymond VI of Toulouse of his lands (*BdT* 442.2). While they focus on the situation of Toulouse, its allies and defectors, they also accuse the French and the clergy of indifference to the Holy Land and obstruction of the routes into Syria. A decade later, as Raymond VII of Toulouse struggles to recover his former lands, troubadours voice their outrage at what they see as a perversion of the true purpose of crusading, and contrast the call of the Holy Land with the 'false crusade' of the French against Toulouse. As Louis VIII marches down the Rhône valley at the head of a powerful army of crusaders on 30 January 1226, accompanied by the papal legate Romain de Saint-Ange, the same troubadours respond to their imminent arrival at Avignon's city walls. Their rousing song of resistance, characterised by its insistent refrain and an energetic rhythm alternating short lines with masculine and feminine rhymes, highlights the bitterness felt in the region at the corruption of the very notion of crusade (*BdT* 442.1).

Tals cuia venir
ab falsa croisada,
qe·l n'er a fozir
sens fog d'albergada,
car ab ben ferir
venz hom leu maisnada.
Segur estem, seignors,
e ferm de ric socors. (vv. 1–24)

(Some think they can come here on a false crusade, but they will have to flee before lighting a camp fire, for it is easy to defeat troops by striking well. Let us stand firm, lords, sure of powerful aid.)

The false crusade, they proclaim, is waged at the expense of the Holy Land and the relief of Damietta in Egypt: the prelates, more interested in a life of ease and the acquisition of wealth, are leading men astray, since these 'crusaders' are destined to die without a valid absolution.

Papal-imperial Conflict

These events also interweave with the outbreak of hostilities in mid-March 1227 between the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, and Pope Gregory IX, who excommunicated him. Raymond VII's supporters hoped that the emperor could be persuaded to intervene against the French in the defence of his rights in the kingdom of Arles, and their hatred of the clergy naturally merged with the anticlerical, Ghibelline stance of Frederick's own followers. Peire Cardenal inveighs against clerical ambitions and hypocrisy (*BdT* 335.31), targeting churchmen who concentrate their efforts on bringing down the emperor and taking over supreme command of the Western world – the Saracens have nothing to fear from them!

Rei et emperador,
duc, comte e comtor
e cavallier ab lor
solon lo mon regir;
eras vei possezir
ha clercs la seingnoria,
ab tolre et ab trair
et ab ypocrizia,
ab forssa et ab prezic,
e tenon s'a fastic
qui tot non lor ho gic,
et er fait, cant que tric.

Ia non aion paor

alcaicx ni almassor
qe abat ni prior
los anon envazir
ni lors terras sazir,
que afans lor seria,
mas sai son en consir
del mon comsi lor sia,
ni com en Frederic
gitesson de l'abric;
pero tals l'aramic
c'anc fort no s'en iauzic.

(Kings and emperors, dukes, counts, comtors and knights along with them used to rule the world; now I see the clergy holding power through robbery and betrayal, through hypocrisy, through violence and through preaching; they are disgruntled if people refuse to yield them everything, and this will be done, however they delay [the inevitable].

Let alcaydes and almansors have no fear that abbots or priors will go and attack them or seize their lands, for this would be too much trouble for them, while here they are giving thought to how the world might be theirs, and how they might dislodge lord Frederick from his refuge [the kingdom of Sicily]; yet one man did challenge him and was none too happy about it afterwards.)

However, pro-imperial lyric propaganda in the South was not entirely confined to the troubadours. Present at the siege of Avignon in the French army was the trouvère Thibaut of Champagne, who left the siege without the king's permission and formed a group rebellious to the French Crown. This group included Raymond VII of Toulouse, with whom he had ties of kinship and friendship. One of his songs (RS 273) implicitly blames both clerics and barons for their violence in the Midi and inveighs against them for the 'deficient and slow' repayment of God's suffering for mankind: the clergy, loving uproar and disputes, 'have abandoned sermons to wage war and kill people'; 'the heavy guilt lies largely with the barons, who grieve when anyone wants to give proof of valour'; while religious hypocrites 'kill all the good people, who are God's children, through their false words'.[9]

The most violently outspoken of the Ghibelline troubadours was Guillem Figueira. His long, hammering invective against Rome (*BdT* 217.2) flays a power-hungry Rome both for its crusade against Christians and for its attempts to sabotage the emperor's rightful crusade to the Holy Land. It is no surprise if people stray into error, he declares, for Rome has pitched the world into war and turmoil, betrayed its supporters and fleeced its flock; it is Rome's fault that Damietta was lost through its devious deals and stupidity; Rome has misled the barons of France through a false indulgence,

promising them paradise for crusading against Christians and thereby steering the soldiers towards the torments of hell; it has done little to damage the Saracens yet plunged Greeks and Latins into carnage; and it has been responsible for closing to many the gates of salvation.

The defence of Rome was taken up by the *trobairitz* (woman troubadour) Gormonda from the staunchly orthodox town of Montpellier (*BdT* 177.1). Her rhetoric is demonstrative, consisting of praise and blame as well as some violent threats. Guillem, she proclaims, is a 'rabid madman who broadcasts so many false words', and she invokes God's assistance in making him 'die under the same law and with the same punishment by which a heretic dies'. Her response to crusading is that heretics are worse than Saracens, 'and more false-hearted': far from supporting Frederick's efforts in the East, she declares that those seeking salvation 'should at once take the cross in order to crush and wreck the false heretics'.

Charles of Anjou

Once the French king's brother Charles of Anjou became ruler of Provence he was the target of vitriolic Ghibelline attacks. Austorc de Segret, aiming to whip up anti-French sentiment in Gascony and urge Edward I of England to wage war on the French, approached this indirectly via the failure of Louis IX's crusade and his death at Tunis on 25 August 1270 (*BdT* 41.1). The song first presents itself as a sort of *devinalh* or riddle, where spiritual confusion and the king's death are attributed to the Muslim triumph at the behest of some unknown force. The fault is soon attributed to the ineffective new French king, Philip III, and above all his powerful uncle, Charles, who instead of opposing the Muslims, has not only left them in peace but has actually become their captain and leader! With his military capability, the troubadour declares, Charles could easily have done something to defend Christendom; but because of him it has suffered the worst failure in its history.

When Charles's French army was fighting against Frederick's grandson Conradin, Calega Panzan, a Genoese cloth merchant, composed a ferocious *sirventes* in which he vengefully anticipates the imminent downfall of the papal party, which has neglected the Holy Land to wage a crusade in Italy (*BdT* 107.1). Highlighting the Angevin's ruthlessness, he reminds him that when he was in captivity in Egypt he enjoyed better treatment at the hands of the Turks than have the Christian victims of his own atrocities at home, and accuses Charles of favouring his Muslim subjects at the expense of Christians:

Grecs ni Latis non pot ab lui trobar
trega ni paz, mas li can descrezen
de Nucheira l'agron a lur talen,
e podon be 'Bafumet!' aut cridar;
q'ar jes de Dieu ni de Sancta Maria
no·i a mostier, qe non o suffriria
l'apostolis q'a mes en gran balanz
la fe de Dieu – don sui meravillianz. (vv. 57–64)

(Neither Greek nor Latin can find truce or peace with him, but the heathen dogs of Luchera had it exactly to their liking, and they can happily cry 'Mahomet!' at the tops of their voices for now there is no monastery of God or St Mary there, as the pope, who has placed the faith of God in great jeopardy, would not allow it – which astounds me.)

Songs attacking Charles of Anjou led to some draconian efforts at public censorship. Shortly after the execution of Conradin, the authorities in Perugia issued a statute, dated 20 December 1268, ordaining that anyone who composed, recited or sang a song against King Charles, or spoke any insult towards him, should be fined a hundred pounds of denarii; and if he could not pay this fine, his tongue was to be cut out, and this would be done to any arguing in favour of Conradin. But the papal-imperial war was an extreme situation, and does not mean that troubadours were generally unable to criticise their patrons. Bertran de Born had goaded Richard the Lionheart over his delayed departure on the Third Crusade (*BdT* 80.7). Bertran d'Alamanon, a high-level bureaucrat in Charles of Anjou's employ who certainly accepted the Angevin's right to rule the county, did not want him sailing off to the Holy Land while there were so many urgent matters at home to contend with. He does not hesitate to criticise publicly, diplomatically but firmly, the count's handling of his Provençal affairs, suggesting that the reason Charles is planning to accompany Louis IX to Syria is because he is depressed about the situation at home (*BdT* 76.9). Nor is he afraid to speak out concerning Charles's unfavourable reception by his new subjects. Voicing the anxieties of those who have worked to support his acquisition of Provence, he emphasises that if the count cannot stamp his authority on the region, he can hardly expect to be a successful crusader (*BdT* 76.15). These two *sirventes* show acute concern over local, regional events which seem to the new count's supporters to be much more urgent than his brother's crusading venture.

Apostasy and Burlesque

The failure of Louis IX's two crusades provoked in the South some serious questioning of God's purposes. News of the king's defeat at Mansurah met

with an astonishing *cri du coeur* from the troubadour Austorc d'Aorlhac (*BdT* 40.1), who expressed amazement at God's baffling intentions. How could God have let this happen? What a poor reward for his commitment to His cause! He is to blame for giving the Turks the power to destroy such a glorious army, indeed the whole of Christendom; so it makes sense for us to stop believing in Him and worship pagan gods! Such apparent blasphemy is explicable as an expression of outrage and incomprehension, and also as a kind of assimilation of God to feudal overlord, not uncommon in the troubadours:[10] if God does not treat his followers properly, they are entitled to switch their allegiance. In fact this seems to reflect a common idea that was circulating at the time.[11] Ricaut Bonomel, a Templar knight in the East, also borders on blasphemy as he sends out an impassioned cry for help against the Mamluk sultan Baibars in 1265 (*BdT* 439.1). Faced with this desperate situation, he contemplates either suicide or apostasy, for the triumph of Islam seems to be what God wants:

Ir'e dolors s'es e mon cor assiza,
si c'ab un pauc no m'ausi demanes,
o meta jus la cros c'avia preza,
a la honor d'aqel q'en cros fo mes;
car crotz ni lei no·m val ni guia
contrals fels turcx cui Dieu maldia;
anz es semblan, en so c'om pot vezer,
c'al dan de nos los vol Deus mantener.

Doncs ben es fols qi a Turcs mou conteza,
pois Jhesu Crist non los contrasta res,
q'il an vencut e venzon, de qe·m peza,
Francs e Tartres, Erminis e Perses,
e nos venzon sai chascun dia,
car Dieus dorm qe veillar solia,
e Bafometz obra de son poder
e·n fai obrar lo Melicadefer. (vv. 1–8, 17–24)

(Sorrow and grief have lodged themselves in my heart so that I am tempted to kill myself forthwith, or lay down the cross I had taken up in the honour of Him who was set upon the Cross; for neither cross nor religion are any help or guide to me against the evil Turks, God curse them! Rather it seems, from the way things appear, that God wishes to support them at our expense.

So anyone who puts up a fight against the Turks is mad, because Jesus Christ opposes them with nothing; for they have defeated, and are [still] defeating – to my grief – Franks and Tartars, Armenians and Persians, and us they defeat every day, as God who used to keep watch is sleeping, and Bafomet works away with all his power and uses it to make the Melicadefer (Baibars) do his work.)

Troubadours sometimes responded to this pessimistic crusading climate through comedy and burlesque. As Pope Gregory X attempted to revive the crusading spirit at the Council of Lyon in 1274, Daspol composed a fictive *tenso* with God (*BdT* 206.4), in which he mockingly condemned rulers and religious orders for ignoring the plight of Palestine. The most interesting part of the dialogue is the comic role he ascribes to the Divinity. Daspol is not the first to have invented a humorous dialogue with God,[12] but here he provocatively argues against His ordering of the world: in His omnipotence, He could so easily arrange matters so that there would be no need for a crusade and the suffering it entails. 'God' tries to defend Himself by resorting to one of the standard thirteenth-century preaching commonplaces, a reminder of His sacrifice on the cross to redeem mankind. But the troubadour scoffs at this facile appeal to the emotions. God is omnipotent, is He not? So why not simply make the Saracens recognise the error of their beliefs? Why does He make His own subjects pay for the sins of others and land them in a bloodbath?

There was in fact a long tradition of the burlesque treatment of crusading themes, developed particularly from the early thirteenth century. Shortly after 1212, Guillem Ademar (*BdT* 202.9) assures Spanish kings of total forgiveness of sins if they take all the jealous husbands off to fight the Muslims. In a debate poem composed at some time between 1219 and 1245, Count Raimon Berenguer of Provence asks his debating partner Arnaut whether, in order to help ladies on board a becalmed ship reach the Holy Land or return home, he is prepared to emit a great fart (*BdT* 184.1). It is unclear whether the count of Provence is participating in person or whether part of the joke lies in attributing scatological comments to him by means of a fictive speaker. The tone of both these pieces may represent a light-hearted rather than derisive treatment of crusading themes, though by the time Charles of Anjou is count of Provence and Sordel is harking back to the topic of maritime winds (*BdT* 437.18), it has become noticeably more cynical.[13]

Personal Experiences of Crusading

Some troubadours and *trouvères* went on crusade to the East themselves, or took part in the Reconquista, and some mention personal experiences. Songs by Peire Bremon lo Tort composed in the 1170s afford a glimpse of life in the crusader states: the troubadour was working in the administration of an unidentified Philip of Montreal in Syria and was having to return to the West with him, leaving a lady behind (*BdT* 331 and 332). The troubadour Peirol gives thanks to God for letting him visit the holy places,

combining elation at his religious and travel experiences with personal reminiscences including interaction with local Muslims (*BdT* 366.28). The *trouvère* Philippe de Novare recounts his personal tribulations in 1229–30 during the war for the control of Cyprus, while also graphically evoking the hardships inflicted on ordinary soldiers caught up in it (RS 164, 184a, 190a, 1990a, Verse Letter). Giraut de Borneil refers to a miserable sea crossing to the Holy Land because of criticisms of his songs as frivolous nonsense (*BdT* 242.30). A song by Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, holed up in Thessalonica while his patron Boniface of Montferrat is away campaigning against the Wallacho-Bulgarians, reads like a self-conscious effort to make the best of a grim situation. It ends with the bitter, sad evocation of the 'perjured, treacherous pilgrims': armed crusaders who fled from the harbour of Constantinople, panic-stricken by the news of the disaster at Adrianople, abandoning the almost defenceless capital and sailing for home.[14]

NOTES

1 I. Frank, *Répertoire métrique de la poésie des troubadours*, 2 vols., Paris, Champion, 1953–1957.
2 L. Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1975.
3 For full online critical editions of these texts together with translations and further information about the historical circumstances of their production see http://warwick.ac.uk/crusadelyrics, the 'Lyric Responses to the Crusades in Medieval France and Occitania' website.
4 L. Barbieri, 'Le canzoni di crociata e il canone lirico oitanico', *Medioevi*, 1 (2015), 45–74, especially 1–2 and 9–10, and 'Note sul Liederbuch di Thibaut de Champagne', *Medioevo romanzo*, 23 (1999), 388–416.
5 Steven Botterill (ed.), *Dante, De vulgari eloquentia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996 (repr. 2006), II, 10, 52–3.
6 J. Linskill, *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, The Hague, Mouton, 1964, 229 and 230, n. 7–10.
7 L. and J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: Idea and Reality 1095–1274*, Documents of Medieval History 4, London, Edward Arnold, 1981, 121.
8 www.rialto.unina.it/PoChapt/375.8/premessaidt375.8,22(Annunziata).htm.
9 L. Barbieri, 'Un sirventese religioso di Thibaut de Champagne: *Diex est ausis conme li pellicans* (RS 273)', *Cultura Neolatina*, 73 (2013), 301–46. On Thibaut, see also Anthony Bale's comments in Chapter 6.
10 Compare Marcabru, *BdT* 293, 55–9 and Daspol, *BdT* 206.4 *passim*.
11 Salimbene de Adam, *Chronica*, O. Holder-Egger (ed.) *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Scriptorum qui vernacula lingua usi*, vol. 32, 444–5, trans. J. L. Baird, G. Baglivi, and J. R. Kane, *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 40, Binghamton NY, M.R.T.S., 1986, 453.

12 See the Monk of Montaudon's *Autra vetz fuy a parlamen* (*BdT* 305.7), M. Routledge (ed.), *Les Poésies du moine de Montaudon*, Montpellier, Centre des études occitanes de l'Université Paul Valéry XIV, 1977, 113.
13 See also *BdT* 189.5 and 437.18.
14 Linskill, 252, n. 89–92 and Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Costantinople*, E. Faral (ed.), 2 vols., Paris, Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au moyen âge, 1938–9, II, §§ 376–9 and 189, n.1; English translation by M. R. B. Shaw, *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Classics, 1963 (repr. 1970), 125–66.

4

CONNOR WILSON

Rome, Byzantium, and the Idea of Holy War

Modern scholarship has made clear the difficulties of defining a distinct practice of crusading in its early centuries.[1] Likewise the relationship between crusading and older notions of holy war presents a thorny problem. Nevertheless, it is impossible to dismiss the impact of the call to crusade made by Pope Urban II at Clermont in November 1095. The First Crusade provided a model of holy war that would be drawn upon repeatedly throughout the Middle Ages by those who wrote about the movement, whether apologists or critics.[2] Moreover, the First Crusade was a turning point in the history of theories of Christian warfare.[3] This chapter will examine the idea of holy war and its development between c. 1000 and c. 1200, in regards to Rome and Byzantium, and discuss the role of Christian ideologies of warfare as part of the context of the early crusades. Beginning with the activities of the eleventh-century reforming papacy, which significantly developed Catholic holy war in both theory and practice, the example of Rome will then be contrasted with that of Byzantium. Through Byzantine military manuals this chapter will explore how the relationship between warfare and faith was understood in the context of a Christian empire whose wars were by their very nature just, yet increasingly fought by foreigners. Urban II's call to crusade, the culmination of the reform papacy's new ideology of warfare, and the Byzantine appeal for aid, will then be examined, and through the writings of those who preached and chronicled crusading it will be illustrated how the 'embryonic' idea of fighting for Christ would take shape over the course of the twelfth century,[4] down to the ascendancy of Innocent III (1198–1216), whose pontificate would transform the crusading movement.

Rome

Despite inheriting temporal authority in Rome following the collapse of Roman imperial authority, early medieval popes were often forced to appeal

to, or would become entangled with, external secular powers.[5] While the Roman See around the turn of the eleventh century was often in the hands of the Roman nobility, German emperors from Otto I (962–73) took a more active role in installing popes, and by the reign of Henry III (1039–56) the Holy See was controlled by a band of enthusiastic reformers who would transform not only the papacy but Western Christendom.[6]

Just as the Church in Rome had been mired in secular influence, so had the Church in the localities fallen under the sway of regional noble families following the collapse of Carolingian authority. Amidst the multitude of attempts at a renewal of Christian life in the tenth century, which would inspire ecclesiastical reform, the foundation of the abbey of Cluny has been considered preeminent. Established by William I, Duke of Aquitaine (875–918) in 910, the foundation charter was carefully worded in order to protect the abbey against lay and local ecclesiastical authority, in an attempt to halt the abusive practices which plagued so many religious houses.[7] The desire of religious institutions for freedom from external influence was reflected in the desire of the papal reformers to stress the rights, liberties, and freedoms of the Church. Crucially, this notion of freedom would be central to Urban II's preaching when he called upon the faithful to 'liberate' the Eastern Church.[8]

In order to establish its authority and synonymy with the universal Church, the Church of Rome frequently drew upon past council canons, the writings of Church Fathers, and pronouncements of early medieval popes.[9] Moreover, it relied heavily on certain Petrine texts which emphasised the pope's temporal and spiritual jurisdiction as the heir of St Peter. Papal reform was thus enacted using the power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven (Matthew 16:19). Reform was far from straightforward however, and the papacy increasingly found itself in opposition to those whose influence over the Church it sought to abolish. Even as general reforms focused on raising standards for clergymen, the most significant issue from a political perspective concerned lay influence of senior ecclesiastical appointments, specifically the lay investiture (i.e. the formal conference and approval of offices) of bishops. The Lateran Synod of 1059 saw the creation of new rules regarding the election of the papal office, effectively wresting free appointments from the hands of laymen, yet the authority of the popes over appointments in Germany and northern Italy was another matter. Resistance by the German emperors, as part of the wider struggle for authority between the Church and several European monarchies known as the Investiture Contest, was resolute; the matter of investiture impacted not only the ability of emperors to govern their territories effectively through senior ecclesiastics, but also raised far-reaching questions about how Christian society should have been ordered.[10]

While the reform movement had a tremendous degree of ideological backing and many significant triumphs, the papacy was often on the defensive. An increasing need for popes to enforce the 'right order' of Christendom saw the Roman See rely evermore on temporal power, backed by spiritual justification.[11] In an attempt to check the overly powerful Normans of southern Italy, Pope Leo IX (1049–54) offered remission of sins and absolution of penance to the German soldiers who would take up arms against them. While such measures were not sufficient to prevent Leo's subsequent defeat and capture at the Battle of Civitate (1053), they nevertheless marked a crucial step in the ecclesiastical direction of violence. Subsequently, a reversal in papal policy would see the Normans become papal allies following the Treaty of Melfi in 1059, with the Holy See claiming the right to invest Norman leaders with territory in return for military support.[12]

The increased involvement of the papacy in the late eleventh century in conflicts across the Mediterranean and beyond naturally raised concerns regarding the moral status of fighting men, as well as their place in wider Christian society. These questions came to the fore increasingly throughout the 1070s, as the political struggles of the Investiture Contest turned into outright warfare. The pontificate of Gregory VII (1073–85) in particular saw significant development in ideas of holy war, and these ideas would be increasingly put into practice from this time.[13]

Much confusion has arisen over how exactly Gregory's spiritual claims regarding these issues were formulated, in part because a single coherent formation of his ideology was never set down. It would be left to partisan scholars such as Anselm of Lucca to provide such formulations. Drawing particularly upon the writings of Augustine, Anselm championed holy war of a kind which would be commanded by God, instigated by Church authorities and, when employed properly, was an expression of Christian love.[14] While Anselm's ideas may have attracted little attention at the time, what is clear is that the laymen whom Gregory and subsequent popes recruited to fight for papal aims were endowed with a particular kind of sanctity. Gregory's writings framed active military service to the papacy as service to St Peter,[15] as *militia sancti Petri* (the Militia of St Peter), or as *milites Christi* (soldiers or knights of Christ), a term derived from 2 Timothy 2:3, 'Labour as a good soldier of Jesus Christ'. Gregory broadly identified two kinds of arms bearers, the first being worldly, self-interested, and sinful, the other penitent, legally justified, loyal to a rightful lord and concerned with defending those who could not defend themselves, notably churchmen and their property.[16]

This contrasting of an essentially unreformed class of arms-bearing 'robber knights' against faithful *milites Christi* would be employed again

and again by churchmen, including Urban II.[17] In the twelfth century, this idea would be central to the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux's promotion of the newly formed Order of the Temple.[18] From humble origins as protectors of pilgrims in the Holy Land the Knights Templar gained significant property in Syria and Palestine, as well as in the West, over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries which saw them become indispensable to the defence of the Latin East.

Of great appeal to the classes of arms bearers whom Gregory VII was keen to win over was the idea, promoted repeatedly in the 1070s and 1080s by Church authorities, that a knight could not practise his profession without committing sin, but that penitents could legitimately commit violence if guided by truly religious men.[19] This notion was applied not only to those who fought for papal interest in Italy, but was utilised in other theatres of conflict in which popes took an active interest in this period, particularly in Spain and Sicily.[20] Outside the context of violence against Christians many campaigns, such as the 1087 Italian attack on Mahdia, then controlled by the Zirids of Ifriqiya, received a great deal of ideological support with accounts of the event emphasising its spiritual righteousness.[21]

However, for all the impact of the reform movement and the tremendous developments in the direction of warriors by the Church made in the late eleventh century, not all of Gregory VII's plans came to fruition. Most notable was Gregory's apparent ambition, expressed in 1074, to personally lead an army to aid the embattled Byzantine Empire, and push on into the Levant in order to reach the Holy Sepulchre.[22] Much of Urban's appeal of 1095 can be found in this plan, including an awareness of the state of the Greek empire and a serious desire to repair relations between Rome and Constantinople that had been left in disarray following the Great Schism of 1054. By the time of Gregory's death in 1085 the ambitions of papal dominance over Christendom which reformers had sought must have appeared to be on the brink of collapse given the sustained opposition from emperor Henry IV and the increasing unruliness of the Normans.[23] Gregory VII had ended his reign as pontiff in flight from Rome, and Urban II would begin his pontificate in exile, being able to reoccupy Rome only in 1094.[24]

That so soon after this Urban was arranging another expedition of Western Christians to the East, which was no less a challenge to the emperor's traditional role of military leadership than the planned 1074 expedition, is notable for displaying the inseparability of the struggles of Church reform and the development of holy war in this period. Additionally, it serves to reinforce the impact of Clermont. The career of one prominent nobleman, Godfrey of Bouillon (c. 1060–c. 1100), who took the cross in 1096, displays

the subsequent shift in the political and religious landscape of Christendom. While he likely took part in the attack on Rome which had driven Gregory from his See in 1084, and had struggled for years against Gregory's partisans in order to secure his inheritance, Godfrey not only answered Urban's call but would, seemingly without prior intention, remain in the 'liberated' East, eventually dying with the title Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.[25]

Byzantium

Given the significance of two separate and opposed powers, papal and imperial, or for reformers, spiritual and temporal, to the development of holy war in the West in the eleventh century, it follows that in the absence of such a struggle the Byzantine world would look very differently upon such matters. While the popes and the German emperors vied for men's loyalty, in the Eastern Roman Empire there was no great questioning of the relationship between secular and temporal authority. Rather than being a world of Church and state, Byzantine society was a Christian society defined by membership of the orthodox faith and by citizenship within a state whose ultimate head was the divinely instituted Byzantine emperor.[26]

Incumbent upon the emperor however was a duty to protect the faith, and despite its losses to the Arabs in the seventh century, Constantinople remained capable of projecting power into the Levant in support of its Christian communities. Following a wave of persecution of Christians in Palestine, which saw the destruction of hundreds of churches, including the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by 1014, a treaty between Byzantium and the Fatimids in 1027 allowed for the rebuilding of the Holy Sepulchre and the restoration of a large amount of property. This already strained harmony in the Eastern Mediterranean, supported by Constantinople and Cairo, would by the end of the century be irreparably broken.[27]

Despite ongoing conflict against non-believers, there never developed a sense that Byzantine soldiers who died serving in the just wars of the empire were martyrs.[28] Although supported by the Orthodox Church, who for centuries by 1000 had provided specifically legislated pastoral care for soldiers,[29] warfare remained a secular activity and was never associated with penance or conducted by religious votaries. Even the foundational writings of Western 'just war' theories, in particular Augustine, would have had little relevance in a world that had not lost Roman authority.[30]

However, a long tradition of military manuals provides a glimpse into the importance of notions of morality and spirituality in warfare in the Byzantine world. Moreover, the domination of Vegetius's *Epitome of Military Science* (*De re militari*) in the West meant that this dynamic

Byzantine tradition of writing was unique in Christendom.[31] This corpus of military treatises saw few new additions beyond the *Taktika* of Nickephorous Ouranos (c. 1000) but stretched as far back as the fourth century BC. The essential conservatism of the genre ensured the influence of authors such as the first-century platonic philosopher Onasander. His popular work *Strategikos*, more so than other texts that would come after it, stressed the importance of rhetoric in military command,[32] and emphasised the importance of convincing soldiers of the justice of their cause, and the support of the gods:

> The causes of war, I believe, should be marshalled with the greatest care; it should be evident to all that one fights on the side of justice. For then the gods also, kindly disposed, become comrades in arms to the soldiers, and men are more eager to take their stand against the foe.[33]

In this regard Onasander, and students of his work, recognised a much wider phenomenon whereby armies could attempt to ensure military victory through religious preparations both on and off campaign.[34] A similar focus on military rhetoric was to be found in the work of Syrianus Magister, most likely writing in the middle of the ninth century,[35] whose treatise would resonate particularly well in the tenth century when Byzantine power reasserted itself in the face of successful Islamic powers.[36] Its influence can be seen in two harangues composed by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) for the Byzantine Arab wars of the 950s.[37] Similarly, Vegetius recommended that commanders speak to their men before battle in order to raise morale[38] and many examples of such pre-battle speeches are recorded, albeit in often highly rhetorical and self-consciously literary form, in a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century narrative chronicles.[39] Although possessing recurring elements, these speeches were careful rhetorical inventions by narrative authors and can often provide insight into the texts within which they are found, contemporary perceptions of warfare as well as the relationship between the practice of fighting and notions of justice, martial virtues, and religiosity.

Furthermore, Constantine's predecessor Leo VI (866–912) in producing his own military manuals that sought to introduce contemporary knowledge to the tradition added information on Arabs to the records of foreign peoples, and specifically identified their religious zeal as a factor in their success. Leo's call for the Byzantine armies to match their enemies' level of religiosity both on and off the battlefield promoted an image of the emperor and his armies as the defenders of Christendom and was of notable significance to subsequent manuals.[40]

However, while Byzantine soldiers were often cast as the defenders of the Church, who were supposed to sing prayers before battle,[41] from Constantine X (1059–67) fewer and fewer actual Byzantine soldiers fought the legally justified, largely defensive, wars of their empire. Constantine's reign saw a significant reduction in the empire's citizen army, ensuring a greater reliance in the late eleventh century on large groups of mercenaries. It would be with an army made up largely of mercenaries, significant numbers of whom fled the campaign or refused to commit to battle at the crucial moment, that Romanos IV Diogenes attempted to halt the Seljuk advance but suffered a decisive defeat at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071.[42]

In that same year, the final Italian Byzantine stronghold, the port of Bari, fell to Norman adventurers and it was against these Normans that Alexius I Comnenus would struggle throughout his reign.[43] It is revealing of the Byzantine reliance on foreigners to soldier for them that despite the wrongs suffered at the hands of Hauteville opportunists the earliest narrative account of the First Crusade makes clear that relatives of those same men were still to be found high up in the emperor's service in the 1090s.[44] Moreover, in appealing to Rome for aid in 1095, Alexius likely hoped specifically for a force of elite mercenary knights who could be deployed as shock troops against the Turks of Anatolia.[45]

Clermont and Beyond

In the *casus belli* of the imperilled Eastern Church presented to him by Byzantine envoys at the Council of Piacenza in March 1095, along with the legacy of holy war left by Gregory VII, Urban had all that was required to call the crusade. Like the wars directed by Gregory, and in line with the Augustinian notion of a just war, Urban's preaching emphasised its worthy goals of liberation as well as the rightful intentions of participants.[46] According to the canons of the council it was for the love of God and their neighbours, not for fame or wealth, that participants were to travel East under arms.[47] While the phenomenon of materialistically opportunistic crusaders, typified by men like Bohemond of Taranto, is undeniable, those who preached and wrote about the First Crusade continually characterised the expedition as a venture of poverty. Moreover, when men set out the events of the First Crusade in narrative histories, the rhetorical offers of wealth made by leaders of the expedition at climactic moments are presented as the God-given rewards of courageous service and almost always contrasted with the superior spiritual rewards which those fighting

for Christ were expected to receive. Robert of Reims, whose narrative of the First Crusade survives in a greater number of manuscripts than any other contemporary account,[48] details an exhortation by the papal legate Adhemar of Le Puy, of the kind recommended by Vegetius, wherein the crusaders are told:

> The man who dies here will be happier than he who lives because he will receive eternal joy in place of his mortal life. Conversely the man who survives will triumph over his enemies in victory; he will gain their riches and not suffer any need … the Lord has brought the riches of the Orient right up to you.[49]

That the first crusaders were, as described by another Benedictine writer Guibert of Nogent (c. 1055–1124), men and women who were 'not driven by a desire for empty fame, or money or to widen borders',[50] was crucial to the most novel aspect of Urban's war, its nature as a penitential pilgrimage, as it was only through pure and devotional intentions that the pilgrimage would act as sufficient penance for the remission of sins.[51]

It was the alignment of warfare with penitential pilgrimage that set the campaigns of the First Crusade apart from previous holy wars, including those which had involved pilgrimage, such as the Mahdia campaign of 1087, as well as the large-scale pilgrimages of the eleventh century. Unlike the First Crusade, the fighting which took place as part of the Great German pilgrimage of 1064 was an incidental part of the venture, rather than an explicit aspect of it.[52] Moreover, the apparent effectiveness of the combination is evident in the spectacular response to the preaching of the First Crusade. While securing Jerusalem may not have been Urban's main concern, the expedition he called for certainly soon gave Jerusalem pride of place, capitalising on the growing devotion to the city, and more specifically to the Holy Sepulchre in the eleventh century.[53]

Lacking a specific word for crusading, the venture itself was often referred to as the 'road to the Holy Sepulchre'[54] and the importance of the Holy Sepulchre is stressed repeatedly in the earliest accounts of the First Crusade.[55] However, the Holy Sepulchre was only one of several foci of devotion used to emphasise the First Crusade's penitential nature which would subsequently maintain a strong association with crusading. The cross, which in Christian preaching had long been linked with the monastic battle of virtue against vice, served as a powerful symbol for those who were with increasing frequency identified as *milites Christi* or *athletae Christi* (champions or athletes of Christ), which themselves were terms previously used to refer only to spiritual warriors (i.e. monks) and held important connotations of penitential suffering.[56] Moreover, the reception of this emblem was a fulfilment of Christ's injunction 'If

any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me' (Matthew 16:24).[57] The hardship of the actual expedition undoubtedly reinforced the idea of taking up the cross as a physical burden, borne for spiritual benefit, but it also would reinforce notions of its talismanic qualities. In the fierce fighting around Antioch, Bohemond of Taranto is described in one account as being 'protected on all sides by the sign of the Cross'.[58]

That the crusaders were expected to face hardship was central to the indulgence offered by Pope Urban. It was through the self-imposed punishment of the arduous journey that all sin and previous unsatisfactory penances could be counterbalanced. Although there has been debate over Urban's indulgence formula, it was not dissimilar to that granted by Pope Alexander II to Christian warriors in Spain; indeed in 1089 Urban used this indulgence to encourage the defence of Tarragona, the only difference being that its benefit was scaled in line with the less demanding nature of that venture.[59]

These aspects of the preaching of the First Crusade would have had perhaps no long-term influence at all had it not been for the experiences of those who took part in the actual campaigns to the East between 1096 and 1099 and in the success of Jerusalem's capture. The hardship suffered by the crusaders, their dramatic deliverance from the siege of Antioch, as well as the disastrous failure of the 1101 expedition solidified the special status of the 1096–9 campaign.[60] The divinely directed nature of the events was a major theme for many chroniclers who sought to recount the expedition and is exemplified in a speech recorded in Guibert of Nogent's aptly named account *Dei Gesta per Francos (The Deeds of God through the Franks)*, wherein the crusaders are told by one of their own commanders 'it is not you, but Christ who has fought'.[61]

This conception of warfare, and its wide dissemination through crusading accounts and sermons, captured the imagination of those who both practised and wrote about warfare in the twelfth century. The idea of emulating the heroics performed on the First Crusade had a long life, in part bolstered by certain French kinship networks which had developed family traditions of crusading by the end of the first few decades of the century,[62] and saw traditional virtues of good service underpinned by an almost monastic kind of piety. These notions also saw a wider application than crusading expeditions. Count Helias of Maine (c. 1060–1110), who took the cross but did not depart East in 1096 because his land was under threat from King William II of England, defended his county as a crusader wearing his cross.[63] Additionally, around 1154, Aelred, Cistercian abbot of Rievaulx, wrote an account of the Battle of the Standard (1138) which describes a pious confederacy of northern English Barons opposing an invading Scottish army in

the recognisable fashion of holy war. In an extended pre-battle oration, the Anglo-Norman commander Walter Espec tells his soldiers:

> Divine aid is with us; the whole heavenly court will be fighting with us. Michael will be there with the angels, ready to avenge the injury of him whose church they [the Scots] have defiled … More than that I say that Christ himself will take up arms and shield and will rise to our aid.[64]

The First Crusade also set a precedence of disillusionment with the Byzantines, who had been suspicious of the fragmented expedition, and provided only tenuous cooperation following the capture of Nicaea in 1097. The subsequently strained and occasionally hostile relationship between Franks and Greeks would persist throughout the twelfth century.

Following in the footsteps and defending the conquests of the participants of the First Crusade was a central theme of the preaching of the Second Crusade (1147–49), conducted in part by the most influential churchman of the day, Bernard of Clairvaux, and emphasised in the first crusading bull *Quantum praedecessores*.[65] Within the framework of the First Crusade, the failure of the Second Crusade could only be interpreted as the withdrawal of God's favour from the unworthy. The chronicler Henry of Huntingdon contrasted the expedition led by Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, who had 'marched out with great pride' and were laid low by God with the small, humble, yet victorious contingent of Anglo-Normans, Flemish, and German crusaders who in 1147 assisted in the capture of Lisbon.[66] Despite successes in the Iberian Peninsula, which some contemporaries understood as merely one part of a wider campaign against Christendom's enemies, including the pagan Wends of Eastern Europe,[67] the disaster of the Levant campaign was followed by a downturn in interest in crusading which would persist until 1187.

Reacting to the defeat at Hattin in that year suffered by the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the hands of Saladin, the newly appointed Gregory VIII issued an impassioned encyclical emphasising God's anger, lamenting the tragic situation in the East and simultaneously calling for an expedition to save the kingdom, as well as for the repentance of all Christians, whose sin had brought about this great loss:

> Faced by such great distress concerning that land, moreover, we ought to consider not only the sins of its inhabitants but also our own and those of the whole Christian people.[68]

Like *Quantum praedecessores*, this bull had a great impact on contemporary crusade preaching and, from Hattin onwards, preaching centred on the symbol of the cross became increasingly associated with holy war.[69]

The churchman Gerald of Wales (c. 1146–c. 1223), an eyewitness to and author of an account of a tour of Wales conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury Baldwin of Forde in 1188 for the purpose of crusade recruitment, also wrote around the same time an account of the earlier Norman invasion of Ireland[70] which displays the resurgence of ideas concerning spirituality and warfare prompting the events of 1187. In detailing the exploits of a collection of Cambro-Norman mercenaries, several of whom were his close relatives, Gerald stresses repeatedly the importance of good fortune in warfare, as well as how fickle such fortune could be. In a speech delivered by one such kinsman, the Norman soldiers were supposedly told that they had come to Ireland in order 'to make trial of the vicissitudes of Fortune and to test the strength of our valour at the risk of our lives'.[71]

However, in the latter part of his account, which recorded among other events the delegation of Heraclius Patriarch of Jerusalem to Henry II, Gerald questions the notion of fortune altogether.[72] Furthermore, immediately prior to his description of this delegation, Gerald not only claims the death of Henry II's eldest son was God's punishment for the king's sin, whose favour might have been restored had Henry taken the cross, but also in remarking on the condition of the Irish Church, Gerald espouses a conception of spiritual warfare which would not have been unfamiliar to the papal reformers of a century earlier:

> Just as the flesh is always at war with the spirit, so those who serve the flesh oppose those who serve the spirit, and the minions of Caesar wage war with unceasing malevolence against the soldiers of Christ.[73]

Towards the end of the twelfth century, although the laity increasingly came to the practice on their own terms, for example many notable participants of the Third Crusade (1189–92) took the cross at tournaments,[74] the idea of crusading remained concerned with devotion and salvation. That crusading meant hardship was well understood, and the sanctity of the Third Crusade was confirmed through miracles and assurances of martyrdom.[75] Although the expedition failed to recapture Jerusalem, the Latin presence in the Holy Land was secured. Moreover, developments during the preparations for the Third Crusade in terms of preaching, recruitment, and finance would be further built upon as crusading entered a new phase under Innocent III. It would be during his pontificate that crusading indulgences would be reformulated and crusading presented as a universal moral obligation for Christians. This would prompt a proliferation in literary sermons, many of which would become models for those who would preach the cross throughout the thirteenth century and beyond. This wave of crusading enthusiasm would

however ultimately solidify the division between Rome and Byzantium following the sack of Constantinople in 1204.[76]

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5

HELEN J. NICHOLSON

Women's Writing and Cultural Patronage

Women were widely involved in crusading as leaders and patrons, even though they seldom if ever fought on the battlefield.[1] Some – most famously the Byzantine princess Anna Comnena – wrote about the crusades, and women also acted as patrons of art, architecture, and literature related to the crusades. Women's struggle was invoked by writers on the crusades to epitomise the struggle of Christianity as a whole. This chapter will survey women's contribution to the literature and culture of the crusades, and ask whether it was significant and whether it followed the same pattern as the contributions of men.

Modern readers may be most familiar with women's least direct contribution to the culture of crusading: as the inspiration for literature and legend. So, for example, Thomas of Froidmont wrote an account of the living martyrdom of his elder sister, Margaret of Beverley, who was present in Jerusalem at the time of Saladin's siege of 1187, assisted in the defence of the city, was made a prisoner, ransomed, and eventually returned to Europe.[2] One of St Hildegund of Schönau's fellow novices described her pilgrimage in male disguise to the Holy Land just before the Third Crusade, seeing her disguise as a sign of spiritual strength.[3] But although these women's actions inspired men's spiritual writing, these women did not themselves actively create written or material memorials. Holy women's approval of crusading was cited as evidence both of their piety and of the piety of the undertaking: so Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240) wrote that Marie d'Oignies (d. 1213) wished to die for her faith on crusade, and Peter von Dusburg (d. after 1326) wrote of a German 'woman of holy life' who obtained news of the crusade in Prussia through spiritual means.[4] Female saints formed the focus of crusaders' devotion: the military religious orders, particularly the Teutonic Order, were devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary, while the brothers of the Teutonic Order produced literature on St Hester and St Martina.

Women were also invoked in imaginative secular writing. The thirteenth-century biography of the twelfth-century troubadour Jaufré Rudel claimed

that he was infatuated with a countess of the crusader county of Tripoli, possibly Countess Hodierna, younger sister of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (d. 1161), a politician but not otherwise known as a patron of the arts.[5] Eleanor of Castile (d. 1291), who accompanied her husband Edward of England on his crusade to Acre in 1271–2, became the heroine of one of the legends of the crusade, which claimed that she had sucked the poison from her husband's wound when he was wounded by an assassin. Her great-great-grandmother Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204) became the focus of scandalous stories after her involvement in the Second Crusade alongside her first husband, Louis VII of France; by the early thirteenth century these included a story of an affair with Saladin, which would have been impossible as the future sultan was only around ten years old when Eleanor was in the East.[6] However, although these women's actions might have formed the initial inspiration for these stories, the stories were based on cultural expectations and prejudice, not on female agency.

As well as forming a focus for writing on the crusades, women could encourage such writing: it was usual for noblewomen to patronise literature and poets. Yet patronage might come about through a woman's influence rather than actively carried out by her in person, and the connection between patron and writer could be implicit rather than explicit.[7] For example, the most comprehensive eyewitness chronicler of the Albigensian crusade, Peter of les Vaux-de-Cernay, knew the commander of the crusade forces, Simon de Montfort, and his wife, Alice de Montmorency. He travelled with them, admired them, and described them sympathetically, recounting anecdotes that emphasised the countess's virtuous deeds and support for her husband. Although Alice did not explicitly promote the writing of Peter's history of the crusade, she was clearly supportive of the man himself, and this influenced his writing.[8]

However, women involved in crusading did not necessarily promote literature about the crusades. Although Eleanor of Aquitaine was mentioned by the poet Bernard de Ventadour at the end of one of his works, there is little evidence for her patronage of specific works and the surviving *Chansons de croisade* do not mention Eleanor as a patron.[9] Her daughter Marie of Champagne was patron of the great poet Chrétien de Troyes, but Chrétien's work for Marie makes only very brief allusions to crusading: a reference to knights who had taken crusading vows in *Le Chevalier de la Charette*, and a mention of Nūr al-Dīn in *Yvain*: crusading was part of knightly life but it was not its focus.[10] Gerard d'Amiens named Eleanor of Castile as the source of his Arthurian romance *Escanor*, but this story did not mention the crusades; while at Acre with her husband, Eleanor commissioned a French translation of Vegetius's *De re militari* for him; again, this was not

a crusading text although it was a practical guide to strategy and tactics.[11] Personal or family involvement in crusading did not lead these noblewomen to commission works specifically on the crusades: they patronised literature that celebrated knighthood in general rather than this aspect of it. Likewise, the *Lais* of the poet Marie de France, dedicated to a 'noble king' who was probably King Henry II of England (d. 1189), did not refer specifically to the crusades, although a single reference to the father of the heroine Le Fresne having brought a cloth from Constantinople, 'where he was', suggests an awareness of the proximity of the East.[12]

Women might not be the named patron of a literary work or artefact but nevertheless had a role in influencing its development. For example, in around 1170 one Konrad the Priest composed the *Ruolantes Liet*, a German version of the legend of Roland. His book ends with the statement that a Duke Henry had the original brought from France, where it was written, 'because the noble duchess wished it'. The Duke was probably Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and husband of Matilda of England, daughter of King Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Although set long before the First Crusade, the story of Roland's death at Muslim hands as part of the struggle between Islam and Christianity for control of the Iberian Peninsula has obvious links to crusading. Given Henry II's family connections to the kingdom of Jerusalem (his grandfather, Fulk of Anjou, married Melisende of Jerusalem and became king of Jerusalem in 1131), and Matilda's own interest in literature, it is not surprising that Matilda was involved in commissioning Konrad's work.[13]

Eleanor of Provence, queen of King Henry III, apparently owned a copy of an epic crusading poem. On 17 May 1250, King Henry III sent Henry of the Wardrobe to the New Temple in London to fetch 'for the queen's use' 'a certain large book … written in the French language, in which are contained the deeds of Antioch and of other kings, etc'. – a description which would best fit the *Chanson d'Antioche*.[14] But we do not know whether she commissioned the book herself or received it as a gift. Some nuns also had access to works on the crusades. David Bell's analysis of the books and libraries in medieval English nunneries in the late Middle Ages reveals that three nunneries (Swine, Syon, and Thetford) had the 'revelations' of St Birgitta in English, and one (Swine) in Latin: as will be seen below, these included revelations about crusading in the east Baltic. Barking Abbey had a French account of the death of King Louis IX on crusade. Polsloe had a copy of the Latin history of Charlemagne and Roland, allegedly by Charlemagne's Archbishop Turpin, while Syon had a copy of William of Tripoli's *De statu Saracenorum*, 'on the condition of the Saracens', a description of the Middle East and how the Holy Land could be reconquered.[15] Obviously these lists

are incomplete, as full records do not survive and no records survive for some houses. Nevertheless, clearly some nunneries did obtain texts about the crusades and subjects related to them, even if we have no direct evidence that the nuns then read them.

The examples so far are indirect, implicit, and only suggest female influence or interest. Yet women did write explicitly about the crusades. The best known is now Anna Comnena (d. c. 1153), eldest child of the Byzantine emperor Alexius I Comnenus, whose biography of her father, the *Alexiad*, includes extensive commentary on the First Crusade. Anna explains in her work that it is based on notes made by her husband Nikephoros Bryennios, who died in 1137 before he could complete it. As her husband was involved in some of the military events of the crusade, this gave the work eyewitness authority. Anna herself may have witnessed some of what she describes, such as the arrival of the Western armies at Constantinople and the arrival of Bohemond at her father's court; and she could have consulted others who were directly involved. The work was written four decades after events, and as its primary aim was to praise Alexius it was not an objective record of events. However, it provides a unique interpretation of the First Crusade from the viewpoint of the Byzantine court: a Christian account by a non-Latin Christian, who regarded the Latin Christians as cultural inferiors.

At the end of the Albigensian Crusades the Occitan troubadour Gormonda de Monpelsier sang in support of papal policy in the crusade. Her *sirventes*, or political satire, was probably composed early in 1229, just before the Treaty of Meaux that ended the war. Gormonda wrote in reply to a *sirventes* by Guillem Figueira which attacked the pope (called 'Roma', Rome), accusing the papacy of being the root of all evil, criticising papal policy against King John of England and the Greeks, blaming the papacy for the failure of the Fifth Crusade, and condemning it for promoting the Albigensian Crusades and the killing of Christians. Responding stanza by stanza to Guilhem's song, Gormonda defended the papacy over the Fifth Crusade and the Albigensian Crusades, arguing that it was more important to defeat heretics than Saracens. She criticised the Count of Toulouse, Raymond VII, and condemned the heretics as people without faith, urging her listeners to take up the cross against them – that is, to join the crusade. Comparing Gormonda's song to a scholastic debate, Katherina Städtler has suggested that it was written to be performed to a monastic audience or another religious community, such as the Dominicans.[16]

Gormunda is the only woman troubadour known to have written on the crusades. Anonymous 'crusade' songs presented through a woman's voice were not necessarily composed or even sung by women, although they demonstrate that crusades affected women as well as men.[17]

Much of women's spiritual writing in the later Middle Ages reflects the devotion that inspired the crusades. They focused on Jerusalem, Christ's death and resurrection, and emphasised their suffering while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem without specifically mentioning the crusades, as if the physical battles of the crusade were a distraction from spiritual warfare on sin. When in spring 1176 Count Philip of Flanders approached the visionary Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179) for advice on his forthcoming expedition to the kingdom of Jerusalem, she replied that he should purge his own sinfulness before waging war on the infidel.[18] However, some mystics and holy women threw their spiritual authority behind crusade expeditions to Jerusalem and in the Baltic area. Their authority came not from theological learning but through their visions, sometimes linked to extreme ascetical exercises, and the support of their male priest-confessors who recorded and presented their work.

For example, the visions or spiritual revelations of St Birgitta of Sweden (d. 1373), who came from a noble family and was briefly an advisor to Blanche of Namur, queen of Sweden, included 'about twenty' justifying crusades, but she also criticised the motivation of the crusaders. The crusades in question were two expeditions by King Magnus Eriksson (Magnus IV, d. 1374) to Finland and Russia in 1348–51. Sweden already controlled part of the east Baltic area and Magnus's invasion was prompted by a dispute with the city of Novgorod over borders, but he also proposed to debate doctrinal differences between the Latin and the Russian Orthodox Churches and his campaign included conversions of the peoples he conquered. However, he made no territorial gains. Birgitta's revelations depict these crusades as justified by the need to convert pagans and impose justice on them, providing the minimum of force was used and the aim was to establish peace. Later Birgitta criticised the king's actions on crusade, accusing him of not following the advice given and failing to convert the infidel. In the words of Bridget Morris, 'For Birgitta … the failure of the crusade was a moral condemnation of the king'.[19]

Dorothy of Montau (d. 1394) came from a West Prussian peasant family and became an anchoress at Marienwerder in Prussia after her husband's death. She had read Birgitta's revelations and regarded her as a spiritual model – in addition to Elizabeth of Hungary (d. 1231), of whom more below. Dorothy urged the brothers of the Teutonic Order, rulers of Prussia, to launch crusades to convert the pagan Lithuanians, and recorded visions of the late Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Konrad von Wallenrod (d. 1393) being tortured in hell. Ute Stargardt ascribes her criticism of the grand master to his alleged Wycliffite sympathies and his attempts to prevent Dorothy being enclosed as an anchoress at Marienwerder cathedral. Her

confessor, John of Marienwerder, dean of the cathedral, wrote her *Vita* in Latin and the vernacular and recorded her visions and other compositions, which circulated around Prussia. Despite her criticisms, the Teutonic Order supported John's campaign for Dorothy's canonisation – although this was unsuccessful. Clearly the Order believed that her potential patronage as a saint would be a valuable asset.[20]

The great letter-writer Catherine of Siena (d. 1380) spent several years campaigning for a crusade against the Turks, which she presented as part of a programme of reform which included unifying Christendom, bringing the papacy back to Rome, and converting Muslims. She intended to join the crusade herself and find martyrdom in the East. In 1375 she wrote to Giovanna di Capo 'and her other daughters' (female disciples) in Siena that she had met the ambassador of the queen of Cyprus, who was going to discuss the crusade with the pope, and that 'the affairs of the Crusade are going constantly better and better'. She wrote to the famous military leader Sir John Hawkwood that as a crusade had been called he should no longer wage war against Christians but go to fight the infidels. She wrote urging Pope Gregory XI to press on with his return to Rome and his plans for crusade: he should 'raise the standard of the most holy Cross', which would enable him to win peace in Christendom and turn all war against the infidels. In subsequent letters she continued to urge the pope to proceed swiftly with the crusade, as she believed that it would make all his enemies unite eagerly with him because 'they are ready to give their life for Christ … you will see the wolves become lambs'. She continued to urge the pope to 'raise the standard of the most holy Cross', her metaphor for calling a crusade; and 'minister the Blood of the Lamb to those wretched infidels' – first he should fight them and then convert them to Christ. She pressed King Charles V of France to stop fighting Christians, because his wars had harmed both Christians and infidels by preventing the start of a crusade and the conversion of the infidel. Instead, he should follow in Christ's footsteps by undertaking the crusade. Everywhere she tried to make peace so that a crusade could be launched.[21] But although she was greatly respected for her sanctity, her efforts were in vain. In 1378 the Great Schism put an end to her hopes of Christian unity in a crusade.

It was not only holy women who campaigned for crusades. Women played an important role in recruiting for the crusades, especially among their family networks.[22] They also proposed and promoted crusading more widely. Agnes of Harcourt, biographer of King Louis VIII of France's daughter Isabelle (d. 1270), tells us that after her father's death Isabelle used some of the money he left her to send ten knights overseas: that is, to help protect the kingdom of Jerusalem.[23] To both Agnes and Isabelle this was

self-evidently a pious deed, a Christian duty for a Latin Christian noblewoman. In 1301 a group of Genoese noblewomen planned to sponsor a crusade; their planning included the appointment of a commander, and plans for their own participation, but regrettably it appears that only Pope Boniface VIII's approval for their scheme has survived and not the information they sent to him.[24] In 1429 Joan of Arc announced her intention of leading a crusade as soon as her war with England was over, writing to the King of England and the Duke of Bedford that: 'les Franchois feront le plus bel fait que oncques fu fait pour la chrestienté' ('the French will do the fairest deed which was ever done for Christianity'). Her contemporary and admirer Christine de Pisan wrote that Joan would destroy unbelievers and heretics and lead King Charles of France to the Holy Land to conquer the Saracens, and that both Joan and Charles would die in the Holy Land, in fulfilment of prophecy. To underline Joan's potential as a crusade leader, in describing her achievements to date Christine added: 'Greater things were not done before Acre', an allusion to the Third Crusade.[25] Although such plans demonstrated and reinforced Joan's role as a devout Christian military commander, they do not appear to have progressed any further than good intentions.

Women were not only involved in promoting and supporting crusading but also played a role in manufacturing the memory of the crusades and crusaders. Idonea de Camville and Countess Ela of Salisbury, respectively wife and mother of William Longespee, English hero of King Louis IX's first crusade who perished at the Battle of Mansurah in February 1250, may have instigated the references to William's deeds in historical records created at the abbeys of Barlings (Lincolnshire) and Lacock (Wiltshire); Idonea's family were patrons of Barlings, while Ela founded Lacock and became its abbess.[26] Dietrich of Apolda wrote a 'life' of Landgrave Ludwig IV of Thüringia, who had died on crusade in 1227, for his widow Elizabeth of Hungary.[27]

Women were also the inspiration for or patrons of cultural artefacts reflecting the impact of the crusades. A moralised Bible commissioned by Queen Blanche of France (d. 1252) for her daughter-in-law Margaret of Provence in 1234 included images of crusading in the pages of the Old Testament (now BL Harley MS 1526). Where the biblical text described the Israelites' wars against pagan tribes, the illuminations depicted contemporary knights fighting heretics, with images of Cathars and demons. Blanche's Bible drew a parallel between Old Testament condemnation of idolatry and the contemporary war against heresy.[28]

There is usually no clear evidence of who commissioned a work. Even where a female donor is illustrated (as in the icon of Saint Sergios at the

Monastery of St Catherine in Sinai, with a female supplicant kneeling at his foot), the identity of the donor is not always known.[29] But it has been suggested that an *Histoire Universelle* or 'History of the World' produced at Acre in 1287, which depicts the Amazons in very positive roles 'as defenders of the social order', was commissioned by a female patron: possibly Countess Alice of Blois, who arrived in Acre in 1287 and died there the following year.[30]

Scholars agree that the Melisende Psalter (now BL Egerton MS 1139) was produced for Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, daughter of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and Morphia of Melitene. Although it has been suggested that it was commissioned for her by her husband Fulk of Anjou, it may equally have been commissioned by the queen herself. It was produced between 1131 and 1143 in the scriptorium of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. The text of the psalms, with a liturgical calendar, the creeds, canticles, and other prayers and offices, are prefaced by beautiful illustrations in the style of contemporary Byzantine art, each with a background of gold leaf. The cover included ivory panels carved with scenes from the life of King David. The whole combines a variety of cultural traditions in art, including French, English, and Italian characteristics as well as Byzantine, demonstrating the multicultural nature of society in the crusader kingdom and Melisende's own descent from Latin Europeans and the ethnic Armenians of Melitene.[31]

Queen Melisende also supported and presided over reconstruction and new construction projects in Jerusalem which, in the words of Nurith Kenaan-Kedar, 'created a new urban landscape … that reflected the new power and function of the kingdom'. This building programme included five large projects: rebuilding the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the central focus of Christian pilgrimage and the focus of the crusades; rebuilding the Abbey Church of Saint Anne and the convent of St Lazarus at Bethany, outside Jerusalem; and building the Armenian cathedral of Saint James, the Armenian church of the Archangels, and the royal tombs of her mother and Melisende herself, in the church of Saint Mary in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. All but the last of these buildings included 'goudron' stone frieze work, a style of frieze characteristic of north Syria and Armenia, and Kenaan-Kedar argued that this decoration was a statement of Queen Melisende's role as patron of both the Latin and Armenian communities in Jerusalem.[32]

Melisende may also have sponsored the new mosaic decorations in the Dome of the Rock or *Templum Domini* and an iron grille around the Rock itself to protect it from pilgrims. She was also involved in other smaller building projects in Jerusalem. The great churches that visiting crusaders would have seen in Jerusalem from the 1150s onwards were, then, largely due to her efforts. Her grand-daughter Queen Sybil (d. 1190) has not been

credited with any impressive building projects during her short reign, but presumably she was responsible for the lavish tomb of her son Baldwin V (d. 1186) and her reign may have seen the completion of the renovation and redecoration of the *Coenaculum* (or Cenacle, traditionally the 'upper room' where the Last Supper was held), work which was done in the 1180s before the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187.[33]

Another means of supporting and promoting the culture of crusading was to support the military religious orders which developed in the Holy Land and the West, dedicated to the care of Christian pilgrims and defence of Christendom. Women gave valuable donations and patronage to these institutions, and could have considerable influence over their development. So, for example, Queen Sancha of Aragon's (d. 1208) foundation at Sigena of a house of Hospitaller sisters reflected the links between the royal house of Aragon, crusading, and the military religious orders that had existed since at least the 1120s. Her foundation for this order which supported the crusade and crusaders comprised magnificent Romanesque buildings and a Chapter house painted with biblical scenes, in the Byzantine style.[34]

In the 1130s, Matilda of Boulogne, niece of the first two Latin rulers of crusader Jerusalem, gave generous gifts of land to the Templars at Cressing (Essex) and Cowley (Oxfordshire). Such gifts promoted the culture of crusading and could inspire male relatives to give generously: Matilda's husband, King Stephen of England, not only confirmed her gifts but also apparently gave the Templars the village of Eagle in Lincolnshire.[35] Margaret de Lacy's foundation of c. 1216 of a Hospitaller women's house at Aconbury in Herefordshire may have prompted her nephew John de Braose to donate St Illtud's church on the Gower Peninsula to the Hospitallers.[36] In 1156 Margaret, countess of Warwick gave the church, vill and land at Llanmadoc in the Gower, in Wales, to the Templars, a gift approved by her underage sons Henry, Robert, and Geoffrey de Newburgh.[37] Jordan de Bricet and his wife Muriel de Munteni together founded the Hospitallers' house at Clerkenwell in around 1144, as well as the neighbouring women's house of St Mary Clerkenwell.[38] According to her vita, Hedwig of Silesia persuaded her husband, Duke Henry I (d. 1238), to give the Templars 'certain great estates', at Klein Öls (now Mała Oleśnica, Poland).[39]

From these donations, the military orders developed administrative centres for their estates, but not all donations went the way intended by the donor. Driven into exile by her nephew, Ermengaud of Narbonne took refuge in the Templar house of Mas-Deu and in 1196 willed her possessions to the Templars and Hospitallers; but her nephew did not execute her wishes.[40] Elizabeth of Hungary, dowager countess of Thüringia, bequeathed the hospital she had founded at Marburg to the Hospitallers, but her

brothers-in-law successfully petitioned Pope Gregory IX to transfer it to the Teutonic Order, the crusading order preferred by the comital family.[41]

Other constructions initiated by female donors included the Hospitaller commandery at Alguaire in Catalonia, constructed from 1250 by the widowed noblewoman Marquesa de la Guàrdia and her daughter Geralda, and the chapel which the Templar associate sister Adelisa, widow of Henry Morsels, 'our associate sister', founded at the Templars' house at Ghent before 1288.[42] Through initiating such building works, women expanded the influence and physical impact of these religious orders that supported crusaders and pilgrims.

In conclusion, although it can be difficult to identify works of literature and cultural patronage by women during the Middle Ages, women of different classes did contribute to the literature and cultural patronage of the crusades in various ways. The wealthy had the most opportunity and means to give patronage, although the difficulty in distinguishing female patronage indicates that it did not differ from men's. No chronicles specifically focused on the crusades were authored by women – Anna Comnena's history was a biography of her father which included an account of the First Crusade – but women did possess works about the crusades. Holy women, claiming visionary inspiration from God, wrote to exhort or criticise crusaders, urging them to act according to God's directions as given through them. For such women their spirituality offered them a form of agency, although this was tightly circumscribed by what was viewed as acceptable action for lay people: for example, Dorothy of Montau was accused of heresy at Gdansk for requesting the Eucharist too often. Women promoted the crusades and memorialised crusaders. In their writing and cultural patronage for the crusades they expressed the same concerns as their male counterparts, although many (Marie d'Oignies, Catherine of Siena, and even Joan of Arc) may have aimed to achieve martyrdom at the hands of the Muslims rather than participating in a military victory.

NOTES

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6

ANTHONY BALE

Reading and Writing in Outremer

Jerusalem and the crusaders' world of Outremer was energetically and abundantly described in European literature; yet the crusader kingdoms were also producers of literary and textual culture in their own right. In this chapter I consider the status of manuscript and literary production in the crusader states, asking what we might identify as crusader literary and textual culture. Especially, what did the crusaders read and write, how did they read it, and for whom did they write? What was the status of book production in Outremer? I survey the role of book ownership and textual production in the Latin East, and close with a brief consideration of the development of pilgrimage literature, exploring the ways in which Jerusalem and the holy sites were mediated through 'geographical', religious, and historical literature both during and after the crusader occupation.

This chapter owes a considerable debt to several detailed studies of the illustration of manuscripts by crusader communities in the medieval Holy Land;[1] recent work has uncovered an array of liturgical manuscripts produced there too. It has been possible to locate decorated devotional manuscripts in Outremer, due to art-historical details or evidence from calendars and liturgies, and we now know a great deal about the book-based world of the crusader kingdoms in the Middle East. However, scholarly work on the broader bibliographical activities of the crusaders has been limited, even though there is a surprisingly extensive amount of surviving manuscript evidence. Alongside the weaponry, armour, and horses for which the crusaders are well known, where might we locate books and texts within the crusader experience?

Transnational Manuscripts and Crusader Book Production

Margaret of Beverley (d. c. 1215) was a Palestine-born Englishwoman, whose life during the crusades was written down in the form of biography, titled the *Hodoeporicon* (*Itinerary*), composed by her brother Thomas of

Froidmont, a French monk. Margaret was born, probably at some point around 1160 (i.e. between the Second and Third Crusades), in Palestine while her parents were on pilgrimage. She was brought back to England as an infant, where she seems to have grown up in the town of Beverley; she returned to Jerusalem in the 1180s, shortly before the city fell to Saladin, and was there during the siege of Jerusalem which was such a traumatic and decisive moment of the Third Crusade.

After various trials, Margaret made her way back to Europe, visiting the shrines of Santiago and Rome, and visiting her brother; eventually, she became a nun at Montreuil in northern France.[2] In the present context, I want to focus on one miraculous incident in Margaret's life, as recorded by Thomas. He says that Margaret was captured by Muslims near the coastal city of Tyre and spent over a year, often being tortured, as a prisoner and slave; on being freed she possessed only a coarse dress and one book, her psalter. Lost in the hostile lands of what is now Lebanon and Syria, Margaret was approached by a 'Turk' who snatched her psalter from her, but suddenly repented and returned it to her.

Is it plausible that a woman such as Margaret would have carried a psalter around with her, in extremis? Did crusaders and pilgrims carry books in this way? If so, what happened to these books – have any survived? And what idea of the book, here presented as a kind of protective talisman and non-military shield, does this story illuminate?

The little narrative about Margaret's psalter suggests that books were part of the everyday and fundamental experience of the Latin Christians of the crusader kingdoms. Moreover, Margaret's story exemplifies how books, like people, travel across borders. As corroboration of Margaret's book ownership, we might look to the inventory of the belongings of a French crusader knight, Eudes [Odo] de Nevers (d. 1266) who, on his death in the crusader city of Acre, owned a missal, a breviary, a 'romanz de Loheranz' (a romance of the cycle of *chansons de geste* featuring Godefrey of Lorraine), and 'a romanz de la terre d'outre mer' (probably either a historical chronicle or geographical narrative of the Holy Land).[3] Thus Count Eudes's precious possessions in his Outremer household included three categories of books: religious/devotional books; books for recreational reading; and books for knowledge and learning.

A significant number of books survive which sound somewhat like Margaret's psalter and Eude's missal and breviary. These include some of the manuscripts that are, to this day, held by the Franciscan *Custodia Terrae Sanctae* in Bethlehem and Jerusalem.[4] Manuscripts from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries attest to the role and status of book production in crusader culture; as we might expect, these books tend to

be liturgical and institutional in character. The ability to produce biblical, devotional, and Latin liturgical books would have been one of the first requirements of the newly settled Franks.[5] A famous example is the psalter (BL Egerton MS 1139) made for Queen Melisende of Jerusalem (d. 1161), the patronage of which is discussed above by Helen J. Nicholson. This psalter, an upmarket version of the kind of book carried by Margaret of Beverley, is famous partly on account of it being evidence of cultural cross-fertilisation between communities in the crusader kingdom (Melisende herself was the daughter of Baldwin II, a Frankish king of Jerusalem, and Morphia, an Armenian princess). The artist, one 'Basilius', probably from an Armenian or Greek background, worked with scribes and illuminators in the Latin scriptorium within the shared/contested holy space of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Yet, as Francis Wormald demonstrated, the psalter's calendar is similar to one produced at the Benedictine monastery of St Swithun's in Winchester around this time (now Madrid, Biblioteca Nacionál MS Vit. 23–8); Melisende's calendar (see Figure 6.1) features saints distinctive to England (e.g. Alphege of Canterbury, Botulph, Chad, Gildas of Glastonbury, Felix of Ramsey) and recalls an English as well as crusader martyrology (the calendar also includes several Jerusalem-specific feasts).[6] Meanwhile, the scribe who wrote the book's Latin psalms has been identified as having a script characteristic of northern France.[7]

Other liturgical books from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre include feasts specific to the crusader context, memorialising the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 and the dedication of the new Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1149, and saints and feasts specific to the Holy Land (notably St Sabas/Savvas, whose cult had previously been largely restricted to Byzantium). Similarly, a missal (mass book) written c. 1135–40 at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was numbered in both Latin and Armenian characters, attesting to the bibliographic realm as one of interaction and cultural cross-fertilisation;[8] and, in Antioch, we have evidence of a good deal of translation: there was a twelfth-century Armenian translation of the Rule of St Benedict from Latin by Nerses Lambronaci;[9] Stephen of Antioch translated the Arabic medical text *Kitab al-Maliki* in the 1120s and spoken Arabic seems to have been widespread amongst the Latin settlers;[10] and Almerich of Antioch translated the Old Testament into Castilian in the mid-twelfth century, a translation that ultimately found its way into the Castilian *Fazienda de Ultramar* (c. 1230), a geographical and historical itinerary to the Holy Land.[11] As these examples suggest, crusader books are one of the key arenas in which we can glimpse syncretic meetings of Arabic, Armenian, Byzantine, Frankish, and Latin worlds.

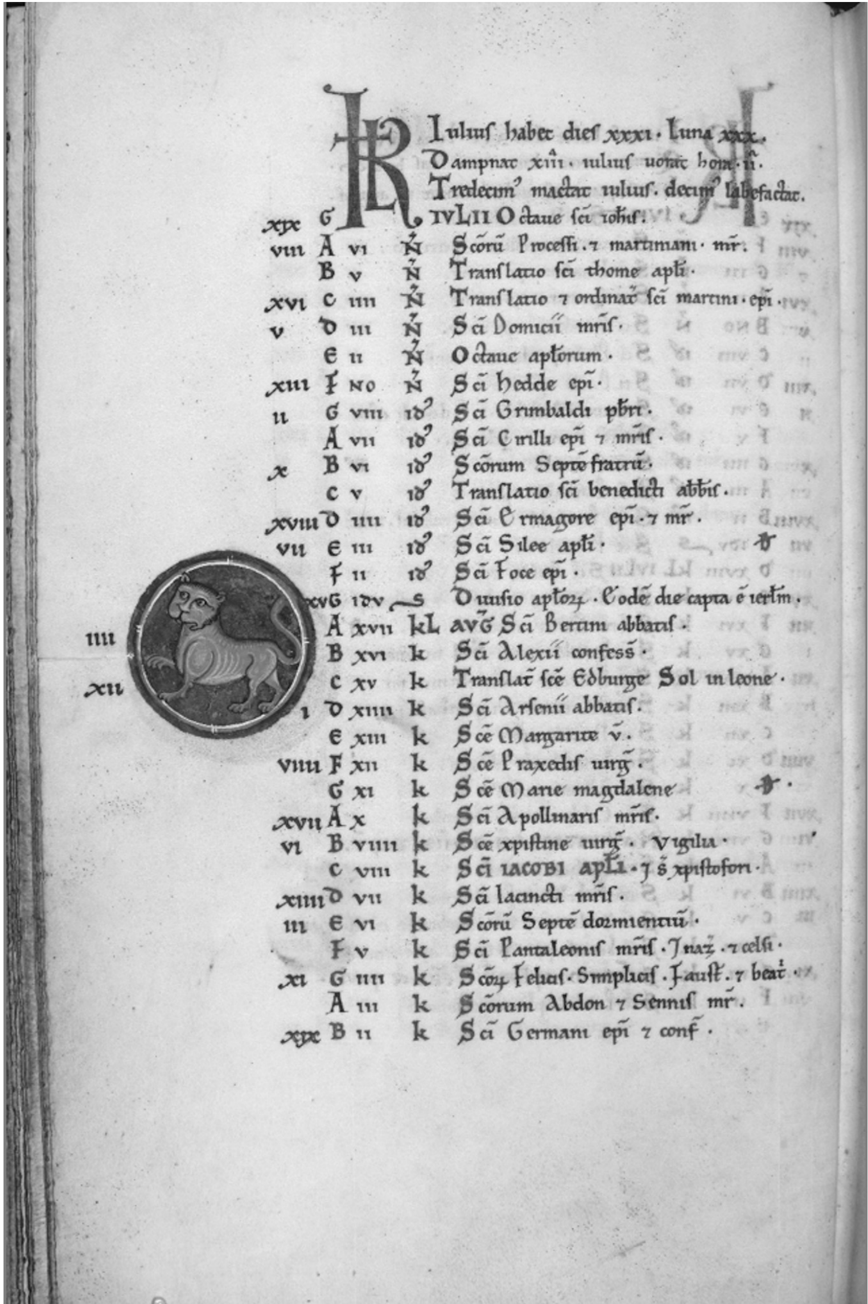
KL Iulius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.
Dampnat xiii. iulius uoiat hom. ii.
Tredecim' mactat iulius. decim' labefactat.
xix G KL IVLII Octaue sci iohis.
viii A vi N Scoru Processi. 7 martiniani. mr.
B v N Translatio sci thome apli.
xvi C iiii N Translatio 7 ordinac sci martini. epi.
v D iii N Sci Domicii mris.
E ii N Octaue aptorum.
xiii F NO Sci hedde epi.
ii G viii id Sci Grimbaldi pbri.
A vii id Sci Cirilli epi 7 mris.
x B vi id Scorum Septe fratru.
C v id Translatio sci benedicti abbis.
xviii D iiii id Sci Ermagore epi. 7 mr.
vii E iii id Sci Silee apli.
F ii id Sci Foce epi.
xv G IDV S Diuisio aptoru. Eode die capta e ierlm.
iiii A xvii KL AVG Sci Bertini abbatis.
B xvi k Sci Alexii confess.
xii C xv k Translac sce Edburge Sol in leone.
i D xiiii k Sci Arsenii abbatis.
E xiii k Sce Margarite v.
viiii F xii k Sce Praxedis uirg.
G xi k Sce Marie magdalene
xvii A x k Sci Apollinaris mris.
vi B viiii k Sce xpistine uirg. Vigilia.
C viii k Sci IACOBI APLI. 7 s xpistofori.
xiiii D vii k Sci Iacincti mris.
iii E vi k Scoru Septe dormientiu.
F v k Sci Pantaleonis mris. 7 naz. 7 celsi.
xi G iiii k Scor Felicis. Simplicii. Fausti. 7 beat.
A iii k Scorum Abdon 7 Sennis mr.
xix B ii k Sci Germani epi 7 conf.

Figure 6.1 The month of 'July' in the calendar of Queen Melisende's psalter, BL Egerton MS 1139, f. 116v. Feasts mentioned here include the capture of Jerusalem (15 July). (*Source*: The British Library)

A different kind of bibliographic movement is suggested by a *sacramentarium* (a service book for priests), commissioned by Gerold of Lausanne, Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem (1225–39), formerly abbot of Cluny and Bishop of Valence.[12] This book originated in crusader Acre or Jerusalem (for instance, its calendar contains various Jerusalem-specific notes), but its post-crusader fortunes show how books can parallel political vicissitudes. In the later thirteenth century, the mass of St Acatius was added to the manuscript; the veneration of St Acatius was distinctive to Nicosia on the island of Cyprus, to which many crusaders fled after the fall of the crusader kingdoms, so we can realistically assume that this book travelled with them. Then, in the fourteenth century, a community of Italian Augustinians added the months of January and February to the calendar; this community might have been in Lusignan-ruled Cyprus, where the Augustinians had communities at Bellapais and Nicosia, but it might well have been in Italy itself. Italians brought goods in and out of the Levant, and books were part of that exchange, but the book's westwards passage mirrors the Latin communities' gradual loss of, and increasing distance from, the physical city of Jerusalem.

Such ecclesiastical books can thus be useful material witnesses to the crusader experience; however, they are only the most accessible and most widely studied examples of crusader textuality. Given the passage of time and the ravages of history, it is likely that a huge amount of crusader textual material has been lost: we know that one twelfth-century Frankish writer and hermit, Gerard of Nazareth, produced at least five religious works, none of which survive apart from a fragment of one.[13] Many of the most popular crusader chronicles survive only in copies dating from the mid-to-late twelfth century onwards. What happened, for example, to the manuscript of William of Tyre's chronicle that Jacques de Vitry says he found at Damietta in 1218? And what about the manuscript of the same text that Matthew Paris, monk of St Alban's, says that Peter des Roches brought back from the Holy Land in 1231?[14] Neither of these books can be traced today, but the fact that their journeys were recorded attests to how books connected East and West.

Another manuscript (now Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 433) opens an intriguing window onto the crusaders' cultural world. It contains a thirteenth-century translation into Old French of Cicero's *De inventione* (*Rhetoric*) and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, one of the most influential and popular guides to rhetorical composition in the later Middle Ages, and a staple of the trivium, the European educational curriculum. The book informs us that one John of Harens of Antioch translated the *De inventione* from Latin to French at the request of William of St Stephen, an

Italian-born jurist and knight of the Hospital of St John at Acre, and the Chantilly manuscript was almost certainly made in Acre around this time.[15] William possibly brought the book to Europe via the Hospitallers' pan-European network of monasteries and communities;[16] he himself travelled to Lombardy in 1287 and, following the fall of Acre in 1291, died in Cyprus as Commander of the island's Hospitallers in 1303.[17] The *Ad Herennium* was also being read and translated in Antioch;[18] and the chapter library at Nazareth included copies of the *Aeneid*, Boethius, and Ovid's *Art of Love* and *Remedies for Love*.[19] So we can see that that intellectual and cultural life in Outremer was in dialogue with that of western Europe, and that we should be alert to the crusaders' learning, their literacy, and the role of poetry and rhetoric alongside the martial endeavours for which they are more famous.[20]

The other text that was clearly being energetically produced at Acre was the *Histoire universelle* or *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*, a world chronicle from the Creation to the time of the Romans which makes biblical history consonant with classical history. Hugo Buchthal states that the *Histoire* was intended for a lay public with a minimal education, and it is true that the text foregrounds romantic heroism and martial strength over moral reflection or ethical complication. It is a text which seems well-suited to the crusaders' context and their concerns – it includes many accounts of conquest in the East, such as the stories of Judith, Esther, and Alexander the Great. Buchthal identified three manuscripts of the *Histoire Universelle* that were produced at Acre and so these manuscripts give us a clear sense of 'what crusaders read'.[21] But the *Histoire Universelle* should not be understood to represent a local tradition: the *Histoire* itself originates in Flanders or northern France, its images are related to those found in French manuscripts of the same period, and the texts it draws on – such as Peter Comestor, the *Histoire de Thèbes,* and the Troy romance of Benoît de Sainte-Maure – were staples of western European reading. This corresponds with our knowledge that Arthurian legends were also being read and performed in thirteenth-century Acre. In 1223, Philippe de Novare records how 'les aventures de Bretaigne et de la Table ronde' were played in 'la plus grant feste' that celebrated the knighting of the sons of Jean d'Ibelin of Beirut. In 1286, at Acre, to celebrate the coronation of Henry II of Cyprus as King of Jerusalem, we learn from the continuation of Philippe's chronicle that the stories of 'la table reonde & la reine de Femenie' and 'Lanselot & Tristan & Pilamedes & mout d'autres' were performed ('contrefirent', that is represented, imitated).[22]

So, even whilst we can locate a good deal of book production in Outremer, we must be mindful of the dynamic transnationalism of the Eastern

Mediterranean; books, like other material objects, were highly portable and mobile, and traverse borders and boundaries. Manuscripts such as psalters travelled to and from Outremer; other institutional books travelled westwards with their reconstituted communities, if they survived the vagaries of the crusader states and their conflicts.

Crusaders and Their Compositions

The doyen of mid-twentieth-century crusader studies, Sir Steven Runciman, was dismissive of the literary output of Outremer. He suggested that this output fell into three categories: chronicles; legal works; and romantic poetry. Runciman concluded with the assertion that '[t]he intellectual life of Outremer was, in fact, that of a Frankish colony' and 'the cultural contribution of the Crusades to western Europe [was] disappointingly small'.[23] This is only part of the story. It is true that cultural life in the crusader states is hard to reconstruct, but this does not mean that it was absent; moreover, whilst the crusaders were undoubtedly, at times, violently acquisitive soldiers, there was, without doubt, a distinctive cultural life that can be glimpsed in crusaders' literary compositions.

The port city of Acre (known then as St-Jean d'Acre) had the most continuity as a crusader centre in Outremer and had well-established colonies of merchants and monks from all over western Europe; the Latin Christian communities were dominated by the Hospitaller and Templar orders, but there were Dominican and Franciscan houses there too.[24] There was no university in Outremer but the friars of Acre would have had *studia* in their convents. The vitality of Acre is reflected in the fact that some of the most important figures in the later medieval European culture visited, and some of the texts written there had a profound effect on the late medieval European worldview: St Francis of Assisi visited Acre in 1219–20; the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen visited in 1228–9; the Blessed Jordan of Saxony, Master General of the Dominicans, died there in 1237; Jacques de Vitry (discussed below) was Bishop of Acre from 1216 to 1225 and his writings would go on to shape Western views of the East; Jean de Joinville, known for his *Life of St Louis*, wrote his *Credo* in Acre in 1251, and described a period of sickness in his church-side house, a property lent to him by the Provençal Bishop of Acre;[25] the diplomat to the Mongol Khan, William of Rubruck, lived in the city in the mid-1250s, and wrote his remarkable *Journey*, with its accounts of the Far East, while he was living there; and the pioneering missionary Riccoldo of Monte Croce disembarked at Acre in 1286 on his way to preach to, and convert, the Nestorians and Muslims of Mosul and Baghdad.

One of the only texts Runciman allows as an authentic product of Outremer is the *Chanson des Chétifs*, the romance about Frankish Crusaders made captive by 'Corboran' (Kerbogha), the renowned Atabeg of Mosul (d. 1102) and leader of the Turks; *Les Chétifs* (*The Captives*), or at least a significant part of it, was composed by an anonymous author apparently at the request of Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch (d. 1149).

Les Chétifs was composed somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean and describes its occasion thus:

> The good prince Raymond, he who had his head cut off and was killed by the Saracens, those mad bastards, leaving Antioch grieving and desolate and the land conquered by the Franks lost (never again was anyone to be able to hold onto so much land) – may his soul find salvation and be carried up to God! – was the one [who had this song composed]: it is of proven truth. Duke Raymond, he whose soul has left his body, found it and took it from its source; the composer of the song, a canon of St Peter['s Church, Antioch], was well rewarded and received a stipend. The song was kept as long as the cleric lived; when it came to his time to die and his soul left his body this song was handed over to the Patriarch [of Antioch]: it told how the renowned Baldwin from the famous city of Beauvais, fought the serpent with his sharp sword because it had separated his brother's soul from his body.[26]

The commissioning of the poem or entertainment by Prince Raymond, who had arrived in Antioch to marry Queen Melisende of Jerusalem's niece, Constance, and the mention of the clerical author are hints of the public cultural life of Antioch as well as the role of the city's ecclesiastical institutions in maintaining literary production.[27]

Les Chétifs appears to be an overblown crusader allegory modelled on French sources; it describes crusader heroes' imprisonment and trials against various infidel forces, including 'Corbaran of Oliferne', a cipher of Kerbogha, and a dragon named Sathanas (i.e. Satan) who dwells on Mont Tigris; the poem ends with the slaughter of all but one of a gang of 140 Turks; the *chétifs* are freed, rejoin the crusade, and make their way to Jerusalem. Despite its apparent origins as an epic about Outremer composed in Outremer, *Les Chétifs* does not betray much that suggests eyewitness familiarity with the East.[28] The Saracens and Turks are exaggerated parodies, prone to extreme displays of emotion ('Corbaran wrung his hands and tore at his beard …', repeatedly), arbitrary violence, gratuitous luxury, and they swear on an Islamic deity defined by crude vengeance. *Les Chétifs* has some similarities to the Byzantine romance *Digenis Akritas*, and invokes local saints such as St Nicholas of Myra, showing its origins in a multiconfessional setting.[29] Moreover, the poem's emphasis on imprisonment and captivity reveals the unexpected historical situation in which many crusaders found

themselves: the earlier crusaders had not given much thought to the prospect of imprisonment and had to learn how to cope with mass imprisonment and the frequent use of ransom, heralding a fundamental change in their view of the prisoner from a figure of outright disgrace to a hero worthy of prayer.[30] *Les Chétifs* can be seen as part of the cultural process through which the fact of crusader imprisonment was rethought as a stage for heroic exploits. The poem also has local colour in its descriptions of fine Arab horses, elaborate technical descriptions of armour, weaponry, and saddles, and exhibits some familiarity with places in the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Beirut, Edessa, Margat (the castle of Marqab, in present-day Syria), and Tiberias. At the same time, as a text written in Outremer, *Les Chétifs* has one eye firmly on the west: it mentions Charlemagne as one hero's ancestor and in a battle cry; Germans, Hungarians, and Spaniards fight at Antioch; silks from Almeria and Greece, gold from Besançon, a knife from Córdoba, helmets from Saragossa, all appear; and Western saints like St Giles of Provence and St James of Compostela are invoked.

This world poised between East and West is in the context in which a crusader prince-poet like Thibaut [Theobald] I of Champagne (d. 1253), who led 'the Barons' Crusade' of 1239–41, could, during his sojourn in Acre, write accomplished poetry. Several of Thibaut's chansons locate their moment of composition during the crusade. 'Li douz pensers' (RS 1469) is conventionally believed to have been written during the crusade, on account of what seems to be a reference to sailing to Outremer:

> Dame, de cui est ma granz desirree,
> saluz vos mant d'outre la mer sale
> com a celi ou je pans main et soir,
> n'autres pansers ne me fait joie avoir.[44]
>
> (Lady, for whom is my great desire, I send you greetings from over the salt sea, as to the one of whom I think day and night, and no other thought gives me joy.)

Thibaut also wrote three crusader songs, which explicitly deal with the conquest of Outremer, including references to its diabolical non-Christian inhabitants and appeals to the succour of the Virgin Mary in taking the crusaders' part. 'Seignor, sachiez' (RS 6) evokes 'cele terre ou Diex fu mors et vis' ('the land in which God died and rose again'), and urges its listeners to 'delivrer sa terre et son païs' ('liberate His land and His country'), describing the 'vaillant bacheler / Qui ainment Dieu et l'onour de cest mont' ('those valiant young men who love God and the honour of this world'). In 'Dame, ensint' (RS 757), Thibaut asks, as a lovelorn crusader,

pour quoi fu la terre d'outremer,
qui tant amant avra fait dessevrer
dont puis ne fu l'amours reconfortee,
ne ne porent la joie remenbrer!

(why did the land of Outremer ever exist? It will have separated so many lovers whose love has never since been able to recover its strength, and who were never able to revive their joy.)

Here, the crusade has become the ideal stage on which to narrate courtly love-longing. Such lyrics are highly conventional, but Thibaut's compositions suggest that poetic composition was part of the activities of the *miles Christi*.

The other significant literary product of Outremer was in its chronicles and historical writing (described in greater detail elsewhere in this volume, especially by Elizabeth Lapina). The writing of the First Crusade was a dynamic process that started during the crusade itself, and the earliest accounts adapted multiple influences: 'the Bible … ranging from the Acts of the Apostles to the war books of the Old Testament, classical historiography, itineraries and pilgrimage texts, hagiography and works of Christomimetic devotion, deeds-of-rules political narrative, and Latin and vernacular epic'.[31] In terms of the First Crusade, Carol Symes has explored the 'ubiquitous, if ephemeral' *libelli* (booklets) that sustained crusader literacy and, according to Symes, were probably the main conduit via which reports of the crusades made their way from east to west. Few factual narratives of the crusade survive from the early days of the crusader states; in Jerusalem, Fulcher of Chartres wrote a history up to 1127;[32] from Antioch, we have the *Gesta Tancredi* of Raoul/Ralph of Caen (d. c. 1105) and the *Bella Antiochena* of Walter of Antioch (d. c. 1122).[33] It is entirely possible that rather than there having been an established chronicle of the First Crusade, there was a textual cacophony of unofficial, informal, even vernacular, and perhaps very short, accounts; some of these accounts may have made their way into more established renderings of history, but others have been lost. The *Hierosolymita*, a short account of the conquest of Jerusalem written by Ekkehard of Aura (d. 1126), was disseminated in *libelli* and was itself based on 'Jherosolimas libellum', a booklet from Jerusalem.[34] On the whole, Symes argues that the august chronicle now known as the *Gesta Francorum* (*The Deeds of the Franks*) does not represent a single tradition, but rather unifies a wide range of materials that once circulated independently of each other. In making this argument, Symes draws our attention to the new 'graphic environment' that the crusaders observed in Outremer, a world in which texts were read and displayed in various languages, alphabets, and media. Such media included polyglot mosaics in churches; letters back to the

West about the practicalities and local politics of the crusader experience;[35] wax tablets on which songs and lyrics travelled;[36] boundary markers written in Latin to demarcate who owned which territory;[37] preachers' anecdotes, *exempla*, and oral reports;[38] personal wills;[39] travelling minstrels, like the *minnesinger* Freidank; and even the Turks' carrier pigeons 'bearing messages on slips of specially-manufactured paper'.[40]

One of the most widely read Latin historians of Outremer was William of Tyre (d. 1186); he was born in Jerusalem and, following studies in France and Italy and an ecclesiastical career in the Holy Land, became Archbishop of Tyre. He can, therefore, be considered a 'native', local author. He wrote his *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* first in Latin, but it was swiftly translated into French. The earliest manuscripts of William's chronicle end in 1184, and by William's own account, he was writing as a first-person witness. He refers to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem as 'nostrum' (ours), its inhabitants as 'nos' (us), and he added a prologue that describes the difficulties besetting the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1184 – at which time the kingdom faced a succession crisis on account of Baldwin IV's leprosy – that nearly caused William to abandon his writing.[41] No fewer than six manuscripts of William of Tyre's *History* survive which were made at Acre.[42] William's dazzling and eloquent chronicle was, within a few years, circulating widely: Guy de Bazoches (d. 1203), a Frenchman who took part in the Third Crusade, had read the work; a copy was given to the Cistercian abbey of Barbeaux before 1207. Like other written works of the crusaders, William's chronicle long outlived the crusader states themselves: it was translated into Spanish, parts of it were translated back into Latin from French, and, in 1481, William's chronicle, now translated into English and titled *Godeffroy of Boloyne*, was one of the first texts printed by William Caxton.[43]

Describing the Holy Land

One of the most important sources we have for understanding the meaning and context of crusading in the thirteenth century is the writing of Jacques de Vitry (d. 1240). He was elected Bishop of Acre in 1214 and arrived there in 1216, later becoming patriarch-elect of Jerusalem; having preached the crusade against the Albigensians, he was a strong proponent of, and protagonist in, the Fifth Crusade, and was present at the siege of Damietta in Egypt from 1218 to 1220. At Damietta, Jacques began his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, of which book two (of two), the *Historia Orientalis*, was a history of the Holy Land from the arrival of Islam until Jacques's own day. This text, which would become extremely widely read and influential throughout Europe, was composed in the theatre of war, and demonstrates

Jacques's first-hand knowledge of the Eastern Mediterranean and Palestine. However, the surviving manuscripts suggest that it was in northern France and in Flanders and Brabant that Jacques's text was read and enthusiastically copied.

Another widely disseminated account of the Holy Land was written by a canon and deacon in Nazareth, Rorgo Fretellus (d. 1154).[44] Fretellus's text is a sacred topography and tells us little about daily life in Latin East; but it was an important text in the West for understanding the devotional geography of the Holy Land and it outlived the crusader states through its Western audiences. Fretellus seems to have composed a version for a visitor to Outremer, possibly Count Raymond V of Toulouse; in the fourteenth century, Fretellus's *Descriptio* was being read at the papal court.

Through devotional prose connected to pilgrimage, writing about the Holy Land from the Holy Land would have an abiding influence on the way the region was understood for many years after the fall of Acre. Jacques's description of the Holy Land found its way into another text composed in the Holy Land, the *Descriptio* of Burchard of Mount Zion, a German friar, apparently a Dominican, who travelled to Jerusalem in the 1280s and possibly resided in its new Franciscan monastery (founded 1272) on Mount Zion.[45] Burchard was travelling long after Christians had lost control of Jerusalem but before the loss of Acre, and so his text should be read against this fraught context of a frontier zone. Burchard's text is remarkable for its lack of crusading animus, and instead Burchard focuses on the work that can be performed not so much by visiting holy places but by reading about the Holy Land and by memories of Jerusalem. Burchard acquired the soubriquet 'of Mount Zion' early on, and it is clear that he was considered a reliable eyewitness guide to the holy sites. As Burchard writes in his prologue,

> Seeing … that some are possessed by a desire to picture to their minds those things which they are not able to behold with their eyes, and wishing to fulfil their longing, as far as in me lieth, I have, to the best of my ability, thought about, diligently taken note of, and laboriously described that land, over which my feet have often passed.[46]

Burchard's text is neither a call to arms nor a personal travel diary, but a readerly and dispassionate account of holy sites. Burchard repeatedly addresses the reader, evokes his own authorial pen, and cites the Bible rather than his eyewitness experience to back up his account. Burchard's account often describes sites recently lost to the Saracens; 'King's Castle', a Teutonic fortress near Acre, 'is now in the hands of the Saracens'; the castle at Tzfat 'used to belong to the Knights Templars, but was betrayed and taken in shameful sort'; even the vines have been lost because 'the Saracens, who

now hold the land, drink no wine, except some of them in secret, and destroy the vines'.[47] So even as Burchard was writing from the Holy Land, his text is also a record of its gradual loss. The utility of his text is evocative and memorial, rather than martial or colonial.

Burchard's *Descriptio* survives in over 100 manuscripts, and itself formed the basis for numerous later widely read accounts of the Holy Land, such as Mandeville's *Book of Marvels and Travels* (c. 1356). Like Jacques de Vitry's *Historia*, Burchard's *Descriptio* became popular outside the Holy Land, in part as a proxy for the Holy Land. The surviving manuscripts of Burchard suggest that in the thirteenth century his text was not disseminated from Acre, Antioch, or Jerusalem but rather in Europe, amongst readers keen to learn about the Holy Land that was becoming lost to their control. Later, in the fifteenth century, the Franciscan monastery of Mount Zion in Jerusalem – which became a kind of reference library for clerical Latin pilgrims in the Holy Land – was promoting Burchard's text, as several manuscripts can plausibly be said to have been copied there.[48]

An entirely different kind of textual interaction with the Holy Land is represented by the text known as the *Treatise on How to Defeat the Saracens* by William of Adam (fl. 1318–23). William was a French-born Dominican, and travelled to Constantinople in 1307 and further east in 1316–17.[49] William of Adam wrote his text in the West (he several times positions himself in 'these parts' as he addresses his European audience). The treatise is a prime example of 'recovery literature', aggressive polemics, mixing worldly statecraft with spiritual zeal, that flourished after the fall of Acre in 1291 and urged the Christian reconquest of the Holy Land.[50] Many of these texts were written by men who had held positions in, or had significant experience, of crusader politics and the crusader kingdoms: for instance, Fidenzio of Padua (b. c. 1230) had been the vicar-general of the Franciscans in the Holy Land, and fled from Tzfat to Tripoli and later wrote the *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte*; Guillaume de Nogaret (d. 1313), who had led the trial of the Knights Templar, was planning a crusade funded by the Templar expropriations; the Venetian Marino Sanudo the Elder, author of the widely read *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (1306 x 1321), had travelled throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and the Baltic, and appears to have known Egypt and Acre especially well.[51] However, William of Adam had travelled through Persia, but does not appear to have known the Holy Land well. His text shows how writing from and about the East developed, in the period around and after the fall of Acre, into something we might now call 'travel literature' and the literature of proto-colonial statecraft. The Latin East was closely connected to the West through its cultural life, and in many ways literature and learning in Outremer parallels the cultural

situation in the West. However, the written word provides us with intriguing and specific moments of the crusader experience, and helps us understand the various kinds of traffic in, and legacy of, ideas and material objects that were integral to the crusades.

NOTES

I am grateful to Jonathan Rubin for sharing his work in progress with me and to Laura Morreale for her incisive and constructive comments on a draft of this essay.

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2 Her life is edited in Paul Gerhardt Schmidt, '*Peregrinatio periculosa*: Thomas von Froidmont über die Jerusalem-Fahrten seiner Schwester Margareta', *Kontinuität und Wandel: Lateinische Poesie von Naevius bis Baudelaire, Franco Munaro zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hildesheim, Weidmann, 1986, 461–85. For a summary in modern English see www.umilta.net/jerusalem.html.

3 See A. M. Chazaud, 'Inventaire et comptes de la succession d'Eudes, Comte de Nevers (Acre 1266)', *Mémoires: SNAF*, 32 (1870–1), 164–206.

4 Nicola Bux, *Codici liturgici latini di Terra Santa*, Fasano, Schena editore, 1990, 40–44; Cesare Cenci, 'Libri liturgici miniati nel Museo Francescano di Gerusalemme', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum,* 84 (1991), 487–9.

5 Only one catalogue of crusader chapter library, from Nazareth c. 1200, survives; see Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt*, Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1887, 360–61; James S. Beddie, 'Some Notices of Books in the East in the Period of the Crusades', *Speculum*, 8 (1933), 240–2. A number of crusader books from the ecclesiastical library at Sidon also survive; A. Maier, 'Die Handschriften der Ecclesia Sidonensis', *Manuscripta*, 11 (1967), 39–45.

6 See Francis Wormald, 'The Calendar of Queen Melisende's Psalter', in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, 122–3.

7 See Janet Backhouse, 'The Case of Queen Melisende's Psalter: An Historical Investigation', in Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (eds.), *Tributes to Jonathan J. G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, London, Harvey Miller, 2006, 467–70. Images of the manuscript are available online via the British Library at www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/melispsalter.html.

8 Now BNF, MS Lat. 12056, 'Missal of the Holy Sepulchre'.

9 Meron Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land*, Jerusalem, Israel Universities Press, 1970, 17–18.

10 See Kevin James Lewis, 'Medieval Diglossia: The Diversity of the Latin Christian Encounter with Written and Spoken Arabic in the "Crusader" County of Tripoli, with a Hitherto Unpublished Arabic Note from the Principality of Antioch (MS,

AOM 3, Valletta: National Library of Malta, no. 51v)', *Al-Masaq*, 27 (2015), 119–52.

11 M. Lazar, (ed.) Almerich of Antioch, *Fazienda de Ultra Mar. Biblia Romanceada et Itineraire Biblique en prose castillane du XIIe siecle*, Salamanca, Universidad de Salamanca, 1965.

12 Now London, British Library Egerton MS 2902; see Dondi, *The Liturgy*, 216–24.

13 Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Gerard of Nazareth: a Neglected Twelfth-Century Writer in the Latin East: A Contribution to the Intellectual and Monastic History of the Crusader States', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 37 (1983), 55–77.

14 Both books are referred to by R. H. C. Davis, 'William of Tyre', in Derek Baker (ed.), *Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1973, 64–76.

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17 On William see Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars*, Leiden, Brill, 2008.

18 A Latin manuscript, now in Milan; see Charles Burnett, 'Antioch as a Link between Arabic and Latin Culture in the 12th and 13th Centuries', in B. van den Abeele, A. Tihon, and I. Draelants (eds.), *Occident et Proche-Orient: contacts scientifiques au temps des Croisades*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Brepols, 1–78, 6.

19 See Beddie, 'Some Notices'.

20 Likewise, Julian Yolles, 'The Maccabees in the Lord's Temple: Biblical Imagery and Latin Poetry in Frankish Jerusalem', in Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton (eds.), *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources*, Leiden, Brill, 2017, 421–40; Eyal Poleg, 'On the Books of Maccabees: an Unpublished Poem by Geoffrey Prior of the "Templum Domini"', *Crusades*, 9 (2010), 13–56.

21 Now BL Add. MS 15268; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 10175; Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 562.

22 On these tantalising references, see Roger Sherman Loomis, 'Chivalric and dramatic imitations of Arthurian romance', in Wilhelm R. Koehler (ed.), *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1939, I:79–97, 79–80. Similarly, a fragment of the romance *Fierebras* was found (and subsequently lost) in Damascus, in a compilation that was possibly used by a *jongleur*; Arianna D'Ottone, 'Manuscripts as Mirrors of a Multilingual and Multicultural Society: the Case of the Damascus Find', in Barbara Crosini and Sergio LaPorta (eds.), *Negotiating Co-existence: Communities, Cultures and 'Convivencia' in Byzantine Society*, Trier, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2013, 63–88.

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24 On Acre in the thirteenth-century see Benvenisti, *The Crusaders*, 78–113.

25 John of Joinville, *The Life of St Louis*, trans. Rene Hague, London, Sheed & Ward, 1955, 128–9; Lionel Friedman, *Text and Iconograpohy for Joinville's Credo*, Cambridge, MA, Medieval Academy of America, 1958.
26 Carol Sweetenham (ed.), *The Chanson des Chetifs and Chanson de Jerusalem*, London, Taylor & Francis, 2016, 100–1, laisse 54.
27 See further Susan B. Edgington, 'Antioch: Medieval City of Culture', in Krijnie N. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf (eds.), *East and West in the Medieval East Mediteraanea I*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Leuven, Peeters, 2006, 247–59; Burnett, 'Antioch as a Link'; also Stefan Vander Elst, *The Knight, the Cross, and the Song: Crusade Propaganda and Chivalric Literature, 1100–1400*, The Middle Ages Series, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
28 On the poem's twelfth-century audiences see Vander Elst, *The Knight, the Cross*, 75–96.
29 Sweetenham (ed.), *The Chanson des Chetifs*, 31.
30 Yvonne Friedman, *Encounters between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Leiden, Brill, 2002, 13–19.
31 Marcus Bull and Damien Kempf, 'Introduction', in Bull and Kempf (eds.), *Writing the Early Crusades*, 1–8, 3.
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35 See the materials gathered in Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate (eds.), *Letters from the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12th–13th Centuries*, Crusade Texts in Translation 13, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010.
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38 Carol Sweetenham, 'What Really Happened to Eurvin de Créel's Donkey? Anecdotes in Sources for the First Crusade', in Bull and Kempf (eds.), *Writing the First Crusade*, 75–88; see also James B. McGregor, 'The First Crusade in Late Medieval "*Exempla*"', *The Historian*, 68 (2006), 29–48; Simon John, 'Historical Truth and the Miraculous Past: The Use of Oral Evidence in Twelfth-Century Latin Historical Writing on the First Crusade', *The English Historical Review*, 130 (2015), 263–30.
39 For example, M.S. Giuseppi, 'On the Testament of Sir Hugh de Nevill, written at Acre, 1267', *Archaeologia*, 56 (1899), 351–70.
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41 R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), William of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiespiscopi Chronicon* 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout, Brepols, 1986, I:23 (prologue lines 1–53).
42 The manuscripts are now BNF, Ms fr. 2628 (1270s); St Petersburg, M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Ms fr. v. IV.5 (late 1270s); Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 828 (c. 1280); and Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 142 (1280s). See R. B. C. Huygens, 'La tradition manuscrite de Guillaume de Tyr', *Studi Medievali*, 5 (1964), 281–373.
43 See Peter W. Edbury and John Gordon Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, 3–5.
44 P. C. Boren (ed.), *Rorgo Fretellus de Nazareth et sa description de la Terre Sainte. Histoire et Edition du Texte*, Amsterdam, North Holland Publishing Company, 1980.
45 See Ingrid Baumgärtner, 'Burchard of Mount Sion and the Holy Land', *Peregrinations*, 4 (2013), 5–41; Jonathan Rubin, 'Burchard of Mount Sion's *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae*: A Newly Discovered Extended Version', *Crusades*, 13 (2014), 173–90.
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47 *Ibid*., 26, 27, 101.
48 Michele Campopiano, 'Note sulla presenza Francescana in Terrasanta: Le descrizioni dei luoghi santi tra XIV e XVI secolo e il ruolo della Cusdoia di Terrasanta', in Antonio Musarra (ed.), *Gli Italiani e la Terrasanta*, Florence, SISMEL, 2014, 49–72.
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7

URI ZVI SHACHAR

Hebrew Crusade Literature in Its Latin and Arabic Contexts

Introduction

In the spring of 1096, less than six months after Pope Urban II announced an expedition to the Holy Sepulchre, motley bands of mostly unarmed pilgrims began an eastbound march. Bringing together pilgrims from northern France and Lotharingia, the so-called 'Popular Crusade' soon crossed through the Rhine Valley, home to large Jewish communities and important centres of religious learning. Although discouraged and even prohibited from doing so by ecclesiastical and secular authorities, some of these crusading bands perpetrated assaults in cities that lay in their paths. They put thousands to the sword, looted valuable property, burned down synagogues, and desecrated Torah scrolls and other symbols of Jewish religiosity. What is more, entire communities who were presented with a choice between conversion to Christianity and death opted instead to take their own lives in a performance of collective ritual suicide. These attacks, at the time unprecedented with respect to scope and severity, left a defining imprint on the culture and literature of European Jews.

Scholarship long held that the attacks in the spring of 1096 marked a watershed in the history of European Jewry. Historians perceived TaTNU (i.e. the year 1096 in the Hebrew calendar) as the beginning of a trajectory of steady decline in which Jewish communities were increasingly subjected to economic hardships, popular and institutional maltreatment, and eventually to inquisitorial oppression, deadly persecution, and systematic expulsion. Moreover, in both scholarly and popular circles, events associated with the First Crusade were seen to herald the anti-Jewish sentiments that would culminate, nine centuries later but on the very same soil, in the attempt on the part of the Nazi regime to obliterate the Jewish people. In 1987, Robert Chazan up-ended this long-standing perception. He did so by showing the difficulty in identifying demonstrable changes in the political, economic, and intellectual conditions of Jewish communities in the decades that followed

the First Crusade. Despite the horrific massacres in 1096, Chazan convincingly claims that during the first half of the twelfth century the lives of Jews in western Europe were remarkably similar to those of their forebears a century earlier.[1]

Chazan's observations prompted scholars to scrutinise the tone and character of the sources that depict the events. While the attacks on communities in the Rhineland may have not resulted in the immediate deterioration of Jewish-Christian relations across Europe, the literary response to the massacres was indeed unprecedented and far-reaching. Liturgical poems were composed in the aftermath of the events, and prose accounts were disseminated, finally being redacted in three collections, the like of which is not to be found in the European Jewish Middle Ages. We might indeed contend that 1096 marks a turning point in the literary history of European Judaism. The literary interpretation of the events, their theological logic as well as their refutation, brought forth a literary space that was defining for subsequent generations. Indeed, the hermeneutical enterprise which the prose and verse accounts of the events instigated involved a profound rewriting of the topography in which the attacks took place, such that they were thought to bear sacrificial and theodicean meanings. This interpretive process, spanning the twelfth century on both sides of the Mediterranean and conducted in Hebrew, Latin, and Arabic, was deeply polemical and involved mutual attempts to thematise the spatial deployment of religious violence. As a result, the literary responses to the crusading enterprise that were formulated over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries effected profound changes in how Jews came to draw on their proof-texts to generate communal and spiritual significations.

From a narrative perspective, this transformation of hermeneutical space preceded the actual attacks. It took place in the literary renderings that inscribe the first contacts of crusading ideology with the Rhenish communities. Authors of the earliest prose accounts in Hebrew relate, for example, that Godfrey of Bouillon (d. 1100), the celebrated leader of the First Crusade, conflated his decision to take the cross with the desire to avenge Christ's death by spilling the blood of Jews. The fusing of Jewish Christ-killing with crusading ideology, we soon learn, is predicated on a radical redeployment of spatial alignment, which the Jewish author attributes to the French and German 'pilgrims/gentiles'. Crossing through places with large concentrations of Jews, the crusaders are said to have come to the realisation: 'We are headed far away to seek vengeance on our enemies the Ishamaelites; but among us here are the Jews, whose forefathers killed and crucified [Jesus]. Let us first take vengeance on them, and wipe them out as a nation [Ps. 83:4]'.[2] The crusading logic articulated here makes both a spatial

and a temporal connection by combining vengeance and purity: because the ultimate objective of the expedition is to purge the place of Jesus' crucifixion from Ishmaelites, whose presence in Jerusalem amounts to an assault on His memory, how can we not first purge Christian cities from those whose forefathers are responsible for that original assault? This statement betrays an assumption that Mainz, for example, shares in the sanctity of Jerusalem – both demanding defence (in the form of vengeance) from those whose very presence is considered an affront to Christ's memory. The position that the Jewish chronicles attribute to the earliest leaders of the First Crusade, in other words, is seen to have established precisely the spatial logic that paved the way for the assaults that ensued when subsequent groups of pilgrims arrived. Yet, this is also the literary space that the Hebrew accounts launched, establishing the sanctity of the places and the communities that were persecuted, by drawing on many of the very biblical figurations that were used by their Christian counterparts.[3]

While Peter the Hermit crossed through the Rhineland in April 1096, preaching the crusade and stirring up anti-Jewish agitation, it is only in May that assaults on Jewish communities began. In Speyer, a rather disorganised mob led by the notorious Emicho of Flonheim was the first to carry out an attack on the Sabbath morning of 3 May. In this case, thanks to the protective efforts of the local bishop, only eleven souls were lost. Subsequent attacks, in Worms, Mainz, and Cologne, proved far more deadly, despite the occasional genuine attempt by local ecclesiastical and secular authorities to thwart the assailants and to hide the Jews. Arguably the most dramatic episode is the one that took place in Mainz, on 27 May, where a true battle ensued between a mixed army of crusaders and incited burghers, and a band of Jews. An attempt was made by the Jews to block the entrance to the archbishop's courtyard, where hundreds had taken refuge. As the crusaders forced their way inside, having subdued the fatigued and outnumbered Jews, they were met with the most shocking spectacle of collective martyrdom to be associated with the Jewish response toward crusading violence in 1096. Chronicles and liturgists recorded multiple cases of men and women who, preferring as it were their own sacrificial sword over that of their enemies in faith, slaughtered first their loved ones and then themselves. Those besieged in the courtyard, alarmed by the impending arrival of their persecutors, are said to have interpreted collectively their condition as a divine injunction to bring about their own death, iconically terming it as death 'on the unity of His divine Name'. Events of a similar character, if with slightly less disastrous outcomes, unfolded as the crusaders maintained a northerly

course to Cologne and its environs, after which assaults continued in Trier, Metz, Regensburg, and finally in Prague.

Prose Crusade Chronicles

Both the scale of the murderous attacks on the Rhineland communities and, as some would say, the equally murderous reaction of the Jews, elicited a literary response that was unparalleled in European Jewish history. Short narratives describing incidents at the various sites were composed in the aftermath of the events, and were disseminated throughout the region. In the decades that followed the First Crusade, these reports were collected and edited into comprehensive compilations, of which three have survived. The first, and the one thought to be the earliest of the surviving works – known as the 'Mainz Anonymous' – relates events pertaining only to the major cities (Speyer, Worms, and Mainz). Neither its author nor his sources nor the circumstances of its composition are known, but it was one of the main sources for an additional compilation, by Solomon b. Samson. The latter, alongside the third and final chronicle, by renowned jurist and liturgist R. Eliezer b. Nathan, are derivative, synthetic works that were produced considerably later, in the middle decades of the twelfth century, and feature a more stylised and ideologically loaded articulation of the 1096 massacres. Moreover, as Eva Haverkamp has recently shown, both compilations draw on an early chronicle that is now lost, which appears to have also covered events that took place in Cologne, the lower Rhine Valley, and possibly other locations.[4] All in all, these prose compilations had a more powerful effect on the literary history of medieval *Ashkenaz* (i.e. Jewish communities of northern Europe) than is attested by the manuscript evidence. Only the chronicle by R. Eliezer, a well-respected authority on Jewish law, enjoyed some popularity, having survived in six medieval manuscripts. The other two are extant in a single copy each. Indeed, of the three compilations, R. Eliezer's is the one whose language is the most generic, and whose description of the events is most processed, making it more palatable for readers far removed, both temporally and geographically. Another indication that R. Eliezer envisioned an audience that exceeds the parameters of the local communities is the fact that he chose to employ a form that was hitherto unknown in *Ashkenaz*, namely the combination of prose and verse. Each one of the main episodes that the chronicle describes – in Speyer, Worms, Mainz, and Cologne – features a lament poem, and each of the four poems represents a singular style. R. Eliezer, in other words, appears to have attempted a composition whose stylistic allure and formal innovation would both match

the extraordinary nature of the events it describes, and would appeal to the taste of an 'inter-regional' audience.

In view of the fact that all three chronicles are composite works – including as they do reports by different authors who employ a variety of tones, narrative modes, and degrees of lurid specificity – it is difficult to ascertain what each of the compilers sought to achieve. As a whole, the chronicles laud individuals and groups that demonstrated outstanding heroism and extreme piety and exhort God to avenge the blood of the slain and restore divine justice. Furthermore, the narrators express the hope that the credit which the martyrs accumulated through their acts of unthinkable sacrifice will serve to protect communities from subsequent threats. Indeed, it is patent that the prose chronicle relates the deeds of the martyrs from the perspective of those who survived the attacks. The chronicler, for example, establishes the veracity of his reports by adducing the authority of eyewitnesses: 'thus testified the few who survived, having been forcibly converted [to Christianity], who heard with their own ears and saw in their own eyes what these pious ones did when they killed them, and what they said as they were being slain'.[5] Reports pertaining to some of the smaller communities (such as in Metz) relate that all but a select few were forcefully converted to Christianity. Yet after the assault with the departure of the crusaders, we are told, the community returned as one to Judaism and 'the Lord absolved the sins of His people'.[6] What is more, toward the end of his chronicle, Solomon appends a short panegyric 'in praise of the converts' (*anusim*). In it the author confirms that the converts, having been converted to Christianity forcefully, continue to undertake personal risks in order to observe the Sabbath and the dietary laws of Judaism.[7] Indeed, inasmuch as the chronicles relate the deeds of those who were slain (by the crusaders or by their own hands), the prose animates the voice of the forced converts whose stake in the events and their aftermath are made manifest.

If indeed the chronicles articulate the voice of the survivors, then the act of performative commemoration in which all three compilations engage has one overarching purpose – to reinvest the landscape that the survivors inhabit with a spiritual typology, through which to interpret the massacres of their compatriots. The chronicles summon a carefully crafted language in describing spaces where the most transformative and defining acts of sacrifice were seen to take place. Time and again, the narratives evoke biblical tropes that fashion a polemical reversal of the spatial logic earlier attributed to the leaders of the crusading camps – a hermeneutics that effects a temporal and geographical link between Jerusalem and the Rhineland, as sites of sanctity worthy of sacrifice.

The anonymous chronicler, for example, speaks of the Jews in Worms, who instead of staying in their homes sought refuge with Bishop Adalbert in the cathedral complex. When the crusaders invade the premises, however, this safe haven proves to be deadly, as the Jews become trapped in the inner courtyard and the sealed chambers that surround it. Noting that they were 'attacked from front and rear' (2 Chronicles 13:12) those inside perceived this as a divine decree, and trusting in their Creator, they offered up the 'sacrifices of righteous' [Deut. 33:19].[8] The narrator deliberately chose a language that places this lethal ambush not in the medieval cityscapes of Worms, but on the biblical hilltops of Judea. In so doing, the author imagines the space as one that is suitable to bear the 'sacrifice of righteousness', which the Deuteronomist situates on the Temple Mount. When wives warn their husbands 'do not lay a hand on the boy' (Genesis 22:12), referencing the Binding of Isaac, it is already clear that not only has the entire community become a sacrificial offering to the Lord, but that the rendering of the urban topography is what makes this typological imagination possible.

Solomon b. Samson invokes a language that echoes biblical descriptions of Jerusalem even more explicitly when relating a parallel episode in Mainz. His portrayal of the attempt to defend the gate to the cathedral's inner court in order to keep Emicho and his band of rioters outside is evocative of Ezekiel's descriptions of the Temple and its environs. As the besieged Jews confront the entrance of the crusaders into the cathedral complex they wail: 'all the Splendour has gone from the daughter of Zion' [Lam. 1:6], which is Mainz 'and they [i.e. the Jews] were demolished like the people of Jerusalem at the time of its destruction'.[9] In order to complete the biblical map of the Rhenish terrain, the author has the rabbis say, as they await their death: 'we have already set forth the sacrifice and constructed the altar for his Name'.[10] By invoking a highly spatial language, the prose achieves a hermeneutics which constructs a typological link between Mainz and Jerusalem, reaffirming as a result the sanctity of those who were martyred on its behalf.

This tendency is even more pronounced in R. Eliezer and R. Solomon's texts, which, as stated above, were compiled later than the anonymous text, and were intended for a more geographically diffuse readership. In other words, this spatial hermeneutics, which sought to redefine the terms on the basis of which communities were to interpret subsequent persecutions and the martyrs that they yielded, over the course of the twelfth century spread across time and space. For example, a chronicle which documents assaults that occurred during the Second Crusade and the second half of the twelfth century reproduces much of the same rhetoric. The author, R. Ephraim of Bonn (d. c. 1197), employs a symbolic topography that moulds local

scenery to biblical dimensions, in describing events that took place in Germany, France, and England. For R. Ephraim, when Jews sought refuge from the invading crusaders, they 'lifted up their eyes' (Gen. 22:4) and found a sanctuary in the elevated fortresses of their 'gentile acquaintances'. Those enclosed Christian communities that provided Jews with a shelter are thought to have 'allowed [them] to enter the crevices of the rocks [Exodus 33:22] and hide there until the wrath had passed' [Isaiah 26:6].[11] The prose transforms the hilltop castles in western Germany and southern France into Mt Moriah where Jews, like Isaac before them, are saved from slaughter, and where individuals and groups could find protection from the awesomely dangerous presence of the divine. Following in the footsteps of the First Crusade chronicles, then, R. Ephraim employs a spatial typology in which the mountains and terrain reveal their own biblical symbolism. Unsurprisingly, in the four manuscripts which contain Ephraim's chronicle, it is always bound together with the R. Eliezer's highly stylised compilation of the TaTNU massacres. As a whole, the prose accounts of crusade persecutions achieve a redeployment of Jewish symbolic topography, which consecrates the landscape of western Europe as sites of both refuge and sacrifice.

Liturgical Verse

The formation of typological space was affected also by the appearance, in the decades after the First Crusade, of a poetic corpus which fashioned the memory of the events. The circulation of liturgical renderings of the persecutions registers the gradual creation of a literary space, in which an imprint of the TaTNU assaults spread across communities in western Europe. This intricate poetic corpus shaped the way in which communities came to utilise biblical imagery in order to interpret the connection between their geography and the persecutions that they endured on it. It is difficult to date with much precision when the poems were authored, just as it is hard to pin down the date in which they were incorporated into the service books of particular communities. Nevertheless, the process that the poetic commemoration of the 1096 events underwent is more or less clear: early attempts to praise the bravery of local heroes and to mourn their loss gradually morphed into a generic language that would speak to a geographically diffuse readership.

The earliest poetic response to the events was in the form of penitential hymns (*Selihot*), which were written about particular assaults in order to commemorate members of the community who suffered martyrdom. Scholars have noted that these hymns frequently concern events that are

also featured in one or more of the aforementioned prose compilations. A comparison between the two renditions reveals that while the stories tend to be more or less the same, liturgists often had access to reports that are missing in the prose. Thus, it seems that some hymns were composed almost immediately after the massacres, and that they preserved local voices that later became muffled. Without question, these poems are of a distinctly local character; highly emotive, they were meant to be recited by the community on the anniversary of the event they memorialise. The earlier penitential prayers, by contrast, are decidedly anonymous (that is, they rarely state the names and lineage of victims) and they describe the attacks and their results in allusive language. The earlier poems, then, were intended for an audience that, even a generation after the First Crusade, was intimately familiar with the details of the calamity that had afflicted their community. Congregations turned to a liturgical register not in order to recall the details of the assaults, but as a vehicle to set in place, and to reaffirm, a theodicy that was thought to emerge from them.

Perhaps the most influential of the early penitential hymns, 'Lord do not Remain Silent over my Blood' (*Elohim Al-Domi le-Dami*) by R. David b. Meshullam, performs this hermeneutical work in a most compelling way. The poem rehearses the notion that the victims of crusading violence are, in fact, sacrificial offerings to God. As such, their deaths are not to be seen as the result of divine wrath; rather they mark a re-enactment of the Promise first articulated at Mt Moriah. The crusaders, in their frenzy to follow the 'sign of the abomination', sought to 'lay a screen of venom over the land' (after Isa. 25:7). But the Jews, '[saying that] this is our inheritance' (cf. Deut. 32:7), 'affirmed [their obedience to the Lord]' (cf. Deut. 26:17–8). The verses, in other words, portray the slaying of women and children as an act of piety that was driven by the idea that Mainz was their divine inheritance.[12] Fathers are imagined to have led their offspring, as if in a wedding down the aisle, only to be slaughtered. The poet ends with a typical plea that the innumerable 'bindings on Mt Mor[iah]' that took place in Mainz, will bring about the salvation of the survivors.[13] Communities added hymns such as this one to the liturgical calendar on the jahrzeit of their calamity, on which day the congregants would have observed a penitential fast. In this way, the memory of the martyrs was linked to a cult that featured a collective ritual of atonement whose liturgy involved a redefined appreciation of the community's ritual space.

At the turn of the twelfth century, hymns about the 1096 massacres started appearing in the form of Lamentations (*Qinot*) that comprise part of the Ninth of Av liturgy. What this means is that communities that were not themselves affected by these persecutions sought a way to tie their

collective experience to this literary and commemorative tradition. In the absence of a local annual fast, communities integrated the memory of the 1096 calamities to the universal services which commemorate the destruction of the Temples. Hymns about the Rhineland massacres, then, became part of a ritual whose purpose was to lament the paradigmatic disaster in Jerusalem. It might come as no surprise, then, that one of the earliest First Crusade lamentations, 'I Shall Annunciate Grief' (*Evel A'orer*), makes an exceptionally powerful connection between the desecration of the Temple(s) as well as the exile to which it led, and the persecutions in TaTNU.[14] The terse poem sets out the events in a resolutely general manner. As Avraham Gross has recently shown, even lamentations that treated specific episodes in more detail were designed for readers and congregations that had no personal acquaintance (even indirectly) with the martyrs. Thus, for example, Kalonymous b. Yehuda, the author of the lamentation 'I Said: Turn Away from Me' (*Amarti Sheu Minni*), relates the story that also appears in the prose compilations, about a mother who slaughtered her four children. In the versified version, however, the author omits all the textual cues that were intended for readers of the prose who were familiar with the historical protagonist.[15]

The authoring of lamentations, then, marks the stage in which the 1096 liturgy came to inhabit a universal space, both geographically and hermeneutically speaking. Another lamentation by the same author (Kalonymous b. Yehuda) emblematises the literary space that the First Crusade liturgy instituted. 'Oh that My Head were Water' (*Mi Yitten Roshi Mayim*) (Jer. 8:23) has a complicated manuscript history, as communities that incorporated it into their liturgy altered the poem, or rather added to it stanzas of local resonance. Apparently, the original poem consisted of five stanzas, each of which ends with the strophe: '[they wailed] about the House of Israel and about the Nation of God, for they fell on their sword'. The poem describes the events of 1096 in general terms and indulges in a rhetoric of profuse wailing that draws on conventional biblical proof-texts. However, as the lamentation started circulating in regions increasingly farther away from the Rhineland, an additional strophe was added at the end – 'The slaying of the holy communities is remembered' – which invited communities to append sections that related their own tribulations. In some manuscripts, the appendix contains but one addition, the one pertaining to the congregation in which the poem was sung, while others preserve the appendix of several communities, inscribing, as it were, the liturgical itinerary that the poem underwent until it reached its final form. This lamentation is a striking example of how the typology through which communities made sense of the 1096 persecutions disseminated throughout Germany and

France and shaped the liturgical language of persecutions for generations of European Jews.

Finally, in the second half of the twelfth century, a day for commemorating the 1096 attacks as a whole was instituted – the Sabbath before Shavuot/Pentecost. The two forms that had been used to commemorate the events until then were deemed unsuitable for technical reasons: neither penitential hymns nor lamentations make up part of the Sabbath service. For this reason, a third generation of poems was produced, this time in the form of a *Zulat* (technically denoting hymns that are sung during the Saturday morning service after the Shema prayer). These poems are found in the services of Jewish communities across Europe, some of which continued to be used for centuries.

By way of comparison, we might take Muslim poets in the twelfth-century Near East. These authors certainly responded polemically to the spatial hermeneutics of the crusading theology, but one could hardly argue that the Frankish conquest of Syria created a new literary space in contemporary Arabic poetry. Authors, for example, contested the perceived centrality of Christ and his tomb in the belligerent logic of the crusading enterprise. The famed Syrian poet al-Qaysarani, whose family was uprooted from his native Caesarea upon the Frankish conquest of the town in 1101, composed a panegyric for ʻImad al-Din al-Zengi. The latter conquered Edessa in 1144, a city whose population was predominantly Christian. The poet says: 'there was proof in the conquest of Edessa / unlike what the "barbarians" [*ʻuluj*] believed / They were hoping that the birth of the son of Mary would bring them victory / But it is his [=Zengi's] birth that brought their people no gain at all'.[16] For al-Qaysarani, then, the victory at Edessa is proof that the symbolic search for military might in the figure of Christ had failed the Franks. Slightly later, Saladin's own chief secretary, ʻImad al-Din al-Isfahani, penned a poem that shows how the articulation of an Ayyubid Muslim militant piety involved a self-conscious attempt to counter the most potent symbol of Frankish militant ideology. He implores Saladin to 'Purify Jerusalem from the defilement [*rijas*] of the Cross – … / The kingdoms of Egypt and al-Shām have been united – In a magnificent string of pearls chained by Islam / The most devout warrior king [al-Ghāzī, Saladin] shall rule them both – By charm, justice, and grace [*ni'mah*]'.[17]

There is, however, an important sense in which the spatial logic of Arabic verse from the second half of the twelfth century was shaped in reaction to categories that lay at the heart of the crusading enterprise. Muslim authors rarely invoked the notion of the 'Holy Land', which in Islam does not carry the same meaning as in Judaism or Christianity; instead, they found ways

to convey the sanctity of contested areas. Al-Qaysarani, for example, called upon his patron, Nūr al-Dīn, to re-appropriate the 'coastal plain', drawing on Quranic language of ritual purification: 'Let the Temple [*bayt al-maqdis*] be purified [*tahir*] – By nothing but the stream of their blood / If he (i.e. Nūr al-Dīn) performs ablution-by-sand [*tatayammam*] on the coastal plain [*sahil al-baḥr*] – Then, no doubt, he will reign over it'.[18] Al-Isfahāni followed suit in 1176, encouraging Saladin to ritually cleanse the 'land' from the presence of the Hospitallers: 'Go and conquer Jerusalem [al-Quds], and shed upon it – Blood, the flow of which would cleanse [*yanẓufī*] it / Lead the Hospitallers [*al-Isbitār*] to damnation – And collapse the ceilings on the bishop [*al-usquf*] / Clean that land from the presence of the infidels – And Allah will reward you with a cleansing in the *Mawqif* [place of gathering associated with the Day of Judgment]'.[19]

Apocalypse

The influence of the crusading movement on Jewish history and literature is far from limited to the persecution of Jews during expeditions to Jerusalem in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The founding of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem brought about a sharp rise in the number of European Jews (and Christians) who embarked on pilgrimage to the holy sites in the East. A steady stream of Jewish visitors from both Iberia and *Ashkenaz* headed toward the Land of Israel, many of whom documented their travel in accounts that later circulated widely in the West. Despite the increase in visitors and general preoccupation with Jerusalem and the Land of Israel as a concrete destination, in the twelfth century very few chose to stay and resettle in this region. The early thirteenth century, however, saw a profound shift in the pattern of Jewish immigration to the Holy Land. Many more people chose to head eastward, in multiple waves of immigration, than had in previous centuries. More importantly, those who did so employed a specific language – a highly belligerent, apocalyptic one – to justify and describe their passage to the Holy Land and their presence on it.

The largest and best-documented wave of immigration arrived in Palestine in the spring of 1211 and is said to have been comprised of three hundred participants. While some of the Frenchmen from the initial 1210–11 waves of immigrations returned to Europe after only a few short years in the East, many others became established in Acre and attracted a steady stream of newcomers from among their family members and disciples. An anonymous member of the 1211 movement appears to have penned a treatise titled *Homily on the King Messiah*, which can be read as an attempt to mould the cultural and political stakes of this group in an apocalyptic framework.[20]

This rich and complex text defends a position that calls Jews to immigrate to Palestine in order to reclaim it from the hands of both Christians and Muslims. At the heart of the treatise is a discussion of a group of devoted Jews who embark on an eastbound expedition in order to conquer the Land of Israel in preparation for the coming of the Messiah. Their expedition is thought to set into motion an elaborate messianic process that includes several cycles of triumph and defeat, and that is to end with the ultimate conquest of the Holy Land. This kernel, however, is enveloped by lengthy discussions on the date and nature of the coming of the messiahs, and employs a carefully articulated apocalyptic language to describe holy warfare that will both bring about and follow their arrival.

The anonymous author of the homily utilised the language of messianic war as a rhetorical tool to depict the mission and goals of the immigration movement, of which he was part, and to justify the immigrants' desire to dwell in the Land of Israel. The thirteenth-century Near East saw an abundance of authors, of all persuasions, who resorted to this very rhetorical strategy that sought to advance political and cultural claims through narratives on divinely sanctioned warfare. In other words, the author of the homily did not necessarily employ the figures of Christian and Muslim enemies – before whom Jewish warriors are seen to perform their praiseworthy belligerent spirituality – to communicate claims about Jewish power, but to articulate a typology of the Holy Land in a language that had an immediate inter-religious purchase.

The first generation of Jewish immigrants formed the intellectual, social, and institutional backbone of the community in Acre until its fall in 1291. The ideology and intellectual legacy of that founding generation was the basis for further meditations on the connection between the presence of the Jewish community in Acre and a political and spiritual claim over the Land of Israel. A homily known by the title 'Prayers of Rashbi' (*Tefilat R. Shimon b. Yochai*) is a prime example. As in the case of other contemporary apocalypses, the circumstances in which this work was authored and copied are hard to pin down. In fact, it is unlikely that the homily in its present form was created by a single author; it seems to be an amalgam of various traditions, which, over time, were piled atop one another. Nonetheless, scholars agree that at least some of its textual units work in tangible, if deliberately ambiguous, references to events from the time of the crusades.

At the heart of the homily is a section that describes a series of battles in 'the plain of Acre' between Edom and Ishmael, which stand for Christianity and Islam. The two kingdoms are seen to be entangled in a literal deadlock which, in the eyes of the enthusiastic author, brings about their mutual demise. The Israelites then are imagined to take advantage of this turn of

events, and to deploy what appears to be a fantastic mirror image of the Frankish conquest of Jerusalem, including the massacre of all the non-Christian inhabitants:

> This is what you will do to the evil city and to its king … and they will raise a cry – *Shemah Israel* – and immediately the walls fall and they enter the city. Inside they find dead men lying in the streets. The warriors [of Edom] are frozen like stones mounted on their horses, as it is said '[her men of war] will fall silent like stones' [Jer. 50:30, Exod. 16:16]. And the Israelites grow mightier still and for three straight days and nights they kill [everybody] inside the city … Then the King Messiah reveals himself among them and says: 'my sons, I am the King Messiah. You have been waiting for me, and in any calamity that may befall upon you I am your companion until this very day'.[21]

Such fictional narratives had a specific aim, one possible to grasp by interrogating the circumstances that led to this victory. Let us do so by returning to the beginning of the preceding passage: 'And you saw the Shalmaite [i.e. Muslims] entering the plain of Acre. Iron shatters clay while legs crush toes [cf. Daniel 2:34–5], and they become intermingled in the kingdom. As a result, the evil kingdom falls'. The author appears to believe that the Christian kingdom fell not because its army was outnumbered, but rather because it became dangerously intermingled with the Shalmaites. What is more, the rest of this passage dwells on the consequences of a variety of internal disagreements or unlikely alliances that took place during this extended battle scene on the 'plain of Acre'. For example, the joint forces of Italians and Edom are able to scare off Ishmael to the plain of Jericho, at which point both sides – the Christians and the Muslims – 'say to one another: "where are you going and whereto are we coming, abandoning our sons and daughters"? They, then, both return and [together] wage a different battle in the plain of Megiddo'. In another episode, we learn that the Assyrians take both the sons of Rome and those of Ishmael captive. Upon their departure, after nine months of subjugation, they bring peace to the Land. However, the Italians seek to provoke war together with Ishmael, hoping that 'the Kingdom return to us'. But 'before they are even able to lift their heads' the Assyrians take advantage of the situation and 'take them and their kinsmen captive'.

Here, apocalyptic language advances broad cultural and political claims. The homily celebrates the cultural cohesion of the Jewish community and contrasts it with the perceived tendency of Near Eastern Muslims and Christians to collaborate with each other against their own co-religionists. Homilies like the Prayer of RaSHBI helped authors convey this notion by setting up the difference between Jews and Gentiles through staging

narratives of fictional wars between, and within, both camps. In choosing apocalyptic writing as a literary vehicle, then, authors were not merely critical but also polemical: they criticised the political ideology of Christians and Muslims by drawing on a shared pool of symbols that they turned against their rhetorical neighbours.

The famous Damascene Sufi polymath Muḥi al-Din Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240), for example, recorded an apocalyptic tradition that, much like the Prayer of RaSHBI, is a thinly veiled re-staging of contemporary political events. Under the title 'On the Destruction of the Land in the End of Time' there unfolds a short story which involves the arrival of a 'king of the West' heading a large army made up of three divisions, whose destination is Egypt.[22] As a result of the Christian triumph in Cairo, several Muslim apocalyptic figures appear in close succession: the Mahdi arrives and kills al-Sufyani, but is then killed by the Dajjal. Then Jesus Christ appears and kills both the Dajjal and Gog and Magog, after which he dies and is buried between Muhammad and Abu Bakr. Although this account does not conform to any sequence of historical events in the region, many of the descriptions are easily recognisable. The anonymous author, like his Jewish counterpart, conflated a grid of conventional apocalyptic symbolism with barely concealed, and slightly amended, references to disparate contemporary events. Of particular significance, therefore, are places where both authors put to use traditional apocalyptic motifs in a way that renders them meaningful in the context of local conversations on sacred warfare over the Holy Land.

This genre presented authors in thirteenth-century Acre with an opportunity to imagine an inversion of political hierarchies, where (finally) Jews were cast as champions of wars that were imagined to bring about the end of their exilic servitude. But through these apocalypses authors also discussed questions of spirituality and sacred geography in narrative structures and categories that they shared with their neighbours. Like their Christian and Muslim counterparts, Jewish authors borrowed from, and took ownership of, an apocalyptic corpus that had ancient roots and that featured much overlap with the other traditions. In part, the purpose of these homilies was to mould contemporary political and natural events into intelligible shapes, so as to render them meaningful in the typological memory of Jewish audiences. However, the French immigrants in Acre and their successors also deployed this language to portray the footprints of a political movement that sought to make claims about the Land of Israel and about the nature of their spiritual and ritual experience upon it. This apocalyptic corpus provided thirteenth-century Jews in Acre with a language in which to lay their claims in a local inter-religious context, as it rivalled contemporary Frankish and Ayyubid accounts about theodicic and political claims over the Holy Land.

Conclusion

The Frankish conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 had a profound effect on the way European (and Near Eastern) societies conceptualised the symbolic meaning of the spaces they inhabited. As Dominique Iogna-Prat has aptly pointed out, there is a tendency in the scholarship to assume that the rehabilitation of Jerusalem as a 'real' place, after the founding of the Latin Kingdom, precluded the possibility of turning to it as allegorical space. Yet, precisely the opposite was true: the more tangible appreciation of Christ's Land facilitated the transfer of its sanctity elsewhere. The conquest, in other words, made it easier to duplicate and translate images of Jerusalem to the West. But in the early decades of the twelfth century, crusading ideologues gradually articulated a theology of holy war on behalf of a Land that sought to revive the exclusivity of its sanctity. With the territorialisation of order and power in the West, the twelfth century saw the gradual rise of a political-theology that viewed European kingdoms as not only Christian and holy, but as spaces from which Jews and other non-believers ought to be exiled. The enclosure of Jews in an apocalyptic space that is defined by both temporal and geographical boundaries is a rather uncommon theme in late medieval maps and travel narratives.

And so we come full circle: an early example of these spatial hermeneutics is found in the position that the Hebrew chronicler, with which our story begins, attributed to Godfrey of Bouillon. The logic that Godfrey is imagined to have voiced draws a line, both temporal and geographic in nature, between Mainz and Jerusalem, a line which for him justifies waging war on behalf of this 'holy land'. But for the Jewish authors of hymns and prose accounts, on both sides of the Mediterranean, this very same hermeneutics occasioned a space that sanctified the chosen community and crowned its martyrs, real or imagined. It is a space that became fashioned not only through the footsteps of armed pilgrims who, in the imagination of ideologues and preachers marched across Europe and 'returned' to the Holy Land, but also in the literary productions of authors, who put such space to ever-new use.

NOTES

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1 Robert Chazan, *European Jewry and the First Crusade*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1987, 198–200.

2 Eva Haverkamp (ed.), *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs*, Hannover, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2005, 295.

3 *Ibid*., 247–59 (Mainz), 471 (Trier).

4 *Ibid.*, 49–63.
5 *Ibid.*, 399, translated by Chazan, *European Jewry*, 273:

> וכן העידו אליהם אותם מתי מעט הנותרים שנאנסו, אשר שמעו באזניהם וראו בעיניהם את שעשו החסידים האילו כשהרגום ומה שדברו בשעת שחיטתן והריגתן.

6 Haverkamp (ed.), *Hebräische Berichte*, 481.
7 *Ibid.*, 483.
8 *Ibid.*, 285.
9 *Ibid.*, 315.
10 *Ibid.*, 345.
11 Shlomo Eidelberg, *The Jews and the Crusaders: The Hebrew Chronicles of the First and Second Crusades*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1977, 123.
12 Avraham Fraenkel, Abraham Gross, and Peter Lehnardt (eds.), *Hebräische liturgische Poesien zu den Judenverfolgungen während des Ersten Kreuzzugs*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2016, 79–81.
13 *Ibid.*, 89.
14 *Ibid.*, 111–3.
15 *Ibid.*, 179–81.
16 Ibrahim Shams al-Din, (ed.), Abu Shamah, *Kitab al-Rawdatayn*, 5 vols., Beirut, Dar al-Kutub al-Almiyah, 2002, I:173.
17 *Ibid.*, I:175.
18 ‘Imād al-Dīn Kātib al-Isfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qasr wa-Jarīdat al-’Asr*, Damascus, Matbū’āt al-Majma’ al-’Ilmi al-’Arabī, 1955, 158–9.
19 Abu Shamah, *Kitab*, II:450–1.
20 Darmstadt, Hessisches Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Cod. Or. 25, f. 14v-1.
21 Uri Shachar, ‘*Dialogical Warfare: Figurations of Pious Belligerence among Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Authors in the Crusading Near East*’ (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 2014), 388–400; a variant reading appears in E. E. Urbach, ‘A Messianic Homily from the Period of the Later Crusades’, [Hebrew] *Eretz Israel*, 10 (1971), 58–63.
22 Muḥi al-Din Ibn al-’Arabi, *Muhadarat al-Abrar wa-Musamarat al-Akhyar*, Damascus, Dar al-Yaqẓah al-‘Arabiyah, 1968, 340–43.

8

SUZANNE M. YEAGER

The Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem

The Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem featured as a major devotional focus for many diverse faith communities long before the crusades. Among Christians, the fifth-century Church Father, John Cassian, provided an influential exegetical template of the holy city that included the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem within his four-fold symbolic paradigm. During the crusading period, however, the city expanded its interpretational valence. Premodern Christian discourses of the city's ownership had focused on inhabiting Jerusalem spiritually, reflecting a devotionally focused state of mind, as well as viewing that city as an exegetical symbol of Heaven. Certainly, the city itself was valued as the central pilgrimage destination of all Latin Christians, for Jerusalem's place as witness to the Passion gave it a vitality as living scripture. And yet the promotion of the crusades fashioned such spiritual, often symbolic, desire for the city into something much more concrete. That is, the Jerusalem of the Latin Crusader period performed not only as symbol and touchstone, but also as something which could be owned in a very real sense. According to depictions of the earliest crusading sermons, ownership of the holy city also guaranteed heavenly and earthly salvation, promised political dominance in western Asia and western Europe, and fulfilled a divine plan. For some, it even would even set the Apocalypse into motion.

During the medieval period, the city was of historical importance to the major faiths of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Jewish communities revered Jerusalem as a locus of sacred Jewish history related to the Temple, a land of promise, the famous seat of the rulers Solomon and David, and site of longing. Christian communities revered a sacred history which overlapped with that of Jewish tradition, as seen in the shared scriptures. Old Testament events were for many premodern Christians the exegetical foreshadowing of the events of the New Testament, which represented for them the fulfilment of the promise of a messiah. Jerusalem therefore was venerated by Christian communities as the site of Christ's life and Passion, and was believed to be the designated site of the Last Judgment. For Islam, the mosque of Al-Aqsa

in Jerusalem became a site reverenced in prayer and made sacred by the presence of Muhammed; in a miracle recorded in the Qur'an, Muhammed was taken by the angel Gabriel from Mecca to Al-Aqsa and back, during the Prophet's night journey and ascension, establishing a mystical relationship between the two cities in Muslim spiritual devotion. All of these relationships to the city were destabilised and challenged over the course of the crusading period.

Many fine studies have already traced the contours of Jerusalem in medieval thought; Sylvia Schein, Joshua Prawer, and others have shown how crusading events, particularly those of 1099, transformed medieval interpretations of Jerusalem. Certainly these events would affect representations of Jerusalem produced by medieval poets, liturgical writers, architects, and artists, as seen in studies by Bianca Kühnel, Robert Ousterhout, Ora Limor, and others.[1] While surveying the development of the Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem is not within the scope of this discussion, some examples of this trajectory are offered here in order better to frame a discussion about the Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem during the crusading era.

Scriptural Roots of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem

In terms of the exegetical history which would undergird the promotion of the crusades, one can look as far back as Jewish scripture which portrayed historical and spiritual longing for the city of Jerusalem. The origins of the Earthly and Heavenly binary are visible in sacred texts which portrayed earthly life as a type of exile or period of captivity. Certainly, Jewish scriptural exegesis reflected deeply rooted desires for the restoration of and return to the holy city. These depictions of yearning draw from the covenant and exilic periods, and periods of oppression and separation; these expressions of faith related closely to the lamentations over the destructions of the Temple, remembered liturgically in Judaism on the ninth of the Hebrew month of Av. The depiction of the Children of Israel yearning for Zion is seen specifically in the Lamentations and books of the prophets, such as Isaiah and Jeremiah (e.g. Jeremiah 50:5). The Psalms, too, spoke of faithful people living as 'sojourners' to the extent that an ideal city or gathering place became the focus of devotional and actual intent (e.g. Psalms 29:12). For medieval Christians, New Testament sources – such as the Apostle Paul's Epistles to the Philippians (e.g. 3:20), Hebrews (e.g. Hebrews 11:13–16) and Peter (e.g. I Peter 2:11) – compared the experience of living in the world to that of living as strangers and exiles. This image of the sojourner appears numerous times in Paul's letters of encouragement to the early Christian churches. Scholarly opinion holds that, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, Paul

was writing to a Jewish-Christian community in Palestine, and perhaps sought to employ scriptural *topoi* familiar to his audience. In this letter, Paul draws from earlier portrayals of the Patriarchs and their descendants as wanderers seeking to settle in a promised land. Paul extended this notion of the land of promise to a Christian Heaven (e.g. Hebrews 11:9–11). As Paul states, these sojourners 'desired a better country, that is, a heavenly one. Therefore, God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he has prepared for them a city' (Hebrews 11:16). Here, the 'true homeland' is heavenly, not earthly.

This symbolism of heavenly *patria* is found throughout the Christian Gospels as well; for instance, in the Gospel of John 14:2, Christ would explain to his followers, 'In my Father's house there are many mansions', and after Christ's ascension into Heaven, he would 'go to prepare a place', for Christians there. This verse and others like it offered a practical depiction of the afterlife to Christians, and depended on a spiritual rejection of the present world. This symbolism of the celestial city of 'many mansions' would later take its place in crusading discourse in a much more concrete way, as is discussed below. Alongside the images of heavenly homeland, Biblical references to the Heavenly Jerusalem also provide the origins of the holy city's place in the eschaton. That is, Heavenly Jerusalem would not only signify as Heaven (the destination of souls), but also as a perfected Jerusalem – sometimes referred to as the New Jerusalem – which would descend from the heavens to the earth, as envisioned by John of Patmos. Following Revelation 21 and 22, Christians believed that the physical Jerusalem would be replaced by a celestial one in the Last Days. Certainly, the letter to the Hebrews mentioned above features eschatological overtones as well, as Christians are to seek 'the city which is to come' (Hebrews 13:14). Yet more explicitly, John's apocalyptic vision speaks of 'the holy city, Jerusalem, descending from God, on high' (Revelation 21:10). Christian scripture held that it was within Jerusalem that the Last Judgment would take place. This belief was so strongly held that Christian pilgrims were known to plan their visits so that they might die and be buried near Jerusalem so that they would be closest to these foretold events, and be among the first to be resurrected in the Last Days.

Beyond these scriptural origins, Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem occupy myriad symbolic representations. The classifications of 'Heavenly Jerusalem' and 'Earthly Jerusalem' are deceptively simple binaries, seeming to represent – at least from a Latin Christian, medieval standpoint – neoplatonic representations of form and image ('Neoplatonism', a term derived from Plotinus's interpretations of Plato, imagined a transcendent and ideal 'upper world', in whose shadow the 'lower', actual world was but a reflection of the ideal). Further research, however, uncovers a vast hermeneutic

network which not only includes such neoplatonic interpretations in its valence, but also depends upon traditions which were temporally, geographically, and generically bound; such interpretations also varied according to intended audience. As Thomas Renna has shown, for monastic Christian writers, 'Heavenly Jerusalem' represented a range of abstractions including that of the eternal homeland, the peace of the soul, the human soul, the unity of the Church, the Church, the body of Christ, the image of contemplation, the image of the monastery or cloister, *vestigia* of God's mercy, civic peace, the happiness of divine contemplation, the object of the Christian's quest, Christian Heaven, the hoped-for destination of Christian souls, the celestial city of the end of time mentioned in John's apocalyptic vision, and more.[2] Moreover, the symbolically laden term, 'Zion', when used by medieval Christian writers, sometimes functioned interchangeably with Heavenly Jerusalem and sometimes not (for the former, see for example Prosper of Aquitaine and Augustine; for the latter, see for example Augustine and Isidore of Seville who render 'Zion' as *speculatio*, hope for salvation).[3] The Earthly Jerusalem also was heavily theorised, including such interpretations as that of the Christian Church on pilgrimage, the Church on earth, a place of suffering, a place of exile and wandering, the place of prophecy, the city promised to the Jewish people, the Temple, Synagoga, 'unrepentant' Jewish people, the place where Christian pilgrims and crusaders travel, the place of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, the world outside the monastery or cloister, the human body, a slave or free woman, and object of possession. Each one of these hermeneutics carries a complex history; each representation involves considerable variation according to the traditions from which it stems, and may even have been dropped, and then reprised and refashioned over time. It would be an understatement to say that Jerusalem could (and does) signify in many ways, depending on the needs of respective writers.

Some historical interpretations of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem raise ethical dilemmas, such as that involving the virulent identification of the Earthly Jerusalem with Jewish communities portrayed as sinful (a view promoted, for example, by Ambrose). Prawer and Schein have pointed out a conflict in early exegetical commentary regarding the city, observing that terrestrial Jerusalem was consciously ignored by early Christians, and that the Ambrosian depiction of the city as wretched extended to its Jewish inhabitants.[4] As Prawer points out, this portrayal of a fallen or debased Jerusalem can be drawn from various interpretations of the respective Gospels of Matthew 24:1–22 and Luke 19:42–44, in which Christ repudiates the Temple. Similar views are reflected in Apostle Paul's recounting of the births of the respective sons born to Abraham and Sarah and to Abraham and Hagar. On the one hand, according to St Paul, Christians are like

Sarah's sons, born of promise; Sarah is said to belong to the 'Jerusalem above', and to serve as 'the mother of us all' (Galatians 4:22–26). On the other hand, Paul states, Hagar is said to represent the present-day Jerusalem, 'in slavery with her children'. Later fourth-century theologians, including John Chrysostom of Antioch, would draw upon these differences, observing that there were, in effect, two Earthly Jerusalems: one being 'the city of the Jews' (then in ruins), and the other being the 'Christian Jerusalem' (said to be thriving). These Earthly Jerusalems were even set at odds against each other: Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, would describe Constantine's remodelling of the city in terms of a Christian 'triumph' over Judaism, as Jerusalem took a new place in the Christian empire.[5] Specific *topoi* of the Jewish city were appropriated to promote the Christian one: Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea (c. 260–340), writing as Constantine's biographer, would compare the emperor's arrangement for the construction of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem to that of David and Solomon whom God commanded to build the Temple.[6]

Multi-fold Senses of Jerusalem: Church Fathers and Monastic Responses

The concepts of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem are rooted in the works of the Church Fathers who built upon sacred scripture for their commentaries and sophisticated exegetical systems. These Christian authors portrayed hermeneutics of various layers of complexity for the city of Jerusalem, including Origen's three-fold meaning of the city: that of the literal, moral, and mystical. While many exegetes of the period offered four-fold systems, the above-mentioned Cassian's *Collationes* emerged as the *locus classicus* of subsequent, premodern interpretations of that place. Cassian offered a four-fold sense of scripture wherein the city featured allegorically as the body of Christ's Church or Christian believers, historically as the homeland of the Jewish people, anagogically as the Heavenly Jerusalem, and morally or tropologically as the human soul.[7] Christian theologians were certainly not the sole providers of productive exegesis for the city of Jerusalem; indeed, Jewish commentary and, later, Muslim commentary, offered carefully wrought interpretive networks. Yet it was the writing of the Church Fathers which became so central to later, Christian crusading discourses, shaping persuasive rhetoric involving initiatives such as military recruitment, the continued development and application of Just War theory, and the creation of crusading liturgies and celebratory pieces.

Like Cassian, Augustine portrayed a four-fold Jerusalem in a paradigm that included the Heavenly city, the Earthly city, the Old Testament city, and city of the Christian future.[8] Alongside these interpretations,

Augustine's division of humanity in his *De civitate Dei* provided a model which corresponded with and subsequently shaped theological work on the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem. Augustine divides the human race into two parts: 'the one consisting of those who live according to man', the other of 'those who live according to God'. He further refines this bipartite structure with civic imagery, adding, 'and these [divisions] we also mystically call the two cities'. Augustine's exegetical underpinnings interpret Cain as belonging to the 'city of men', the 'evil and carnal' place to which all people at first belong; Abel, having encountered God's grace, is a 'citizen' of the 'city of God', described as 'by grace a stranger below, by grace a citizen above'.[9] Renna sees in Augustine's dualism – where the physical world equates with damnation, and a heavenly world equates with salvation – a reach toward simple metaphors to explain the crisis conditions involved with the fall of Rome, and to reflect a change in homiletic style in order to accommodate the influx of Germanic peoples to the western Roman Empire.[10]

Augustine's views were influential, and they were continuously adapted. Caesarius of Arles, Archbishop of Arles (as of 502), and a prelate whose see changed hands under the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Franks, differs from Augustine in portraying the Church as what Renna calls an 'aggregate of believers [rather] than as a body corporate'; for Caesarius of Arles, anyone could enter into the community of heaven as long as they had earned entry via ascetic practice.[11] Renna, commenting on politically driven adaptations of the city, proposes that later Carolingian authors, because of the 'rise of the Frankish empire, external attacks, and renewed threats to monasteries', would be predisposed to focus on Jerusalem as the Church whose unity and future needed protection.[12] Alcuin of York, the biblical commentator and advisor to Charlemagne, portrays Jerusalem as an archetype for empire with the emperor's powers working in concert with sacerdotal authority; Alcuin's advice to Charles, written for the ruler as a mirror, reflects a community-wide search for moral order. The idealistic, good king ruling on earth would serve as the image of God ruling in His heavenly city.[13] Celestial Jerusalem, then, with God ruling it, formed a positive model of good rulership as well as a spiritual goal. While these interpretations are abstract, the place was still of importance and, over time, reflected contemporary interests in Christian pilgrimage and crusading. For example, in Spain, Isidore of Seville, author of the sixth-century *Etymologiae*, developing Ezekiel 5:5 and Jewish exegesis, described Jerusalem as the geographical centre of the world.[14] By the thirteenth century, when William Durandus, Bishop of Mende, discussed his four-fold senses of scripture, they had acquired a distinctive, embattled tone; for instance, Durandus viewed the city, historically, as a Palestinian town and destination of Christian pilgrims; allegorically, as the Church

Militant; tropologically, as the human soul; and anagogically, as the celestial Jerusalem and heavenly homeland.[15] Later exegetes, such as Nicholas of Lyre and Joachim of Fiore, would include Antichrist, Muslim adversaries, and even the Church of Rome as part of Jerusalem's significance.[16]

Pilgrimage and the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem

Jerusalem's terrestrial qualities – the very fact that it could be experienced through the senses – offered premodern Christian visitors the substantiation of biblical scripture and devotional enrichment. Those Christians who travelled to Jerusalem did so for many reasons: the place was perceived to enliven spiritual devotion, to offer healing and forgiveness of sins, and, for some, simply to satisfy curiosity. From its beginnings, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was promoted as a place of supreme contact with the divine; Origen wrote that those who journeyed there would 'walk in the footsteps' of Christ.[17] Among ecclesiastical thinkers, a dichotomous relationship between an Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem emerged early on, but the position of such critics was far from clear-cut. The writings of Jerome provide a good example of this division for, on the one hand, in his Letter of Paula, he promotes the eponymous Roman woman's visit to the city as a means to expand her faith and more fully to understand biblical scripture; the place would function as a means of contact with the physical sites where it was believed that Christ taught and lived.[18] Moreover, in his commentary on Apostle Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, Jerome writes that seeing Judaea 'with their own eyes' offers 'clearer insight into holy scriptures'.[19] Jerome's writing to Paulinus of Nola, on the other hand, condemns the city as an urban centre replete with moral dangers, and also chastises the flocks of Christian visitors to Jerusalem, stating that the holy city provided nothing new for matters of their salvation, and that pursuing salvation would be better done at home.[20] Pilgrimage was also denounced by Gregory of Nyssa in the fourth century because, according to Gregory, 'God is everywhere', showing a differently orientated objection to pilgrimage than the temptation to sin mentioned by Jerome; that is, for Gregory, associating an omnipresent God with geographical space is theologically inconsistent.[21] Neither Jerome nor Gregory of Nyssa's warnings seem to have stemmed the flow of those who travelled to the Near East.

At present, the earliest surviving texts recording Christian pilgrimage to Jerusalem include the fourth-century works of Egeria (perhaps a Galician nun or abbess) and that of the Pilgrim of Bordeaux. The travellers' respective texts reflect an already-established travel tradition, replete with mention of other pilgrims, specific sites, liturgies, as well as an embedded industry of local Christian ascetics who guided visiting pilgrims within

Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. Egeria appended a description of an established Jerusalem liturgy, thereby adding to the possibilities of devotional performance within the holy city, and replications of it in western Europe. Visitors to Jerusalem's sacred Christian sites owed much to the early fourth-century building projects of Roman emperor Constantine, who transformed the city into a Christian capital, known then as Aelia. Most accounts of the process depict the emperor, together with his mother, Helena, playing a direct role in discovering and establishing the sites and relics sacred to Christianity – including the Tomb of the Holy Sepulchre and the Hill of Golgotha, along with the True Cross – and memorialising them with elaborate building projects and reliquary spaces. Egeria's affective use of Jerusalem, and that of Christian pilgrims for generations to follow, represent devotional experiences which relied on that location to inspire the Christian imagination. In this sense, the Earthly Jerusalem was an aid to spiritual experience and memory. The Muslim conquest of the city in the year 638 did not hamper Christian pilgrim involvement, although it did coincide with a renewed interest in the city's eschatological significance. For example, the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, written in Syriac, first appeared in 660–680, challenging Islam and demanding Byzantine rule. The text would resurge in the tenth century, with Adso's reworking of the text, promoting Jerusalem as the centre of Christian eschatology. While most surviving Jerusalem pilgrim accounts post-date the twelfth century, records of the travellers' infrastructure, and the booming pilgrim galley business between Italian coastal cities and Jaffa suggest its continued popularity in spite of unpredictable political circumstances. Moreover, Schein and others have noted an upswing in Christian pilgrimage in the eleventh century with mass pilgrimages becoming popular.

While place pilgrimage was gaining popularity in the eleventh century, monastics saw 'interior' pilgrimage as superior to the actual journey. In theory, simply taking up the enclosed life of the monastery could be tantamount to entering the celestial city. As Renna puts it, the monastic life was perceived in opposition to 'the "exterior" journeys of ordinary pilgrims or crusaders'.[22] Like the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Jerusalem of interior pilgrimage was seen by monastic authors as a city of spiritual refuge; this idea of refuge was informed by the possibility that the inner peace once associated only with the celestial Jerusalem was also accessible on earth. One could progress to this state of peace through behaving virtuously and living an ascetic life. It is not difficult to see how this logic extended to the monastery, so that by the eleventh and twelfth centuries Jerusalem came to be associated with early, original monastic rule.[23] Celestial Jerusalem came to represent not only the perfection perceived in monastic rule, but also was

something that could be attained on earth in the act of striving for it, as the Heavenly Jerusalem also represented monastic desire for Heaven. Renna speculates that monastics perhaps sensed a closer spiritual connection to Heavenly Jerusalem than did the Church Fathers, because the monastics of the high Middle Ages viewed themselves as 'in Jerusalem' as they aspired to its form. Bernard of Clairvaux, for instance, wrote that his abbey of Clairvaux was Jerusalem.[24] By the twelfth century, traffic to the Holy City continued to increase, but the journey was seen as improper for monks and nuns. Inhabiting Interior Jerusalem meant that one could experience all of the benefits of pilgrimage simply by cultivating a mindful life within the monastic enclosure. It is significant that, for monastics, the geographical Jerusalem is replaced by a physical monastery, and the spiritual work within this enclosed space continues to extend toward Heavenly Jerusalem.

Another form of abstract medieval travel to Jerusalem has become known as the 'virtual' or 'armchair' pilgrimage. This type of meditative journey was taken up by Latin pilgrims, many of them laity, who used visualisations of the Jerusalems produced in Christian maps of the Holy Land and *itineraria* in order to aid Christ-centric devotions. Writers of pilgrim accounts imagined an audience who could not travel because of limiting circumstances, and the accounts therefore filled in the experience for them. The Russian abbot Daniel (*fl.* 1105) and the Italian poet Petrarch (d. 1374) are two among many authors who state as such. However, the accounts also may have been used devotionally, at home, by those who already had travelled. These practices of 'armchair pilgrimage' differ noticeably from interior pilgrimage for many reasons, not the least being the monastic relationship required in interior pilgrimage, as well as virtual pilgrimage's requirement of ekphrastic representations of Earthly Jerusalem to aid spiritual growth. These representations were to be used affectively, as audiences followed the life and Passion of Christ through the textual markers. Texts which gave detailed descriptions of each site, such as those late medieval works of Petrarch and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, sometimes included crosses in the margins to indicate where certain amounts of grace could be earned. Among laity, physical travel to Jerusalem was accorded special reverence exceeding that of the virtual or armchair pilgrimage. Travellers brought back physical souvenirs and contact relics from the place, with various pilgrim medals and Jerusalem palm fronds among them. Multiple pilgrim accounts surfaced, such as that by William Wey (c. 1407–76), which would instruct pilgrims on how best to make their journeys. Information was given about places of note within the sacred city, and the accounts described the sites and recounted their (at times spurious) histories. By the fourteenth century, the Franciscans of Mount Zion opened their library

doors to pilgrims who would copy their own Jerusalem guides, probably patterned after a few shared exemplars.[25] As a reflection of these journeys, western European church architecture replicated the experience of Jerusalem in Easter Sepulchre shrines and round churches emulating the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Ritualistically, the city featured in the Jerusalem liturgies performed throughout Europe.[26] It is clear that the Earthly Jerusalem as 'destination of pilgrims' was extremely important spiritually and culturally.

Crusading and the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem

At the end of the eleventh century, the ideological underpinnings of pilgrimage gained a new interpretive vocabulary. As far as the letters of Pope Urban II and the recollections of his crusading sermons at Clermont in 1095 relate, the act of joining western European armies for gaining territory in the Near East became a form of pilgrimage. According to most accounts, the goal of the campaigns included a visit to the Tomb of the Holy Sepulchre, only in this case, the pilgrims bore arms. Certainly the participants knew the difference between a campaigning soldier and pacific traveller; indeed, Arabic sources show that Islamic defenders assuredly knew the difference. However, the borrowed rhetoric of pilgrimage as a penitential process offered participation in the campaign in spiritual terms which was believed to offer forgiveness of sins, proximity to the places of the Passion, possible material gain, and, in case of death, a martyr's reward in paradise. While it is beyond the scope of this entry to offer an exhaustive look at the extensive nature of exegetical handling of the crusades, a few examples are helpful here to underscore the relationship between these crusading discourses and pre-existing, Latin Christian exegetical traditions related to the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem. The most visible conflations between the celestial and terrestrial city are seen in the promotion of the crusades and during the period between 1099 and 1187; these patterns shift once again after the fall of Jerusalem, as Schein and Penny Cole have shown.[27]

The anonymous *Gesta Francorum* writer (c. 1100–1) offers one of the earliest, most influential accounts of crusading events. In his representation of Pope Urban II's recruitment sermons at the Council of Clermont in 1095, he recalls a papal speech which frames the act of crusading in terms of an *imitatio Christi*: 'there was a great stirring of heart throughout all the Frankish lands, so that if any man, with all his heart and all his mind, really wanted to follow God and faithfully to bear the cross after him, he could make no delay in taking the road to the Holy Sepulchre'.[28] Here, Christ's scriptural message found in the synoptic Gospels is reinterpreted not as a call to spiritual devotion, but rather as a call to arms (e.g. Matthew

16:24; Mark 8:34; Luke 9:23; Matthew 22:37). Crusaders would 'take up the cross' in literal fashion by sewing the crusading sign upon their clothing to signify the militaristic vow they had made. Further literalising strategies are seen in other versions of the sermon, such as that by Robert of Reims (c. 1107), who characterises the campaign as one of vengeance. Robert's discourse echoes earlier exegesis portraying Jerusalem as a polluted city, speaking of the Holy Sepulchre as a place 'now abused and sacrilegiously defiled by their filthy practices'. He goes on to encourage the campaign as one that will both cleanse the city and avenge the perceived defilement.[29] In addition, the Jerusalem of the Old Testament appears when Guibert of Nogent (c. 1104–8), like many other chroniclers of the crusades, enjoins his audiences to emulate the Maccabees who 'attained to the highest praise of piety because they fought for the ceremonies and the Temple'. According to Guibert, 'it is also justly granted to you, Christian soldiers, to defend the liberty of your country by armed endeavour'.[30] Here in Guibert, the Earthly Jerusalem, not the Heavenly one, becomes the longed-for, and deserved, *patria*. Moreover, there is further slippage in the exegetical interpretation of scriptural figures, as Christian leaders are characterised as new Davids, Solomons, or Joshuas in texts ranging across the crusading period. Further conflation of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem appears in the work of Fulcher of Chartres (wr. 1101, comp. 1127–8), a cleric present at Clermont who depicts the Christian invasion of Jerusalem in 1099 as a violent, celebratory homecoming, replete with rewards: 'After the great massacre they entered the homes of the citizens … Whoever had entered the home first … was not to be harmed by anyone else in any way. He was to have and to hold the house or palace … entirely as his own'.[31] Here, the 'many mansions' of the heavenly home promised in John 14:2 are realised in Earthly Jerusalem.

Jerusalem was promoted to Western audiences as a place to be purged and recovered. Throughout the crusader period, it was viewed as an earthly fief that recalled its rightful owners from afar to claim their inheritance. It would become a Christian capital to defend. Salvation (Heavenly Jerusalem) could be attained through Earthly Jerusalem, and, according to revelatory scripture, once Earthly Jerusalem had been won, the longed-for New Jerusalem would appear. With the events of 1099, centuries of exegesis of the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem were variously reified or collapsed by the militant, acquisitive exercise of crusading. The importance of the Earthly Jerusalem fluctuated according to the fortunes of the Latin Kingdom. In Cole's assessment of the homiletic literature before and after the First Crusade, the loss of the city of Jerusalem occasioned a rise in the city's apocalyptic symbolism along with a period in which Latin Christians perceived themselves enduring God's wrathful punishment in the form of territorial loss. Schein,

too, finds a similar explanation of the Fall of Acre in recovery narratives as varied as the anonymous *De excidio urbis Acconis* (c. 1300), or respective treatises by Thadeo of Naples (fl. 1290) and the Dominican, Riccoldo of Monte Croce (b. c. 1243–d. 1320). All of them explain the events in terms of 'our sins' ('nostris peccatis exigentibus') and add (to varying degree) an indictment of Western, ecclesiastical, and secular leaders. Schein and others have proposed that the later medieval writers, in coming to terms with an Earthly Jerusalem that will never be won, place more emphasis on Jerusalem's symbolic, apocalyptic resonances; some medieval writers, like Joachim of Fiore, effectively 'replace' Jerusalem with Rome as the spiritual capital.

Whether because of the changing fortunes in the Near East, or because of growth in devotional forms, some later medieval textual traditions show a European desire to claim the city by means of affective or imaginative crusades. This devotional phenomenon is seen in Christian depictions of the Fall of the Temple, and in related portrayals of Christian longing for the city.[32] This practice reached back to Gregory the Great who, in the fourth century, instituted commemoration of the city's sieges in the Christian liturgical calendar for the Tenth Sunday after Pentecost, corresponding roughly with the Jewish liturgical calendar for the Ninth of Av, and continuing into fourteenth- and fifteenth-century homiletic tradition. This Christian commemoration drew from the Lucan verses in which Christ prophecies the city's downfall (Luke 19:42–44). These exegetical interpretations liken the Jewish city to the Christian soul, besieged by Satan. The liturgical celebrations came to resonate with crusaders and their supporters, with the expanded celebration of 'Siege of Jerusalem Sunday', as Amnon Linder has shown, along with special crusading liturgies, explored by Cecilia Gaposchkin.[33] From a literary standpoint, these exegetical interests affected the drama and romances of the later medieval period, with elaborate Passion dramas paired with enactments of Jerusalem's Flavian siege.[34] This 'vengeance de nostre seigneur' (vengeance of Our Lord) tradition, following fourth-century writers like Pseudo-Hegesippus, portrays the first-century Romans as new Christians, enacting a vengeful crusade upon the city's Jewish community. This particular interest in the fall of the city, with its relation to exegetical role playing, suggests that there was a Christian devotional tradition of 'virtual crusading', which relied on affective exercises imagining the city as the besieged soul.[35] This devotional exercise deployed all of the logic of Prudentius' *Psychomachia* together with the topoi of crusading imagery, as seen in romances such as *The Siege of Jerusalem*. These armchair crusades, or 'crusades of the soul', used the symbols of the Earthly Jerusalem's destruction for spiritual purposes, and reflected feelings of sympathy or mourning over the crusader loss of the terrestrial city. The affective and actual striving

for the city was viewed by homiletic writers as meritorious in the eyes of the Christian God. In the portrayals of the fallen city and the demise of its citizens, this virtual crusade represents a complex, simultaneously reverent and virulent relationship to Christianity's Jewish past.

In concluding, it is significant that the later medieval period offers an array of works which seek to come to terms with the events of the crusading past, the potential future of crusading, and how Western Christian audiences may have become involved in contemporary crusading, whether actually or affectively. The following texts frame the Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem with relation to pilgrimage and crusading. To name but a few, one looks to medieval romances – especially the Grail cycles, as well as the *Alliterative Morte Arthur* and Thomas Malory's Arthurian works; also *Outel* and *Roland*; *The Siege of Melayne*; *The Sowdowne of Babylone*; *Guy of Warwick*; *The King of Tars*; *The Siege of Jerusalem*; *Richard, Coer de Lyon*; *Sir Gowther*; and *Sir Isumbras*. Moral treatises involved this exegesis, seen in William Langland's *Piers Plowman* and its continental equivalent, Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*. Diplomatic sources feature them, as in Philippe de Mézières's plan for peace via united crusading efforts in his *Epistre au Roi Richart* and his later *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin*. Some texts relate more specifically to allegorical pilgrimages to Jerusalem, such as Dante's *Purgatorio*, the anonymous poem *Pearl*, and Geoffrey Chaucer's Parson of *The Canterbury Tales* who, in the Prologue to the Parson's Tale, scoffs at earthly pilgrimage and promises to teach the way to 'Jerusalem celestial' by means of his penitential sermon. Numerous mystics theorised Jerusalem, such as the Augustinian Canon, Walter Hilton (d. 1396), in his *Scala perfectionis*, or, from the anchorhold, Julian of Norwich (d. c. 1416) who, in her *Shewings*, sees her soul as a city. Jerusalem also appeared on the Continent in dramatic cycles such as the earlier mentioned 'vengeance de nostre Seigneur' tradition. An important bookend for this list which is by no means exhaustive is that of *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, which achieved circulation in at least ten different European vernaculars, multiple versions, upwards of 300 manuscripts and fragments, and was among the first to be selected for print. The text would promote crusading as a means of domestic peace and as an act of penance on a massive scale. Because of their sins, the text argues, Christians have lost Jerusalem. Fighting to regain Jerusalem would return the city (and Christians) into God's good graces, and solve problems at home, such as papal strife. This circular logic, drawing from centuries of adaptations of the Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem, resounded deeply with the texts' audiences, as seen in its astounding circulation. The Earthly and Heavenly Jerusalem was

founded on a relatively straightforward neoplatonic paradigm: the soul made in the image of God would strive to return to its origin. The application of place and space to this concept, or the superimposition of the image of the city, would open a world of allegorical possibilities which subsequently supported the terrestrial turn in the world of crusading.

NOTES

1 Bianca Kühnel, *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian, and Islamic Art*, Center for Jewish Art, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998; Ora Limor, 'Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem between Christianity, Judaism and Islam', in Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (eds.), *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007, 219–31; Joshua Prawer, 'Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem in the Holy Land in the Early Middle Ages', in J. Prawer (ed.), *The History of Jerusalem: The Early Muslim Period, 638–1099*, New York, New York University Press, 1996, 311–48; Robert Ousterhout, '"Sweetly Refreshed in Imagination": Remembering Jerusalem in Words and Image', *Gesta*, 48 (2009), 153–68; and Sylvia Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West, 1099–1187*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005.

2 Thomas Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought, 400–1300*, Lewiston, NY, Edwin Mellen, 2002, *passim*.

3 Regarding Zion, see Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *CCSL* 38, Ps. 9:12, and *passim*; Prosper of Aquitaine, *Expositio Psalmarum* in *CCSL* 68A (1972), e.g. Ps. 101:24, Ps. 131:13, and *passim*, qtd. in Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 52–53, 65, and 131. Regarding *speculatio*, see Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *CCSL* 38, Ps. 9:12, Ps. 50:22, *passim*; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, *PL* 82: 295B, qtd. in Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 65.

4 Prawer, 'Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem', 315.

5 *Ibid.*, 328–9.

6 *Eusebius, De Vita Constantini*, *PG* 20, cols. 1085–7, 1.III., chs. 25–6.

7 John Cassian, *Collationes, PL* 49, cols. 962–3, Coll. 14, ch. 8.

8 Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, *CCSL* 48, cols. 454–5, bk. 15, ch. 1.

9 *Ibid.*; trans. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dodds, 1871; repr. 1887, Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers 1st Series, 2 vols., Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 2:284.

10 Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 77.

11 *Ibid.*, 82.

12 *Ibid.*, 89.

13 Alcuin of York, *Epistolae*, *MGM* 4:60, 220, 271; see also *PL* 100:149, bk. 14, ch.3; qtd. in Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 109.

14 Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, *PL* 82:499.

15 William Durandus, *Rationale*, Proem 12.3, *PL* 49:962–63; see also Paschasius Radbertus, *Commentaii in Matt. PL* 120: 68–69; and Rhabanus Maurus, *Enarratio super Deuteronomium*, *PL* 108: 827, 877, 901; qtd. in Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 113, 118, 138, and 141,

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18 Jerome, *Epistola, PL* 22, letter 108, c.10.
19 Jerome, *Praefatio Hieronymi in librum Paralipomenon juxta LXX interpretes*, *PL* 29, col. 423; cf. 401.
20 Jerome, *Epistolae*, *CSEL* 54 [1910], ep. 58, 527–34, 3.1 and 4.1.
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22 Renna, *Jerusalem in Medieval Thought*, 153.
23 Ibid.
24 Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, 7:158, ep. 64, written to Bishop Alexander of Lincoln.
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27 Sylvia Schein, *'Fideles cruces': The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991; Penny Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*, Cambridge, MA, Medieval Academy, 1991.
28 Rosalind Hill (ed.), Anonymous, *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1967, 1.
29 *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade: Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. Carol Sweetenham, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005, 80; the anonymous *Gesta*, Baldric of Dol, Guibert of Nogent, Fulcher of Chartres, and others also portray pollution.
30 Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, *RHC*, *Occ.* IV, Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1879, 113–263.
31 F. R. Ryan (ed.), Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, Bk. 1, ch. 29, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1969, 123.
32 Suzanne Yeager, "The Siege of Jerusalem and Biblical Exegesis: Writing about Romans in Fourteenth-Century England," The Chaucer Review 39 (2004), 70–102.
33 See Cecilia Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2017; and Amnon Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2003.
34 See Stephen K. Wright, *The Vengeance of our Lord: Medieval Dramatizations of the Destruction of Jerusalem*, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1989.
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9

LYNN RAMEY

Orientalism and the 'Saracen'

On 28 June 1098, the last of a Muslim army peered from the citadel inside the city of Antioch, a city that had fallen into crusader hands several weeks before, following an extended siege of eight months. Just days after the Christians had taken Antioch, the crusaders were in turn attacked by an amalgam of Muslim forces led by the Turk, Kerbogha, the Atabeg (governor) of Mosul in modern-day Iraq. The situation looked dire for the exhausted and starving crusaders who could hardly stand up to a fresh army. What the crusaders did not know, however, was that Kerbogha's forces were deeply divided, an army formed of warring factions. Within the walls of Antioch, Peter the Hermit, the charismatic man of the people who had led the crusaders to the Holy Land, suddenly discovered the Holy Lance, a sign that united the Christian forces and gave them strength for a last push. The Muslim defenders of the citadel of Antioch watched as the crusaders shattered their last hope, routing Kerbogha's fractured Turkish army; the remaining Muslims surrendered that day, and the crusaders went on to take Jerusalem within the year.

Such a dramatic story of near annihilation and ultimate victory fed the imagination of troubadours, *jongleurs*, and chroniclers. *Chansons de geste* told of the epic battles between Christians and 'Saracens', while shorter, lyric poetry hinted at more personal relationships of love and hate between partisans of the two religions. Contact and interactions, both positive and negative, between East and West led to new literary expressions and genres.[1] The twelfth century saw a proliferation of writing inspired by these cultural contacts, from the lyric poetry largely created by poet-knights who played key roles in the events, to chronicles written by soldiers and monks intent on preserving what they saw as the truth of God's intervention, to the largely anonymous singers of the *chansons de geste*, who recounted the story of conflict with a liberal addition of imagination and romance.

If Edward Said spoke mainly of Orientalism as a modern phenomenon related to Western attempts to dominate the East,[2] the temptation to see

the roots of Orientalism as far back as the First Crusade has been long in the making.[3] Because the East, specifically the Islamicate East, could lay claim to political and cultural domination of the West during what some call the 'Golden Age' of Islam, Said and others have seen Western claims to domination as uniquely modern. In other words, the West-East power dynamic could not support Orientalism before the advent of colonialism. However, in the medieval period the Christian West did at times prevail, for example during and immediately following the First Crusade, and these moments of real or imagined victory provide Western writers with what will become a nascent orientalist view of the East. What did it mean to conquer and control the East? Some medieval writers of chronicles, poetry, and epic provide us with their views of those moments, intermingling fact and fantasy. Antioch, a border city between Christian and Muslim empires, was a heavily contested prize that passed repeatedly between hands. In 1098 the crusaders wrested it from the hands of the Turks who had fourteen years earlier taken it from the Armenians who in turn had claimed it from the Byzantine Empire only six years prior. Antioch remained under Frankish crusader rule until it fell to the Mamluks in 1268. The movement between cultures and the multicultural population that remained in Antioch and the other crusader kingdoms stimulated cultural production.[4]

A common thread through these conflicting views of the East can be found in the treatment of couples in songs and tales. The inter-religious relationships between Christians and Saracens give us a microcosmic view of the imaginative possibilities that Western writers saw for cultural interactions. This power dynamic on a miniature scale can be extrapolated in certain cases to stand for larger East-West relations.

The *Gesta Francorum*

The *Gesta Francorum* seems to be a first-hand account of the events of the First Crusade and the taking of Antioch in 1098. Scholars suggest, however, that it was likely a series of four 'field notebooks' that were then put together by a 'production team' to make a coherent history of the First Crusade.[5] While the *Gesta Francorum* is often categorised as history, the line between history and literature can be very difficult to discern. The account is full of adjectives indicating judgement of both Christian and Muslim deeds and men. The language of the Turks is said to be 'demoniaca' (demonic) while the people are an 'excommunicata generatione' (excommunicated race) and 'barbarae nations' (barbaric peoples).[6] Just a few paragraphs later, the text turns back on itself, describing the Turks as wise, brave, and strong and stating that the Turks believe they and the Franks are one people due to

their shared exceptional military prowess. Alas, the author notes, if only the Turks were Christian.[7] From these varied representations of the Saracen, no monolithic patterns of representation emerge. Clearly, with all things being equal, a Christian is better than a Saracen, but some Christians are pretty bad, and some Saracens are missing only a profession of Christian faith to surpass all of the Christian forces.

There are few women in this chronicle of war deeds, but within this 'factual' account of the First Crusade, Curbaram (equated to Kerbogha) is disconcerted by his mother, who is quite concerned about his oath to fight the Christian crusaders. She warns him, quoting several passages from the Bible about the ascendancy of God's people and His promises to protect His followers. In addition to learning about this prophecy of doom in the Bible, Curbaram's mother 'read the stars in the sky and carefully scrutinized the planets and the twelve signs, and the innumerable oracles' to come to the conviction that her son must not engage in war with the Christians.[8] Curbaram respects his mother and believes her prophetical ability, but he feels he must uphold his oath to fight the Franks. The mother returns home 'filled with sadness, but not without taking with her all the plunder she could carry'.[9] The text thus imbues the Saracen mother with the power to see the future and read the stars. These abilities shared by other Saracen women render them at the same time powerful but yet suspiciously connected to potentially dark magic (the Saracen woman with magical powers is found in *Enfances Guillaume* (Orable) and the *Sowdowne of Babylone* (Floripas), among others; Bramimonde in the *Chanson de Roland* is another example of a powerful Saracen woman warning her people about the superiority of the Christians). At the same time, the mention of the mother considering her own comfort in her time of impending grief, taking plunder with her, is a litotes, an ironic understatement, that serves to point out the craftiness of a Saracen woman, who can never quite be trusted to look out for anyone but herself.

La chanson d'Antioche and other *Chansons de geste*

When the events of the First Crusade are presented as an epic tale rather than as a chronicle, Saracen qualities take on an even larger role. Singing the tale of the successful First Crusade, the thirteenth-century *Chanson d'Antioche* serves as a point of reference because of its relative proximity to the time of the crusade that inspired it, as well as the existence of other accounts, like the *Gesta Francorum*, that allow for multiple contemporary perspectives. The twelfth-century minstrel Graindor de Douai identifies himself as the one who can sing the song without forgetting it, from beginning to end.

This first-person narrator, however, is not prevented from seeing into the camps of both foes, and he presents the laments of the Saracens in as much detail as the boasts of the Christians.[10] Each side sees the other as 'inky-black villains'.[11] Other Saracens in the tale carry names suggesting darkness or evil, such as Noiron (blackish), Tenebrois (dark or sombre), Malades (sickly), Malquidant (seeker of evil), and Mallers (evil-seeming).

The Saracen warrior is sometimes presented as an admirable foe. Saladin, a name connected with the historical Saladin or Salāh al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (1137–93) who was known in Christendom for his intellect and *courtoisie*, castigates his own father who has just killed a priest saying mass, showing that he knows clerical Christian garb as well as the emotional reactions the Franks will have upon learning of the circumstances of the death. He goes as far as to say that even God is furious with the assassin, which would indicate either a recognition that the Christians and Muslims worship the same God or that the Muslim God would expect tolerance and respect for other religious practices.[12] Just as the crusaders knew little about Islam, lack of knowledge about Christianity among the Saracens recurs as a theme, not only with the killing of the priest saying mass, but also as the Saracen army laments a dead colleague, praying to God to let his soul live. 'The gods the Franks believe in don't believe in any such thing as souls', they cry, no doubt delighting the Christian audience of the epic with their pagan ignorance.[13] Further complicating the image of Saracens, Christians are by no means uniformly idealised. The text points out moments when they flee or are even cowardly, like Count Stephen of Blois whom the epic bestows with the distinction of being 'the greatest coward between here and Dijon'.[14]

Once again, the women in the text and their relationship to the men is telling. In the *Chanson d'Antioche*, the role of Corbaran's mother is expanded. She is given a name, Calabra, and she is introduced as an expert in pagan lore. Early in the text she foretells a more positive slant to her son's encounter with Christians.[15] Later, as in the *Gesta Francorum*, she warns her son not to engage with the crusaders in battle. She knows the history of God's aid to his people, particularly in conflicts with other non-Christians such as the Almoravids and the Pharaoh.[16] This time, when she cautions Corbaran, he does not respect her or her words, swearing at her while denying the truth of her words. The epic mother proves to be even less admirable than the chronicle incarnation; Calabra leaves her son, 'carrying with her as many possessions as she could lay her hands on; nothing which remained was safe'.[17] Doubling Calabra, the unnamed wife of another Saracen, the man who will betray Antioch and let Christians inside the impregnable fortified city, sees the treachery of her husband and scolds him, warning him not to help the Christians and threatening to expose his vile

deeds. This time the Saracen kills his wife, throwing her bloodied body over the ramparts.[18] In both cases, the women are able to see things that others cannot and they predict the future outcome of the men's actions.

The sexuality of Saracen women as depicted in the *chansons de geste* is for the most part unpredictable and dangerous. These women are capable of both withholding sex, as the character of the Muslim princess Orable does in *Enfances Guillaume* by tricking her Saracen husband into believing he had incredible sex with her when in fact she had changed him into a little ball each night. Or they grant love freely, as Orable did in *La prise d'Orange* when she simply heard of Guillaume's prowess as a knight and welcomed him into her harem-like tower of passion. Suzanne Conklin Akbari connects nineteenth-century and medieval Orientalism even as she is careful to differentiate between the two, 'When sexual restraint is a virtue in the West, the Muslim is licentious; when sexual liberty is a virtue, the Muslim is a prude'.[19] Saracen women make most Western women seem lifeless and without agency. They emasculate their own men, all the while showcasing the virility of the Western knight.

Christian women of the *Chanson d'Antioche*, on the other hand, decide as a group they would rather fight the Saracen horde with their men than fall as spoils of war to Saracen men. Corbaran and his men can scarcely believe what they see as the women take to the battlefield, and he is determined to wed and bed them. Christian men who 'adore' them are moved and motivated by their bravery.[20] Nonetheless, we hear no more of the women as the men proceed to face off in their final battle.

Troubadour and *Trouvère* Poetry

Christian men, however, wrote longingly of their love of foreign women encountered on crusade. From the first known poetic works of the troubadours, crusade, creativity, and sexuality have been intertwined. William IX of Aquitaine, Count of Poitiers, credited with 'creating' the genre because his remaining poems are the oldest extant, went to Antioch and Jerusalem in the minor crusade of 1101. Orderic Vitalis, the Latinate historian who chronicled the early crusade era, gives an account of a performance by William that he himself saw, asserting that William 'related many times the miseries of his captivity before kings, magnates and Christian assemblies using rhythmic verses with witty measures'.[21] William's biography, or *vida*, reflects his contemporary reputation as a man of the world:

> The Count of Poitiers [i.e. William] was one of the most courtly in the world, one of the biggest seducers of women and a great knight in battle and good at

womanizing. He knew how to compose verse and sing well, and so he went about the world seducing women.[22]

In his travels, fighting, singing, and seducing, a connection is often made to the verse that was eventually attributed to him and the Arabic poetic tradition. Ezra Pound makes reference to a long-held belief that William may well have brought singing Saracen slave women back with him from crusade:

And Poictiers, you know, Guillaume Poictiers,
had brought the song up out of Spain
With the singers and viels.[23]

If William did return with captive singing Saracen slave women, these entertainers no doubt performed in courts, which would help explain the interplay between troubadour song and the poetry of Andalusia.

In *Ferai un vers, pos me sonelh*, William sings of a pilgrim who seduces a woman though he cannot speak her 'latin', or language:[24]

La una.m diz en son latin:
E Dieus vos salf, don pelerin
…
Ar auzires qu'ai respondut:
Anc no li diz ni bat ni but,
Ni fer ni fust no ai mentaugut.
Mas sol aitan:
Babariol, babariol, babarian.

(One said to me in her language / May God save you, sir pilgrim / Listen how I responded / With neither bat nor but / Nor did I speak of tools or sleeves / But I only said this: / Babariol, babariol, babarian.)

Whatever the unknown words 'Babariol, babariol, babarian' might mean in the poem, they evoke both 'barbarian' and an attempt to mimic a foreign language, potentially Arabic. The inability to communicate does not hamper their relationship; on the contrary, the poet understands her but refuses to respond in a comprehensible manner. This playful linguistic sparring heightens the sexually charged moment of encounter between cultures.

Later poets follow William's lead in their love for faraway women. Cercamon laments how far she is from him ('tant s'es de mi loignada').[25] Jaufré Rudel goes further in praising his 'amors de terra loindana' ('love from a distant land'), opining that no Jew, Saracen, or Christian could be more noble.[26] These women, disembodied and unidentified, entice because of their distance and the difficulty the poet has communicating with his love. This stylised, eventually trite, theme arose with the crusades and

Figure 9.1 Eugène Delacroix, *Femmes d'Alger dans leur Appartement*, 1847–9, oil on canvas, 111.13 x 84.14 cm, Musée Fabre, Montpellier. (*Source*: Wikimedia Commons)

concomitant travel. Movement between East and West makes communication difficult, both at home and abroad, but desire increases. East and West never meet, as the poet, crusader, and pilgrim are always located away from where their heart prefers to be. The returned traveller longs for his Eastern love, and the pilgrim pines for the love he left behind.

Nineteenth-century European views of the East, epitomised perhaps in Eugène Delacroix's painting *Les femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (see Figure 9.1), focused on the racial, the feminine, and the sexual exoticism of an imagined society. Delacroix presents the male gaze of the painter into the private area of the harem. The women are unveiled in their private quarters. A foregrounded light-skinned woman looks directly at the viewer, while a darker slave turns her back. Similar stereotypes existed in the literature of the medieval West, as *chansons de geste* invite the reader into the medieval harem to discover Eastern women. In the twelfth-century *Prise d'Orange*, the reader breaches the formidable walls of Orange into the women's keep along with Guillaume and his men, Western men allowed to experience forbidden pleasures just as Delacroix himself was. This is certainly not to suggest

that only negative or demonised views of the Saracen were possible, but noting the expression of proto-orientalist discourse in the medieval period does not imply that those were the only discourses available to medieval writers.[27] Examining the long history of an idea gives important perspective to modern understandings of the past, while by no means implying that all representations were unequivocal, either then or now. While we should not focus uniquely on the negative, far too often the medieval period is seen equally incorrectly as a golden period of multicultural *convivencia*, effectively erasing a vital part of the past. One of Edward Said's most significant definitions or formulations of Orientalism was the continual re-definition and redrawing of lines to make sure that East and West are distinct and cannot be the same. In medieval crusade literature, Saracens may come close to the Christian ideal, but they can never, from the outset, equal Christians because of their religious flaw. Conversion should provoke a conundrum in this East-West dichotomy, but somehow the stories always seem to end with the moment of conversion, so we are never presented with a good Saracen Christian.

When we compartmentalise the Middle Ages in an attempt to disconnect it entirely from modern notions of race, religion, and sexuality, we subscribe to a neo-Renaissance view that the Middle Ages was a period best left to itself, separate from the narrative of modernity and its implied progress. At times it might be convenient to disavow the Middle Ages, or fetishise it as a period that is self-contained and self-referential, but that would be a disservice to the thinking men and women who created the art, literature, and philosophy of the period. Their views were varied, and some of those views created strains of thought that influenced their intellectual descendants, for better or worse. Orientalism did not spring uninvited and *sui generis* from the nineteenth century, and images of Saracens in crusade literature quietly set the path for louder discourses to come.

NOTES

1 Lynn Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature: Imagination and Cultural Interaction in the French Middle Ages*, 2nd edition, New York, Routledge, 2014.
2 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, New York, Vintage, 1979.
3 See, for example Robert L. A. Clark, 'Queering Orientalism: The East as Closet in Said, Ackerley, and the Medieval Christian West', *Medieval Encounters*, 5 (1999), 336–49; Lynne Dahmen, 'Orientalism and Reading La Sarrasine in the Chansons de Geste', *Yearbook of Comparative and General Literature*, 48 (2000), 155–65; Simon Gaunt, 'Travel and Orientalism', in William Burgwinkle, Nicholas Hammond, and Emma Wilson (eds.), *The Cambridge History of French Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, 121–30;

Iain Macleod Higgins, 'Shades of the East: Orientalism, Religion, and Nation in Late Medieval Scottish Literature', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 38 (2008), 197–228; Susan Schibanoff, 'Worlds Apart: Orientalism, Antifeminism, and Heresy in Chaucer's Man of Law's Tale', *Exemplaria: A Journal of Theory in Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 8 (1996), 59–96; Annette Volfing, 'Orientalism in the Strassburger Alexander', *Medium Ævum*, 79 (2010), 278–99, among many others.

4 According to Linda Paterson, scholars accept that the *chansons de geste* of the early crusading period show significant Eastern influences. Linda M. Paterson, 'Occitan Literature and the Holy Land', in Marcus Bull and Catherine Léglu (eds.), *The World of Eleanor of Aquitaine: Literature and Society in Southern France between the Eleventh and Thirteenth Centuries*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2005, 87. Paterson is referring here specifically to *Les Chétifs* but also discusses earlier the *Chanson d'Antioche*.

5 For a thorough explanation of this theory, see the introduction, Nirmal Dass, *The Deeds of the Franks and Other Jerusalem-Bound Pilgrims: The Earliest Chronicle of the First Crusade*, Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2011.

6 'Gesta Francorum', Liber III, www.thelatinlibrary.com/gestafrancorum.html.

7 'Quis unquam tam sapiens aut doctus audebit describere prudentiam militiamque et fortitudinem Turcorum? Qui putabant terrere gentem Francorum minis suarum sagittarum, sicut terruerunt Arabes, Saracenos, et Hermenios, Suranios et Grecos. Sed si Deo placet nunquam tantum ualebunt, quantum nostri. Verumtamen dicunt se esse de Francorum generatione, et quia nullus homo naturaliter debet esse miles nisi Franci et illi. Veritatem dicam quam nemo audebit prohibere. Certe si in fide Christi', *Ibid.*

8 Dass, *The Deeds of the Franks*, 75.

9 *Ibid.*, 76.

10 Susan Edgington and Carol Sweetenham (ed. and trans.), *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011.

11 *Ibid.*, 140, 145, and 211. Though Duparc-Quioc glosses it differently, Edgington and Swethenham translate thus from Old French, 'li encrieme felon', Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, *La chanson d'Antioche*, Paris, Geuthner, 1976, line 1435.

12 Edgington and Sweetenham, *The Chanson d'Antioche*, 116.

13 *Ibid.*, 135.

14 *Ibid.*, 142.

15 *Ibid.*, 122.

16 *Ibid.*, 264.

17 *Ibid.*, 266.

18 *Ibid.*, 243.

19 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2009, 283.

20 Edgington and Sweetenham, *The Chanson d'Antioche*, 296.

21 Marjorie Chibnall (ed.), Ordericus Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols., Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford, Clarendon, 1991, V:343.

22 'Le coms de Peitieus si fo uns dels majors cortes del mon dels majors trichadors de dompnas e bons cavalliers d'armas e larcs de dompnejar, e saup ben trobar e cantar. Et anet lonc temps per lo mon per enganar las domans', Jean Boutière

and Alexander Herman Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours*, Paris, Privat, 1950, 81.

23 The viel or viol is a stringed instrument, a precursor to a violin. Ezra Pound, *The Cantos of Ezra Pound*, New York, New Directions, 1972, Canto VIII, 32.2.

24 Alfred Jeanroy (ed.), Guillaume d'Aquitaine, *Les Chansons de Guillaume IX, Duc d'Aquitaine 1071–1127*, Paris, Champion, 1913, ll. 19–20, 26–30.

25 George Wolf and Roy Rosenstein (eds.), *The Poetry of Cercamon and Jaufré Rudel*, New York, Garland, 1983, 45.

26 *Ibid*., 138–39.

27 See for an opposing view Sharon Kinoshita, 'Deprovincializing the Middle Ages', in Christopher Leigh Connery and Rob Wilson (eds.), *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization*, Berkeley, North Atlantic Books, 2007, 61–76.

10

MATTHEW M. MESLEY

Chivalry, Masculinity, and Sexuality

Chivalry is not easily defined, having various meanings at different times and in different contexts. In both medieval sources and in modern studies it can represent an ideal, a behaviour, a vocation, an ethical code for knights, an institution, a social status or noble habitus, even a shared mentality or worldview. It can be ubiquitous in the texts we study, yet often remains opaque or imprecise. Maurice Keen's definition of chivalry as 'an ethos in which martial, aristocratic and Christian elements were fused together', is useful as a reference point.[1] However, chivalric behaviour was often reflected through the prism of changing societal ideals, expectations, and aspirations. From the eleventh century, the crusading movements influenced and shaped chivalric practices and values. If less evident now, historiographical traditions often partitioned the histories of chivalry and crusading, yet neither should be analysed in isolation. We might explore how this relationship was represented or defined in historical and literary narratives of the crusade; we can consider also how this association developed over the course of the central and late Middle Ages. Finally, we can investigate the impact chivalry had on the way crusading was promoted, understood, and memorialised.

The First Crusade, called by Pope Urban II in 1095, took place as chivalry and the warrior order in general was being redefined in terms of status and class.[2] Urban sought to mobilise secular fighters and leaders from across western Europe to come together to defend Christendom from Muslims; their reward, a remission of their sins for participating in warfare against the 'infidel', and in recovering Jerusalem, the Holy City. By its very nature, crusading was a movement in which the Church drew upon secular military might. In many of the first narratives it was depicted as a religious enterprise – a pro-active defence of Christianity which took the fight to the Moorish heathens; monastic writers, in particular, emphasised how by participating in the crusade the warrior class could practice their vocation in a worthy, Christian, way. For example,

the Benedictine Guibert de Nogent, in his *Dei gesta per Francos*, written c. 1107–8, commented:

> In our own time, God has instituted a Holy War, so that the order of knights and unstable multitude who used to engage in mutual slaughter in the manner of ancient paganism may find a new way of gaining salvation: so that now they seek God's grace in their wonted habit, and in the discharge of their own office, and no longer need to be drawn to seek salvation by utterly renouncing the world in the profession of the monk.[3]

Guibert's rationale was part of the ideological framework within which the warrior class was often located regarding the crusades. However, the historical narratives also demonstrate that different ideals and values (some secular, others religious) existed with regards to chivalric fighting men. Indeed, this particular genre also draw upon heroic or vernacular texts and traditions, which expressed such conceptions more viscerally. Robert the Monk's description of Robert Curthose at the battle of Ascalon in August 1099 is a case in point:

> The Count of Normandy, a soldier without fear, was the first to join battle along with his column … He slashed a path through the squadrons with his sword creating carnage; when he reached the standard-bearer he knocked him to the ground at the emir's feet and took the standard. The emir was lucky to escape.[4]

Such anecdotes were not used, however, without reason. Authors needed military heroes ('flawed' or otherwise) such as Robert, Godfrey of Bouillon or Bohemond of Antioch, as 'the hero could be used as the vocalizer of ways of understanding the crusade, its purpose, and the motivations of the men engaged in it'.[5] More plainly, monastic and clerical writers could also appreciate knightly piety, and at times incorporated secular-minded anecdotes, stories and interpretations in their narratives. Chivalry cannot be viewed only in terms of the secular interests and behaviour of armed or mounted fighting men during crusading campaigns. Neither, however, should we ignore the differences between how the crusades were theologically rationalised for secular fighting men, and how they were depicted or valorised as heroes.

But what about the knights themselves? Chivalric religiosity or piety was not synonymous with crusading ideology; the former might exist without the latter, but it could also be an integral component. In other words, knights and fighting men reflected upon their spiritual needs and beliefs outside the context of crusade. These ideals were not necessarily understood or acted upon in ways clerical authors advocated. Knights borrowed, modified and were informed by theological ideas, and could choose different ways

of understanding their vocation. In certain areas, such as dubbing, a knight might seek an ecclesiastical blessing, or alternatively observe a secular tradition. Within the context of crusading, knights also had this agency; they 'answered the clerical call and donned the cross, but doing so did not entail their simple and obedient following of clerical hopes and directives in detail, nor did it effect their suppression of all warrior values in exchange for spiritual benefits'.[6]

Chivalry in the context of crusading narratives cannot be reduced to a specific characteristic or theme. What was 'authentically' chivalric within a text depended on an author's motives, his or her patron(s), the genre and sources upon which they drew, and the intended audience; both religious and secular ideals (never uniform in themselves) could be thus adapted. Writers could present crusading as an honourable and pious activity, in which the knight's chivalric qualities – his physical strength, martial ability, and capacity for violence and vengeance – were used in the service of God. With some 'heroes' their piety seems to have developed or been reimagined long after their crusading endeavours – such as the case of Godfrey of Bouillon. Nonetheless, the crusades were an environment in which the *milites* could undertake their calling, in theory, without condemnation; indeed, armed crusaders could now be presented as pilgrims (*peregrini*), albeit a tension still existed in such an association.[7] Yet authors of crusade narratives stressed how the campaign was a holy war, undertaken for religious motives and under spiritual leadership – for example, Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy features prominently in the first Benedictine crusade narratives.[8]

Partly, this was also about remembering the crusades as they should have been, where fighters could now more closely resemble the ideal Christian knight. However, authors sought to appeal to those who were being asked to fight, particularly secular leaders and the knightly class. The author of the early crusade narrative, the *Gesta Francorum*, for example, was eager to present the crusade as a uniquely chivalric affair, and 'in a way that laymen could understand and relate to, and that fired their imaginations'.[9] Religious and secular rationales for crusading could go hand-in-hand, at times. Further, in viewing chivalry within the narratives of the First Crusade, we should also avoid strictly compartmentalising the Latin historical sources, and the early vernacular narratives, both of which often modelled or drew upon the *chansons de geste* genre. Scholars such as Marcus Bull have further nuanced our understanding of the relationship between the two.[10] Certainly, many of the monastic authors of crusade histories incorporated the language and *topoi* of the *chanson de geste*; Robert the Monk's history, one of the most popular Latin crusade narratives, drew stylistically and thematically from

this genre, and used material indirectly via the *Gesta Francorum*. What this suggests is that such 'historical' texts might reflect multiple understandings of chivalry.

It is true that in the vernacular texts, chivalry is more likely to be depicted in all its performative finery: the clothes, the equipment, the noble steeds all glitter within these narratives. But chivalry was more than stylistic. It could be used to reinforce group identities. In the *Chanson d'Antioche*, for example, the Tafurs, an autonomous faction within the Christian camp, are linked to particular acts of brutality against Muslims, such as cannibalism; as Carol Sweetenham argues, 'they serve to throw the chivalry of the barons into sharp relief' and have 'a displacement function, committing the atrocities the Christian army was known, but could not be acknowledged, to have committed'.[11] In a different context, the Old French crusading *chansons de geste* often emphasised the heroism and chivalry of particular families; indeed, Nicholas L. Paul has shown more broadly how the twelfth- and thirteenth-century nobility used crusading narratives alongside origin myths to construct particular dynastic identities.[12] In this way, chivalry is expressed in more than just the crusaders' actions – for example, the themes of honour and shame could articulate broader theological, aristocratic, familial, or martial values. Furthermore, who was and was not chivalric could be aligned with broader authorial motives and intentions.

We must also recognise how broader trends had an impact on how chivalry was defined in crusading narratives. Such developments occurred from both within and outside the warrior classes. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries we can identify changing attitudes towards warfare – a move towards ransoming prisoners of war, abolishing slavery, and better treatment of non-combatants; a religious renewal amongst the laity that contributed to the idea of knighthood as a Christian vocation; the growth of a courtly culture that inspired a vernacular literature that glorified the heroism and valour of knights. These developments intersected with the Church reform movements, which in defining the clerical order more sharply, also sought to characterise the proper role of the warrior in Christian society.

Nevertheless, we cannot ignore how crusading occasioned a different flavour of chivalry – one that was more tightly interconnected, if not always expressed as such, with religious ideology. We must be careful of course when analysing the prescriptive or the idealistic, or where chivalry is mediated by clerical/monastic writers, keeping in mind Richard W. Kaeuper's warning that 'paradox spreads like a spider web over the formation of chivalric ideology'.[13] This is not to ignore the obvious impact religion would continue to have upon chivalric ideals. Yet it is to recognise that in analysing chivalry through crusading narratives, we are brought closer to

the cultural entanglements, appropriations, and reimagining which inspired and motivated contemporaries.

Crusading and Chivalry in the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries

The Third Crusade (1189–92) is often seen as a watershed in terms of the development and range of literary and textual responses to crusading fervour. Chivalric enthusiasm both for the campaign itself, and subsequently in England for the exploits of Richard I and his followers within the Holy Land, reignited interest in previous crusades, and acted as a spur to literary and historical writing. Such works were also often disseminated or made more accessible to wider audiences, including the laity; for example, William of Tyre's narrative of the First Crusade, his *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (*History of Deeds done beyond the Sea,* c. 1170–84), would reach a much larger readership in its translation into Old French (the *Estoire de Eracles*, c. 1205–34) and its many continuations.[14] The Third Crusade acted, therefore, as a catalyst for valorising chivalry within crusading narratives, but also for a growing vernacular historiography. In Nigel Saul's words, it was an event which would shape 'the English chivalric imagination'; so much so that 'crusading was to figure in the forefront of those activities which shaped the chivalric ideal'.[15] If Jerusalem had always been, to some extent, a *locus* through which group and cultural identities were mediated, the Third Crusade and the narratives it inspired, brought to the fore once again questions regarding the motives for holy war and how the demands for both pilgrimage and conflict were to be reconciled with the values of those who articulated the chivalric ethos.[16] Ideas of kingship too were influenced, as English and French royalty had to be seen to be willing to take the cross: embodying chivalric ideals meant kings had to perform the role of (potential) crusader leader. Aspiring to be a crusader also had consequences for the nobility and knightly class. By seeking to emulate the achievements and perceived heroism of former crusaders, they gained a cultural cachet with their peers, which in turn influenced the framework with which chivalry was judged.

However, earlier Anglo-Norman monastic writers such as William of Malmesbury (d. 1143) and Orderic Vitalis (d. c. 1142) had commented upon secular leadership and knightly behaviour within the First Crusade. Nonparticipation did not equate to a lack of interest; indeed Kathryn Hurlock has shown that historical writers in twelfth-century England celebrated the exploits of Norman crusaders.[17] The impact of religious writers in the twelfth century, such as Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), as well as the introduction of the military orders, also defined anew how chivalric ideals and

godly warfare were conceptualised.[18] These ideas might have created opportunities outside of mainstay chivalry, but equally these views could become redundant when the meanings of chivalry expanded or contracted. Helen Nicholson has argued, for example, that one reason for the fall in the depiction of the military orders in later medieval narratives is that the knighthood they embodied no longer matched changing chivalric ideals.[19] By the late medieval period, a love of ladies and of God were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Yet from the thirteenth century, crusading narratives were certainly inspired by the chivalric feats of the Third Crusade (and later expeditions like the Fifth (1217–21) and Seventh Crusades (1248–54)). The English Benedictine Matthew Paris could situate notable feats of crusaders such as William Longespee (d. 1250) into a narrative of English heroism and martyrdom, yet elsewhere Matthew recognised that English knights were part of a wider interconnected European chivalry, whose role was to defend both a real and imagined Christendom.[20] A growing vernacular historiography also answered the needs of a more literate aristocracy, who consumed ever more chivalric romances. Some, such as the early continuations of the Old French Cycle, would promote fantastical legends such as that of Godfrey of Bouillon's descent from the Swan Knight; as Susan Crane has argued, Godfrey's descendants, in their use of the swan in iconography, cared much more about this 'mythical ancestor' than Godfrey himself: indeed, 'their relation to the Swan Knight was consolidated through a powerful narrative about lineage rather than through lineage itself'.[21]

In the fourteenth century, texts featuring crusader heroes or exhibiting crusading themes became particularly popular in the form of Middle English romances – although many of these texts also had earlier Anglo-Norman and French antecedents.[22] Throughout, the relationship between chivalry and crusading remained durable and close. Indeed, as Stephen Rigby has commented, 'Although the fall of Acre in 1291 put an end to campaigns in the Holy Land itself, English knights and nobles continued to fight as crusaders elsewhere, and crusading remained central to the chivalric ideal throughout the fourteenth century'.[23]

One type of romance genre, sometimes called secular hagiographies, expresses this particularly well; the protagonists in these narratives speak to the contradictions inherent in crusading ideals – a knight could faithfully follow the dictates of their vocation, but after seeking glory or renown in the Far East, they could also aspire to dedicate their life to God.[24] The texts act as exemplars for a knightly audience; further, they functioned as a way to promote crusading to the knightly class. Knights (and those who aspired to this title) read romances or chivalric texts, in order to understand how

they should act and behave, and how they could replicate their ancestors' exploits, and here crusading was often a central component. The protagonists of these narratives often articulated national or collective sentiments, but, as Robert Rouse using the example of *Guy of Warwick* has shown, they also depict a kind of 'medieval culture-hero', which embody and reflect a number of different chivalric identities; they also convey how a knight could develop his character in stages, first by emphasising the dictates of chivalry, and then the requirements of Christian penance.[25]

It may be that these ideas played out more effectively within imaginative and fantasy realms. But did they have an external impact? Isabel Davis has written that 'fourteenth- and fifteenth-century nostalgia about knighthood has made it difficult for historians to assess how far there was a late medieval chivalric revival, that is, how far chivalry, or crusading, was an "actual" aristocratic practice and how far a literary construct and a romantic celebration of a socially anachronistic, but aesthetically enduring practice'.[26] But there are areas of cultural practice within the period that do not just nod to anachronism or performance. Recently, Timothy Guard has shown that crusading impinged upon aristocratic and chivalric customs in fourteenth-century England in very concrete ways; not least through the attention the nobility paid to their crusading lineages; through the promotion and collection of crusade-associated texts, manuscripts, material artefacts, and images; and the ongoing popularity of aristocratic expeditions to the Baltics (or the Mediterranean) – here young aristocratic men and seasoned knights would travel overseas, and take a season or two to demonstrate their chivalric prowess against the 'Saracens of the Baltic'.[27] Crusading, as with the central Middle Ages, also impacted upon late medieval kingship. Such developments may have been influenced by such texts as *Richard Coer de Lyon* (c. 1300) which glorified (if not fabricated) Richard I's crusading legacy. As Guard notes, some kings, such as Richard II, used the image of *rex crucesignatus* to self-fashion their rule, to express chivalric identity and monarchical power; for Richard 'the crusade can be viewed as fundamental to the king's attempts to triangulate his personal knighthood with chivalric kingship and political action'.[28]

Therefore, texts had more than simply a mimetic value – they also had an impact on cultural and political praxis. This relationship between representation and social realities is reflected in the case of the character of Chaucer's Knight, who was also a crusader, in *The Canterbury Tales* (c. 1387–1400). A worthy man, we are told; 'he loved chivalrie,/ trouthe and honor, fredom and curteisie', and fought 'as well in cristendom as in heathenesse'. Much has been made of the Knight's description, with some suggesting that Chaucer portrayed him as a mercenary. Certainly, Chaucer was cognisant

of and at times poked fun at chivalric culture. He would have been also aware that contemporaries did profess some ambivalence with warfare. At the same time, Chaucer appears to distinguish the Knight's experiences with the secular wars the Squire had undertaken. The former – by fighting for his faith, and against the infidel – was still seen in a positive light, and none of the crusade-battles listed reflected poorly upon the Knight; indeed, Chaucer writes glowingly and without irony that: 'And evermoore he hadde a sovereyn prys./ And though that he were worthy, he was wys… / He was a verray, parfit gentil knyght'. Perhaps the comparison between the Knight and the Squire was also a comment about the trajectory of fighting men's careers; true knighthood came with maturity and with a wish to fight against Christendom's enemies. Chivalry here was intertwined with understandings of social status and masculinity, and as such Chaucer's Knight was neither an anachronism or a parody.[29]

Crusading Masculinity

Crusading texts identified ideal masculinity in terms of physical strength and endurance. The valorisation of excessive force and violence in historical and literary texts can be seen in descriptions of Saracens being 'split down the middle', or decapitated with one blow. Numbers of victims were counted; crusaders were often shown winning against the odds, with emphasis placed on their courage and daring. The killing of wild animals, such as bears or lions, was popular; the *Chanson d'Antioche* describes a fight to the death between Duke Bohemond and a lion which emphasised his God-given prowess:

> It [the lion] swallowed the duke's right leg all the way up to the fastening of his sword belt, and would have bitten his thighbone right off his body if Duke Bohemond had not plunged his sword in next to its thigh so that he ripped and sliced all the way to its chest, flinging the lion dead beside him. Then he got proudly to his feet and cut off its head with his sharp sword … The news went right round the city of how Bohemond had stabbed the lion, and the Christians thanked Lord God fervently.[30]

As Sally North puts it, 'it is useful to remind ourselves that, with all the valorisation and purification of the chivalrous ethic which was taking place at this period, a basic ideal still remained that of the splendid fighting man'.[31] But on another level these 'superhuman' acts of prowess and martial skill helped to also bolster Christian fantasies of hyper-masculinity: here the crusading knight represented the ultimate masculine exemplar.

The ideal crusader could thus serve different functions. Furthermore, the emphasis on physicality, the masculine body, and violence in these texts could be used to interrogate the ethos of chivalry within the context of crusading. Guard has noted, for instance, how literary texts such as that of *Guy of Warwick*, who is portrayed as a kind of pilgrim-knight, represent the physicality of bodily sacrifice to demonstrate a protagonist's atonement.[32] Their violence was placed within a devotional context – their military feats depicted within a penitential framework, and their masculinity legitimised as they aspired to be a martyr for their faith. In such texts, we see an interest, and perhaps a questioning, of what was considered to be appropriate chivalric piety on crusade. We can also identify some of the cultural anxieties that impacted upon the (self-)perception of a knight's vocation and gender identity.

Was it possible to be a 'killing-machine' and yet also seek repentance? Did medieval knights necessarily feel such a contradiction? In the context of literary texts such oppositional devices were popular, highlighting the apparent tension even as they proposed a resolution – for men to be both knights and pilgrims. Marco Nievergelt describes it thus:

> The knight's wandering becomes more and more an allegory of each specific author's attempts to reconcile the respective demands of knighthood and Christianity, by balancing the entanglements in secular, temporal affairs expressed by chivalric quest narratives with the transcendentalising drive inherent in the notion of pilgrimage.[33]

Physical characteristics and acts were not the only way of expressing masculinity. Morality and the performance of good deeds were equally important. Honour was an integral component of both chivalric ideals and understandings of medieval masculinity, and it was a quality frequently attributed to crusaders.[34] Honour influenced people in different ways, depending on circumstance, context, and their social status. It could be a motivating force – for those individuals who sought to gain respect and a reputation by participating in a crusade; but it also acted as a guide to conduct, even if only in theory. For example, Christians were shown, at times, to want or expect a fair fight between combatants (duels between Christians and Muslims for example), or they might seek to avoid the killing of non-combatants – particularly women and children.

Honour (Latin *honor*) is, however, much like chivalry, a slippery concept; authors could rationalise or romanticise actions that might otherwise be beyond the pale, or apply different standards to different groups.[35] For example, the astute cunning of Christian warriors might be defined as deceitful for Saracens. Vainglory represented the counterpart of honour.

A recurring criticism of some crusaders was that they had undertaken their vow for the wrong reasons, or under false pretences. Seeking adventure, fame or wealth might reflect elements of contemporary chivalric culture, but it should not be prioritised over the spiritual aims of the crusade. Crusaders who were preoccupied only with worldly concerns represented spiritual failure, which could threaten the expedition as a whole.

Another way of considering how masculinity was defined and negotiated in texts is by examining how Christian men were represented vis-à-vis Muslim men. Such depictions were very rarely value-neutral: 'the image of the Saracen provides a powerful racial, cultural and religious Other during the later Middle Ages'.[36] Yet such depictions were not necessarily always negative in tone.[37] Cultural attitudes were influenced not only by intellectual traditions but also actual encounters – and in response to settlement, colonisation, and diplomacy in the Levant. On the crusading battlefield, Muslims had quickly earned a reputation for their martial expertise; Christians could admire or even attest to the abilities of their adversary. As Nicholson has pointed out, 'it was only natural to exalt the enemy, as this increased the achievement of defeating them and lessened the ignominy of being defeated by them'.[38]

Yet it was often more than this; in Muslim fighters, Christian men could recognise much of the ethos and values of their chivalric ideology. Indeed, in literary texts, some Saracen individuals are shown to embody or reflect chivalric ideals. Perhaps on occasion these individuals are rooted in historical figures such as Saladin, who was viewed by some as a paragon of chivalry or 'noble pagan'.[39] Notwithstanding we cannot ignore ambivalent or derogatory discourses. Christian and Muslim fighters could be shown to behave and act in similar ways, but the knightly prowess of Muslims did not simply represent a mirror image;[40] instead, they were represented as flawed or inconsistent, mighty in strength, but lacking in chivalric honour, determined and cunning, but devoid of all fidelity. Unlike Christian knights – Saracen warriors did not fight for, or have faith in, God (Christian writers often erroneously depicted Islam as polytheistic). Indeed, normally conversion at some stage was a requisite for a Muslim to be considered properly chivalric – those like the Saracen giant Ascopart in *Bevis of Hampton* (c. 1324) who refused baptism would soon demonstrate his 'true colours' by betraying the titular hero.[41] Conversely, a Christian knight teaching a Muslim the tenets of both chivalry and Christianity was a mainstay of romance. Nonetheless, in depicting encounters between Christians and Muslims, authors were able to both praise and interrogate the masculine ideals Western men viewed as normative or attainable. In exploring both their similarities and their differences, authors could use their readers' expectations of masculinity as a

way of critiquing and denigrating the Saracen and his supposedly unstable and threatening gender.

Travel was also a way of proving masculinity: those without prospects or inheritance saw travel as a potential route to social mobility and independence. For many men crusading could be a rite de passage, but it had risks – it might facilitate social dislocation and economic hardship, as by travelling far from home, social status or gender identity could deteriorate. The cultural symbols and performances that designated social hierarchies might not be upheld in a foreign country or during battle. Such social downgrading could be occasioned even by bad luck – such as having your horse die. Ultimately there was also no guarantee of surviving an expedition.

The risk inherent in going on crusade was played upon and praised by commentators and in narrative texts; in his *Livre de chevalrie* (c. 1350s) Geoffroi de Charney stated: 'for indeed no one can travel so far without being many times in physical danger. We should for this reason honor such men-at-arms who at great expense, hardship and grave peril undertake to travel to … distant countries'.[42] Within a literary context, the protagonist's voyage functioned on several levels, not least to introduce different tests that the hero could overcome. If the protagonist's journey was a success, it was another way of demonstrating an individual's heroic status. Furthermore, in highlighting travel, and as Amy Burge has termed it 'crusade geography', in texts like *Bevis*, *Sir Isumbras*, or *Guy of Warwick*, characters could be used to articulate particular discourses about nationalism, colonialism, and religion.[43] Gender was one authorial tool used to construct these identities, but it was also often an intrinsic theme or framing device.

Understandings of masculinity and heteronormative expectations often act as a lynchpin to the narratives in which a central hero embarks upon a crusade. As Ruth Mazo Karras has stated, this makes sense if we consider that 'both scholarly and popular conceptions of the ideology of knighthood in the central and late Middle Ages are deeply intertwined with notions of heterosexual romantic love'.[44] How do we balance this with the claim that 'the textual world constructed by crusader texts is a relentlessly homosocial one'?[45] Both could be ostensibly true. Going on crusade was represented as a way of proving oneself to one's intended, and thus it also acted as a subtle justification – or even a form of 'soft pressure', where men had to align their crusading endeavours with heteronormativity. This could also displace the obvious homosocial nature of many crusading encounters. Davis has described this framing device aptly: 'spatially transcendent, the faultless knight colonizes his lady's heart at the same time as, and with the same acts by which, he colonizes those places he takes in military action; like the territory he conquers, her heart is drawn on his interior map'.[46] Writers might

question these romantic motives, however, which they argued lacked spiritual fervour and sincerity. Here we have another popular gendered trope which could be simultaneously celebrated and critiqued by contemporaries. Narratives offered solutions. In the popular tale of *Sir Isumbras* (fifteenth century, but likely circulated earlier), the knight initially journeys to the East to demonstrate his worthiness to his intended wife, and later, having sought out fame and fortune, he returns, marries, and has a son; however it is then he has an epiphany, returns once again to the Holy Land, this time seeking to prove his devotion and piety.[47] Here in the initial part of the narrative the author fulfils the social expectations of gender and sexuality before/and in order to develop into a more worthy crusader and Christian knight.

Masculinity was not the sole purview of men. Queens or queen regents such as Eleanor of Aquitaine (c. 1122–1204) and Melisende of Jerusalem (c. 1105–61) were expected at times to act or perform like men, to go beyond the expectations of their sex; sometimes they did so to consolidate their authority – even in the face of criticism or ridicule. On occasion, in the historical narratives we see women in combat; Natasha Hodgson points to William of Tyre's commentary on the battle of Jerusalem in 1098, where he states 'women, forgetful of their sex and unmindful of their inherent fragility, were presuming to take up arms and fought manfully beyond their strength'.[48] There are parallels too in literary texts, with women taking on the role of the knight, demonstrating how chivalric masculinity could be a performance. In a crusading context, it was however often the fantasy Amazonian and pagan, or eroticised 'Other', who was depicted as a female warrior; similarly, in Muslim narratives Christian women are portrayed as fighters 'as a measure of "Otherness" and barbarity of Christian culture'.[49]

Masculinity was, however, often used against women. In crusade texts sexual violence was more often associated with the enemy, whether they were Christian or Muslim. This had several functions. Hodgson highlights how depictions of rape and violence against women, particularly those labelled virgins, were used 'to incite pity in their audience, and to fan the flames of religious hatred'.[50] It could thus be used as a motivational tool. Authors might also include stories or accounts which highlighted the dangers of women going on crusade, to persuade them to stay at home. Rape is largely absent in First Crusade narratives. It may be that because it was deemed a holy war, rape was particularly unacceptable to Christian commentators – the crusaders were expected to be beyond reproach. The occasional account, however, does exist. In the *Chanson d'Antioche*, we are told that the Tafurs raped the Muslim women at Antioch. But as Sweetenham has commented: 'their role is to act out and take the blame for the darker events of the Crusade … They are carefully differentiated from the

knights, portrayed as barely human … The fiction of knightly heroism can thus be maintained'.[51] The massacre of non-combatants might be condoned, but rape was viewed as going against crusading ideals: some have suggested this was a consequence of 'clerical expectations taking precedence over military customs', or how the tenets of secular chivalry increasingly made rape unacceptable. Quite possibly it may have been simply ignored. We cannot say that rape did not occur during the crusades, but we can say that it was unlikely to have been reported by crusade authors – and it is likely this was because it did not sit easy with Christian conceptions of masculinity.[52]

Sexuality

The scholarship of James A. Brundage remains vital in terms of demonstrating how sex was fundamental to crusade discourse. Brundage demonstrated the influence eleventh-century reform had on how authors of crusade histories described sexual behaviour as sinful, polluting, and ultimately detrimental to the expedition.[53] Crusaders, as pilgrims who had taken a vow, were expected to remain celibate. Victory was assured only if those who fought retained their purity, both of mind and body. Many of the First Crusade narratives, therefore, stress how abstinence was often imposed upon the crusade armies, with defeats frequently blamed on the sexual excesses of the rank and file. Andrew Holt has argued that authorial concerns about female sexuality reflect the broader concerns of the Gregorian reforms; primarily, women needed to be exiled so that the army could avoid contamination.[54] In this regard, authors indicate much apprehension concerning the existence of sex workers within the crusading camps, and this also points to wider anxieties about the involvement of women per se within the crusades. At the same time, Alan V. Murray has suggested that most of the single women accompanying crusader forces were not sex workers, but instead women 'whose male protectors had died'.[55]

Several crusade writers include 'lurid' stories in which Muslim men seduced or corrupted Christian women. For certain, sexual contact between Christians and Muslims was more than frowned upon, particularly if this involved extramarital relations. Nonetheless, intermarriage became more common following the Latin Settlements in the East, but it was only deemed acceptable by the authorities if the marriage was between a Christian and a Christian convert. Legislation included severe penalties for miscegenation; the Council of Nablus in 1120 for instance stated: 'If anyone should be proved to have slept with a Muslim woman with her consent, let him be castrated and let her nose be cut off'.[56] Even after the First Crusade, concerns about sexuality in the context of crusading remained – it was a link

that endured in part because of Western fears of Saracen (and, later, Turks') sexuality, and because sex was a useful way of othering Muslims. Indeed, much of the rhetoric also continued to compare Western men, who were supposedly able to subdue their sexual appetites, with a more 'debauched' Islamic sexuality. Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, wrote: 'sunk, dead, buried in obscene desire, pursuing like animals the lusts of the flesh, they can resist no vices but are miserably enslaved and ruled by carnal passions, often without even being roused by desire; they consider it meritorious to stimulate the most sordid desires'.[57] In no small part, the crusades would ensure that normative sexual behaviour would become an indicator of Christian knightly identity.

Perhaps one of the most persistent of Christian sexual fantasies was one that revolved around the Muslim woman, as both lover and convert. Such stories, which frequently included the motif of 'Saracen princess' (or 'enamoured Muslim princess'), would eroticise representations of the 'Other', and at the same time offer the possibility of assimilation. The earliest such story is found in the twelfth-century monastic historian Orderic Vitalis's *Ecclesiastical History* (c. 1135), in which Bohemond of Antioch escapes captivity due to the actions of the princess Melaz, who had apparently fallen in love with the Christian noble.[58] Such stories became a stock-in-trade motif in later romances, highlighting the anxious certainty of Christian supremacy, but also reflecting the symmetry with which narratives of conquest went hand-in-hand with stories of sexual conquest and subjugation. The interest and fetishisation of the Saracen female body perhaps overshadows the degree to which these texts emphasise the obvious desirability of Western men. Sexual dominance over the wife left behind and the female 'Other' encountered overseas, was, it appears, a necessary part of the imaginative landscape of the knightly elite; it was a hegemonic masculinity that in various forms and iterations, drew on narratives of desire, colonisation, conquest, and conversion.

The relationship between chivalry and crusading is multifaceted, and no longer should be explored as distinct phenomenon. What it meant to be a knight was also closely intertwined with conceptions of the perfect Christian man – with crusading deemed to be the supreme chivalric endeavour. Within 'imaginative literature' masculinity and sexuality were important themes because from the very beginning they were explicitly linked to crusade ideology, and were emphasised in Christian concerns about religious and racial difference. Repacked for each generation, chivalry, masculinity, and sexuality are all our expressed within texts which embody crusading themes, for in representing or narrating the battles and encounters between Christians and Muslims, contemporaries sought to delineate, emphasise, or contest a range of cultural norms and values. What

we have briefly sketched here is the relationship and mutual dependence between what are ostensibly defined as 'historical' or 'literary' works; the impact of religious and secular ideals on the way chivalry, masculinity, and sexuality is conceptualised; and the diversity of functions these depictions held. Fundamentally, such representations need to be both historicised and contextualised in order to demonstrate how they both reflected and effected cultural ideals and practices.

NOTES

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11

CHRISTINE CHISM

Saladin and Richard I

In 1861 at the ruins of Chertsey Abbey, an archaeological expedition led by Dr Mainwaring Shurlock unearthed a number of decorated tiles dating from the mid-thirteenth century (see Figure 11.1 and 11.2). These tiles illuminated a series of romance scenes, many from Thomas of Britain's Old French version of *Tristram and Isolde*, many depicting hunts and battles, and three from the Middle English *Richard Coer de Lyon* (hereafter *RCL*).[1] The first shows the youthful Richard earning his name by reaching down the throat of an attacking lion to tear out its heart. Two more twinned tiles depict a legendary single combat between Richard and Saladin. Richard is winning. He leans forward in the saddle, lance levelled, his charger's neck eagerly outstretched. In *RCL* this is a double victory, since the horse is a gift from Saladin and actually a demon, mothered by the devilish mare that Saladin himself is riding. It is a plot to ensure Richard's defeat: when Saladin's mare neighs, the colt will kneel before it to suck. But Richard has cannily stopped its ears with wax so that the demon colt cannot hear its mother, and he charges it so fiercely that it attacks at full strength. Richard, in effect, overmasters his demonic colt by co-opting its own hellish ferocity.

Across the decorated border, Saladin's tile has partially shattered as though Richard's attack had splintered its very clay. However, it is possible to make out a very unhappy Saladin, caught just as he is about to be hurled from the saddle, his mare half kneeling, its head bowed under. This encounter never happened – historically Salāh al-Dīn and Richard I never exchanged blows on a battlefield, or even treated directly with each other. This is Saladin as the monks of Chertsey wished to remember him, his cowardly sorcery out-mastered by Richard's warlike prowess. The Chertsey tiles ratify the fondest mythologies of crusade. In the fall of Saladin, one of the most dedicated warriors the crusading Franks ever faced, they fantasised an Islamic defeat that remained historically out of reach.

I begin with these tiles, because even as they mythologise the implacable opposition between Christian and Saracen, they also undermine it. Their

Figure 11.1 Richard I (Coeur de Lion) in combat; floor tile, Chertsey (England), 1250s. British Museum.
(Photograph: Anthony Bale)

fantasy of zero-sum crusading chivalry is only possible because there has been a significant forgetting – the enmity of the opponents is literally riding on a family relationship. Embodied by the mare and her colt, this alternate connective chivalry suggestion that crusade can only survive as mythology by ignoring the common heritages and entwined histories that underwrite what Richard Bulliet has termed a single Islamo-Christian civilisation.[2] If ideologies of crusade and holy war are powerful, it is because they must energetically build divided worlds by erasing more complex and intersectional worlds. This chapter challenges such divided histories by tracing the legends of Richard I and Saladin as foundations not just of division but connection, through the economies of gift, kinship, and respect – as well as

Figure 11.2 Saladin in combat; floor tile (damaged), Chertsey (England), 1250s. British Museum. (Photograph: Anthony Bale)

the violence – that come to bind them ever more closely across centuries of literary and historical writing.

Saladin and Richard the Lionheart, or, as their contemporaries would have known them, Salāh al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb (1137–93) and Richard I of England (1157–99) have been claimed for centuries by historians, ideologues, and poets. Sometimes as ideal war-leaders bound by their honour and respect for each other and sometimes as inimical mutual nemeses, they have cast long legendary shadows as the ultimate intimate enemies, or what me might today call 'frenemies'. Historical novels such as Sir Walter Scott's *The Talisman* (1825) or Tariq Ali's *The Book of Saladin* (1999) use them to catalyse self-reflections within orientalist, crusading, or postcolonial frames. Historians that divide the world into the West vs. the Rest (Niall

Ferguson) find them equally apt as figureheads for the clash of civilisations (Samuel P. Huntington) whether they justify or decry the rise of the West, and whether they orientalise (Edward Said) or occidentalise (Ian Baruma and Avishai Margalit).[3]

Such politicised modern historiography is uncannily homologous with the crusading or jihadist ideologies of the chroniclers who helped create Richard I and Saladin as legendary holy warriors. In the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, and the chronicles of Richard of Devizes (late twelfth century), and Roger of Howden (1174–1201), Richard I is a consummate crusader, treating his friends with generosity, and his enemies with ferocity, tempered at times with chivalric respect. These chronicles celebrate Richard for setting violent precedents in his treatment of both Muslim and Jews. Richard of Devizes applauds him for instigating the slaughter of English Jewish communities after Richard barred Jews from his coronation ceremonies.[4] Salāh al-Dīn similarly figures as a holy warrior in Arabic chronicles, biographies, and stories, particularly those of his contemporaries, Imād ad Dīn al-Isfahāni, and Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, who emphasise his relentlessness in the lesser *jihad* (against external enemies), even as they celebrate his mercy to Frankish prisoners and his honourable treatment of enemies who kept their sworn oaths to him. Even Ibn al-Athīr, a Zangid supporter quite critical of Salāh al-Dīn, acknowledged his effectiveness as a commander against the Franks. In the next century, Abu Shāma's (1203–68) *The Two Gardens* commemorated Nūr al-Dīn and Salāh al-Dīn side by side, as preeminent holy warriors – the two gardens they create are the kingdoms they rendered safer by their resistance to Frankish continual invasion.

However, while the urgencies of holy war occupied contemporary historians and biographers, by contrast, literary writers could co-opt Saladin and Richard I for a wide variety of purposes. I will focus upon the literatures of the Latin West, since neither Richard, nor, surprisingly, Salāh al-Dīn left much of a footprint in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, or Hebrew literature – although Jean de Joinville (1224–1317), a chronicler of the ill-fated Seventh Crusade, reports that thirteenth-century Egyptian mothers used to threaten their children into good behaviour by warning them that King Richard was coming for them.[5] Salāh al-Dīn was a Kurd rather than an Arab, who rose to prominence through service rather than illustrious birth, and within a century of his death, he was a footnote in Arabic sources. It was not until nineteenth- and twentieth-century decolonisations, that Salāh al-Dīn became lionised as a rallying symbol of pan-Arab unity and resistance to Western colonial aggression.[6]

By contrast, the Latin Christian world gave both Richard I and Saladin almost instant legendary status. What is fascinating is how very different their

legends quickly became. Richard Lionheart, especially in the Old French *Pas Saladin* and the Middle English *RCL* (c. 1300), continues as an orientalist's dream – he enacts implacable cultural conflict between Latin Christians and non-Latin Christians – whether they are Muslim, Jewish, pagan, Saracen, or Eastern Christian. By contrast and more surprisingly, Saladin's legacy is not cultural division but cultural entanglement. Saladin stories thematise relationships across enemy lines, beneficial mutual alliance, and economies of breath-taking generosity. Tales such as *The Ordène de Chevalerie*, the fifteenth-century romance of *Saladin* and its thirteenth-century prequel, *La Fille de Compt de Pontieu* from the Old French Crusade Cycle, and stories from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, depict Saladin not simply as a canny and worthy adversary, but a patron, benefactor, and even a family member to Latin Christians who encounter him. Where Richard is romanticised into an intemperate destroyer of non-Christians, Saladin comes to incarnate kindness to (Christian) strangers.

What explains this paradox? How does Saladin, who tore Jerusalem from Latin Christendom, evolve from the ultimate taker to the ultimate giver? I suggest that the surprising gift economies that come to bind Saladin to the west do several things. Stories of Saladin's fantastic generosity clearly ameliorate the traumatic losses that the historical Salāh al-Dīn inflicted on Latin Christendom.[7] However, they also respond to the transactional networks that have always historically bound Latin Christian crusaders, the Frankish Outremer kingdoms, and Latin Christendom itself to their Muslim, Jewish, and Eastern Christian neighbours. Unlike the demon mare and colt in the Chertsey tiles, the legends of Saladin and his Western protégés not only remember but also re-enact relationships of mutual debts, service, and friendship for future generations.

The Intersectional Levantine

The Saladin romances of transcultural relation have a basis in historical experience. The crusade period Levant was a society of many networks that operated differently at levels of society. Brian Catlos has usefully broken down the complexity of Mediterranean transcultural relationships into three dimensions of social organisation: macro, micro, and meso.[8] The macro level – defined by the certainty of confessional truth, whether Latin Christian, Eastern Christian, Sunni, Shi'ia, or Isma'ili – is the most stable, ideological, and antagonistic but also the most abstract. This ecumenical level is where engagements are zero sum, and culture clash begins to seem essential and inevitable. At the meso level operate institutions and larger collectives – the military orders of the Templars and the Hospitallers, the

nationalist factions within Richard's armies, trading guilds and mercenary bands, informed by ecumenical policy but also inflected by pragmatic group interests. At the micro level are individuals, families, and local communities, where there is a much freer play of personal friendships and enmities, and where local practices fluctuate within neighbourhoods, smallholdings, estates, and city quarters. Catlos's multi-level analysis of Mediterranean societies dimensionalises Levantine relations by attending to constant interplays of the personal, institutional, and ecumenical. The crusades shift from a clash of civilisations to an interest-driven web of ideology, pragma, and the unpredictable urgencies of hearts and minds.

Even dedicated combatants such as Richard I and Salāh al-Dīn negotiated these ecumen-crossing alliances. Although Richard I and Salāh al-Dīn never met, Saif al-Dīn, Salāh al-Dīn's brother and diplomatic emissary, parlayed warmly with Richard I throughout his campaigns, honouring him with gifts of camels, a magnificent tent, and fruit and ices to relieve the Levantine heat. So amicable did they become that Richard's followers grew nervous: 'The king was happy to receive gifts from Saphadin and messengers kept running back and forth between them bearing little presents from Saphadin to King Richard. His people felt that the king was open to considerable criticism for this, and it was said to be sinful to contract friendship with Gentiles'.[9]

Ultimately historical sources attest not to an implacable culture clash but also to a series of intersectional engagements between factions that were far from cohesive. They enumerate the flagging loyalties, fraying alliances, and competitive backstabbing that beset the 'Christians' and the 'Muslims' at all levels. The participants and observers of Salāh al-Dīn's and Richard I's campaigns who wrote Latin and Arabic chronicles strive to polarise Christians and Muslims, Franks and Arabs in the name of confessional purism and cultural mythology, but they bear even stronger witness to the intricate networks of military practice, honour, economic exchange, and tactical *realpolitik* that constituted relationships across confessional lines.

Salāh al-Dīn and Richard I: Victory Versus Attrition

The military encounters of Salāh al-Dīn and Richard I have all the drama of an irresistible force meeting an immovable object. Salāh al-Dīn, founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, rose to power as Sultan of Egypt and Syria between 1166 and his death in 1193, but was checked by Richard before he could take complete control of the Levant. Salāh al-Dīn wanted to eradicate the last of the Frankish Kingdoms; Richard I and the other Frankish leaders had wanted to take back Jerusalem, and expand their reach to Damascus and Egypt. Neither side achieved their aims. By the 1192 treaty of Ramla,

the crusader kingdom of Jerusalem had been reduced to a narrow strip of cities and fortifications along the coast, but it was still there. Christian pilgrims were assured access to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other Jerusalem shrines, but Jerusalem and Ascalon remained in Ayyubid hands, and the Latin kingdoms of Edessa, Antioch, and Tripoli were gone.

Although this outcome was not welcome to either Richard or Salāh al-Dīn, it does attest to the effectiveness of Salāh al-Dīn's tactics of delay and attrition. The two leaders were effectively conducting two different wars. Richard continued to press for total victory throughout the campaign – so implacably that after the treaty of Ramla he refused to enter Jerusalem, even as a pilgrim, because he could not ride in as a conqueror. Salāh al-Dīn, by contrast, after two morale-destroying reverses – the fall of Acre and the Battle of Arsuf – began fighting not to win but to wear Richard down. He shifted to a non-zero-sum strategy as a counter to Richard's all-or-nothing tactics. In doing so, Salāh al-Dīn capitalised upon the intrinsic difficulties the crusaders faced as an occupying minority with dwindling resources. All the while, Salāh al-Dīn kept diplomatic doors open, sending gifts, offering embassies with his brother and ambassador, Saif al-Dīn, with whom Richard had developed a good relationship. In the end, Salāh al-Dīn's delaying tactics preserved the interior and Jerusalem for his Sultanate. In Salāh al-Dīn's game, both won and both lost.

The Third Crusade's double tactics left a surprising aftermath in the way the legends of the two heroes, Richard I and Saladin, developed. Despite the defeat of Richard's aims, his humiliating post-crusade imprisonment, the burdens he imposed on England for his ransom, and his ongoing investments in France rather than England, Richard retained the aura of a great English crusader. The most significant Richard romance, the Middle English *RCL* magnifies his leadership into a melee of unrestricted victory over Saladin and his Saracens. It replaces the Third Crusade's long-term legacies of disappointment, dissension, and compromise, with a fantasy of English crusading invincibility.

By contrast, Salāh al-Dīn's tactics of patience, persistence, and chivalric treatment of his enemies, while not effecting his immediate goals, result in a longer-term victory rooted in the social and ethical power of chivalric benevolence. He demonstrated this benevolence to so many Franks and Latin and Eastern Christians that even the most ideologically hostile Latin chroniclers attest to it. The romances and stories of these two heroes register these very different tactical histories. Where Richard Lionheart stories turn away from history to indulge in genocidal and even cannibalistic fantasies of triumph, many of the Saladin stories recognise the irreversibility of Frankish defeat and make the best of a bad lot by

mythologising the historical lynchpin of Christian crusading defeat from a Saracen tyrant to a Saracen benefactor.

Richard Coer de Lyon and Tales of Saladin: Traumatic Appetites and Economies of Plenitude

Medieval writings commemorate Richard I and Salāh al-Dīn according to the logics of very different economies. Richard, a ferocious divider of worlds, incarnates lack, hunger, and need; as though rooting in his flesh the traumas of losing Jerusalem, and the financial exigencies that his crusade and enormous ransom inflicted upon his compatriots. Saladin, by contrast, who gave away so much of his livelihood that he died with no more than 47 dirhams of silver and a single Tyrian gold coin in his treasury,[10] paradoxically incarnates plenitude and boundless generosity. As a result, romances of Saladin explore accelerating gift economies whose exchanges bind together donors and receivers through gratitude, fortune, and friendship, while never quite escaping the threat of violence.

This section will explore the Middle English *RCL* and then survey a number of Saladin stories, mostly from Old French or Italian traditions: including the *Ordène de Chevalerie*, the story of the Three Laws, a story from the Minstrel of Reims, the *Pas Saladin*, the *Fille de Compt de Pontieu*, and Boccaccio's tales of the Three Laws and of Messer Torello. These stories of Saladin brighten and transform the sultan's historical war of attrition into full-blown economies of plenitude. They show that when Christians encounter Saladin, everybody wins. Instead of a motivating logic of traumatic loss, the encounter between Saladin and Richard I moves toward the realisation of mutual chivalric respect, friendship and, even, in some accounts, familiarity and kinship.

The romance of *RCL* leaves no doubt as to which world it wants to impress upon the reader. Richard's world-dividing aims are proclaimed as early as the three costumes Richard wears to his first juvenile tournament: 1) a raven of war with a church bell, 2) a fleeing dog (representing the Saracens he means to rout), and 3) a red crusader cross. His first action on reaching the port of Tyre is to cleave apart the famous chain that guards the harbour, with an enormous Anglo-Saxon battle-axe, and he threatens not only to destroy all 'Pagandom', but to swallow it whole. Leila K. Norako succinctly describes the poem as 'a hypernationalistic fantasy of crusader conquest, one in which the English establish themselves as a culture superior not only to the Saracens but to rival European powers'.[11] Geraldine Heng analyses how the poem represses and fantastically compensates for the historical disappointments of the Third Crusade.[12] While glorifying English

pre-eminence, however, the poem also makes Richard monstrous. Richard draws upon the lexicon of medieval giants and monsters in his birth from a demonic mother, his delight in cannibalism. He becomes a populist hero through the weird agriculturalism of his making war with beehives, mills, and tree trunks. He internalises tropes of otherness traditionally projected outward to Saracens, pagans, and Jews, in a kind of figural pre-emptive strike that reverses the usual aversion of alterity.

The incident that gives Richard his name Lionheart is also a key to how his ferocious appetite empowers and frees him from chivalric (and human) decorum. The romance shifts the historical events of Richard's captivity and ransoming by the Holy Roman Emperor from the end of the Third Crusade to its beginning: his return from a youthful pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Richard proves an unwelcome prisoner, killing the King of Almayne's son and conducting a secret affair with the king's daughter. The infuriated king arranges for Richard's assassination by introducing a lion into Richard's cell. Wrenching open the lion's mouth, Richard reaches down and tears out its heart. As though that act was itself a magical prison-key, he then marches out of his cell to the king's banqueting hall, dips the raw heart into a salver of salt, and devours it in front of the king. The king is both impressed and appalled:

> 'Iwis, as I undyrstonde can,
> This is a devyl, and no man,
> That has my stronge lyoun slawe,
> The herte out of hys body drawe,
> And has it eeten with good wylle.
> He may be callyed, be ryght skylle,
> Kyng icrystenyd of most renoun,
> Stronge Rychard, Coer de Lyoun!'
> (*RCL*, ll. 1111–18)

This incident makes Richard's outrageousness the pathway to his freedom, rewriting the history of his three-year captivity and exorbitant ransom into his gaining of a name, identity, and mode of action in the world. The act of eating the heart of his enemy allows him to absorb what attacks him and become what he eats. When he later feasts on Saracen flesh and vows he will devour the whole of pagandom, he figuratively exports this economy of monstrous appetite to his entire world. Here the poem's uniquely vicious heroism dissects (even while glorifying) the crusader ideology that divides worlds in order to conquer them. Richard's violent alchemy of self-making is ultimately also self-consuming. It requires continual ingestions in order to maintain itself, and gradually distends heroism into monstrosity. There is a kind of joy in that outrageousness, slipping the bounds of chivalry,

aristocracy, and even humanity. But the poem's ethical topsy-turvy agrees with the king of Almayne: that purest form of crusader is a cannibal demon.

The legend of Saladin as it evolves across romances takes precisely the opposite approach – the chivalry, decorum, and humanity that the Richard romance shatters, the Saladin romances enlarge into common languages that connect across confessional, class, and regional divisions. This does not necessarily abate the violence but it does remind the reader of the affective pleasures that can grow from parlaying between mutually intelligible cultures. A thirteenth-century romance, the *Pas Saladin*, imports an act of Saladin's generosity into a militant encounter with Richard I. It also draws from an historical incident, described by Bahā' al-Dīn as occurring on 5 August 1192, in which Richard with only ten mounted knights (all of whom are enthusiastically named in the *Itinerarium*) and between 300 and 1,000 foot soldiers, held at bay an enormous battalion of Salāh al-Dīn's troops. Seeing the slender numbers of the Franks,

> the sultan was filled with eager anticipation and his men charged them as one man, but the enemy stood firm and did not move from their positions. Like dogs of war they snarled, willing to fight to the death. Our troops were frightened of them, dumbfounded by their steadfastness.[13]

Bahā' al-Dīn attributes the Syrians' unwillingness to attack not just to their fear but their greed – they are angry at Salāh al-Dīn's diplomatic return of Jaffa, which they had just retaken, to Richard, thus depriving them of their share of the spoils. Meanwhile, the *Itinerarium* hyperbolises the incident into 'the king's astonishing fight which will amaze for all time'.[14] Richard was proud enough of it that he commissioned a painting of his triumph,[15] which was widely copied and adapted.[16]

The *Pas Saladin* adapts the battle considerably, moving it to a narrow pass, which Philip II orders Richard I and twelve other knights to defend against a whole Saracen army. Too late does the Saracen captain, Escorfal, sound the horn to summon reinforcements; he is slaughtered along with his army, and a Saracen watchman reports back the names of the twelve knights who have done this deed, comparing them to angels and calling them the flower of Christianity.[17] Saladin, with his signature liberality, decides to withdraw to Damietta, not out of fear but from love of the knighthood that the Frankish warriors have just shown: 'He thought to himself with great generosity, that it would be a very great pity, to put such nobles to death. He would not do it for any treasure. Such great prowess he doesn't hate at all, but loves chivalry always'.[18] Philip receives back his victorious warriors, grasps Richard by the hands with joy, and celebrates them with a glorious feast.

The *Pas Saladin* thus claims this famous exploit of Richard's for Philip and France, retrospectively revising the acrimonious rivalry between Richard and Philip into an upsurge of Christian solidarity. It also brilliantly miniaturises and parodies the romance most famous of all for overblown gestures of cultural polarisation, the *Chanson de Roland*. Despite the *Pas*'s joy in the slaughter of Saracens, which it shares with many scenes from Roland, the poem refuses Roland's tragedy in order to celebrate the love of chivalry shared by Christian and Saracen alike with Saladin's generosity as a catalyst. The nineteenth-century medievalist Gaston Paris argues that poems like the *Pas Saladin* domesticate Saladin's religious alterity – he admires Christian knighthood so much he effectively becomes a crypto-Christian (and wishful legends of Saladin's deathbed conversion did proliferate). However, I would suggest that the *Pas* and other Saladin stories imagine a lighter, less grimly symmetrical world, based on the idea that shared values such as love of chivalric prowess could speak across confessional divisions. They transform the groan of Charlemagne's final line in *Roland* 'So painful is my life!' – as fine a medieval expression of manifest destiny and the white man's burden as could be found – into a handclasp and feast. A similar sense of generic playfulness explains the mercurial Saladin in the fifteenth-century romance of *Saladin*, who veers by chapter from terrorist assassin, to haughty sultan, to lover of Christian damsels, to patron and protector of extraordinary Christian knights. In a long, episodic romance, elements of the ecumenical and the fervidly personal can permute with enormous freedom, and with much less investment in tragic nationalism.

One story conveys this transcultural communicability with particular humour: the account of the Minstrel of Reims about a dynastic near miss involving Saladin and Eleanor of Aquitaine.[19] Historically, Eleanor took the cross during the ineffective Second Crusade in 1147, leading her own contingent of 300 vassals from her duchy of Aquitaine, and accompanying her then husband Louis VI of France to Antioch. There, despite Eleanor's urging, Louis proved reluctant to attack Aleppo preparatory to retaking Edessa. He took Eleanor instead on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, desultorily attacked Damascus, and then returned to France with his now thoroughly alienated queen. Eleanor had had two daughters but no sons in fifteen years of marriage, and this provided grounds for the annulment that soon followed their return. Eleanor went on to marry Henry II of England, and her third son was Richard.

The story told by the Minstrel of Reims gives Eleanor an entirely different motive for her dissatisfaction with her husband – she is disgusted with him for spending a winter living high in Tyre and refusing to engage Saladin,

who eagerly offers battle to Louis (imagination overtakes history here – he would have been about ten at the time). Eleanor compares her inert husband unfavourably to the bounty, prowess, good sense, and largesse of Saladin,[20] falling deeply in love with him, writing him a letter, and promising that she will leave her lord and relinquish Christian law. She is betrayed by one of her maids, and Louis races down and grasps her before she can board the ship. When he asks her what she thinks she is doing, she answers witheringly: 'By my faith, it is because of your wickedness, for you aren't worth more than a rotten apple. I've heard enough good about Saladin, that I love him better than you'.[21] The Minstrel makes clear that the annulment that follows comes from Louis's sense that his wife is a very bad woman.[22] Did this tale of Eleanor influence the demon mother of *Richard, Coer de Lyon*? If Louis had delayed a moment longer, would Saladin and Richard be father and son? Clearly chivalric qualities speak all too clearly across confessional lines, and there is a fear that powerful French heiresses might be quite ready to make their own decisions.

Another romance shows exactly that, with definite dynastic consequences. The *Fille de Compt de Pontieu* tells the story of the daughter of the Count of Pontieu who marries a good lord but remains childless.[23] As she and her husband, Thibaut, are travelling on pilgrimage to St James of Compostela to pray for a child, they are attacked by six brigands. Thibaut kills three of them, and in reprisal, they tie him up, take her off into the woods and rape her. When they flee and her husband begs her to free him, she takes his sword and tries to kill him instead, inadvertently cutting the cords that bind him. This behaviour astonishes him, but she refuses to explain it, and when he tells her father the count about it, the count becomes so furious that he shuts her in a barrel and throws her out to sea. There she is rescued by merchants on their way to Almeria (the port of al-Mariyya in southern Spain), and the merchants decide to give her as a gift to the Sultan of Almeria. The sultan is so enamoured of her that he offers her marriage if she will convert. After some thought, she agrees, marries him, and immediately becomes fertile, bearing a son and a daughter to him, and they live in happiness for several years. Meanwhile the Count of Pontieu realises that he has done great wrong and undertakes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem as penance, taking the lady's grieving former husband and brother along. On their return journey, they are raided by pirates and all three sold as slaves to the Sultan of Almeria, where the Sultana immediately recognises them. Declaring her Saracen identity, she questions them as to their background, and they tell her the sad story she knows already. She reveals herself as their lost one, though now a Saracen, and promises she can free them, if they will treat her son well. Both stricken and joyous, they agree. Through a stratagem she has them all put on board

a ship, along with her son, and escapes back to France. Her son is baptised a Christian, she is re-baptised, and lives out the rest of her days in France, producing several more children.

The dynastic consequences of this story are fascinating on both sides. Her son by the sultan is left out of the line of succession but his line will produce a future crusader, a historical companion of Richard I on the Third Crusade, William of Préaux. The *Itinerarium* describes how William of Préaux saved Richard's life when the king was ambushed with only a small contingent. William knew Arabic, and called out 'Ana melech!' ['I am the king'], so that Salāh al-Dīn's soldiers took him captive instead of Richard. Richard's last act in the Holy Land was to pay his ransom and free him.[24] In the thirteenth-century romance, William of Préaux's Arabic knowledge is thus given the strange rationale of a part-Saracen ancestry, as if language could be communicated by blood.[25]

More consequential is the other side of that bloodline, left behind in Almeria: the grieving sultan and his little daughter. The sultan is so heart-broken at the departure of his wife that it pains him to see his daughter, so she is called the Biele Caitive (the Beautiful Wretch). She grows up to marry a very loving Sultan of Baghdad, and bears a daughter, who will become the mother of Saladin himself, whom the tale lauds as 'the courteous Turk who had so much prowess and wisdom that you have heard of him many times before'.[26] The *Fille de Compt de Pontieu* thus gives Saladin a hybrid French and Saracen-Iberian ancestry. Yet the tale shows that if Saladin comes to pose a violent threat to Christendom, he must be getting the violence from his French side, because the story uncovers a France haunted by barrenness, tyrannies of lineage, rape, violence, and shame. Almeria, by contrast, offers the heroine escape from the shame she suffered, the incomprehension of her husband, and the cruelty of her father. There she finds freedom and self-determination through a new Saracen identity, and she finds love and a new family, which allows her to choose her own destiny for the first time in her life. *La Fille* makes good on the threat that the Minstrel of Reims pulls back from. If finding good relatives, true friends, and chivalric paragons seems impossible in Latin Christendom, readers of Saladin romances know where to look. Making Saladin an illustrious descendant invites its readers to consider the capacities for relatedness that reach across the sea. It concretises Bulliet's case for an Islamo-Christian civilisation into literal family ties. It also unseats Latin Christian French claims to chivalric monopolies, by showing a Saracen culture superior in its largesse, love, and fidelity to anything France – with its violent fathers, helpless husbands, and ineffective brothers – can produce.

Similar claims that chivalry is exclusive to Christianity are also at the heart of another Saladin tale, which declares them loudly on the one hand

only to undercut them on the other. The *Ordène de Chevalerie* relates how Saladin solicits one of his noble prisoners, Hue of Tabarie, to administer to him the order of knighthood. Hue protests that it would be impossible, as Saladin's paganism forbids it:

> The holy order of knighthood would be ill employed in you, for you are vile as regards the religion of goodness, baptism and faith; and I would be undertaking great folly if I were to wish to bedeck and cover a dunghill with silken sheets so that it could never stink.[27]

However, Saladin threatens to kill Hue if he will not comply and promises him enormous gifts if he will clarify the Christian order of knighthood and induct Saladin into it. Hue capitulates and leads an alert and curious Saladin through the rites of knightly investiture, energetically tying chivalric status to as many Christian exegetical interpretations as he can along the way. This explanation is the treatise's chief didactic purpose; it aggressively sanctifies knighthood to claim it exclusively for Latin Christendom. When Saladin asks why Hue stops short of investing him with the accolade, Hue draws attention to the violent frame of his captivity. In striking Saladin, he would act shamefully, 'for I am here in your prison, and I should commit no wickedness, whatever is said or done to me; for this reason, I do not wish to strike you. You must just accept this'.[28] Saladin then rewards Hue by funding his very expensive ransom.

The *Ordène de Chevalerie* manages to forbid chivalry to non-Christians in the act of teaching them about it. Its attempt to Christianise true knighthood and render all war holy war is not only undercut by Saladin's chivalric largesse and Hue's adherence to non-violence – but also by the historical event it most likely modulates. The *Itinerarium* describes how Saif al-Dīn, Salāh al-Dīn's brother, as an expression of a growing rapprochement with Richard, sent his son to Richard on Palm Sunday, to be knighted by him, and that Richard 'magnificently honoured' him by fastening the belt of knighthood upon him.[29] This event, confounding to ecumenical purisms, is described with bland dispatch, as though it were not extraordinary at all; it attests to the volatile microworld of crusading intersectional relations, a world that the *Ordène de Chevalerie* attempts to sermonise away.

The Story of the Three Laws, attested in many sources, and related in Boccaccio's *Decameron*, goes further than the *Ordène* by transforming Saladin's forceful gift economies into more grateful ones. It tells how a Jew protects himself from Saladin and wins his favour by drawing the Sultan's attentions to the noble inheritances that bind between Christianity, Islam, and Judaism alike into a single multiconfessional family. Boccaccio's other

Saladin story, the *Tale of Master Torello and Saladin*, dramatises this relationality even more forcefully. It makes Saladin a restorer of Christian families, through exchanges of gifts and hospitality that punctuate a spying mission in Italy, a crusade in Syria, and a captivity in Egypt. In the course of the tale, Saladin and Messer Torello become such close friends that they enact a transcultural wedding of sorts, crystallised in the magical flying bed that traverses the dangerous Mediterranean and returns Messer Torello to his home at the end of the tale. This bed, into which Saladin tucks a sleeping Torello, before dressing him in rich robes, surrounding him with treasure, and placing a priceless ring on his finger, communicates an affective, enriching, and uncanny affiliation that spans bifurcated worlds, despite the tensions of gift exchange as contest. It shows the way shared values of hospitality overcome the hostilities of espionage, captivity, and crusade itself.

Thinking about Saladin and Richard as heroes who generate different worlds – whether those of aversive polarisation or those of transactional affective networks – helps readers to rethink the idea of the heroic itself. Richard shows the forcefulness, energy, and charisma of using a polarised world to affect political change. His heroism clarifies definitions and identities in the short term, and helps people congregate around representational leaders. However, these oppositional factions are frequently constructed at great expense and only by eliding the personal experiences and institutional exigencies of the people they drag in their wake. They underhandedly recapitulate the traumas they work to elide and incur ongoing traumas of maintenance. The Crusades themselves demonstrate the historical and cultural costs of their polarising operation. By contrast, Saladin models a heroism that attends to the transactional. His non-zero-sum tactics, the generosities he exhibits, the relations he is drawn into and renders contagious to others, all gratefully modulate heroisms based only on conquest and dominance. The stories of Saladin remind us of the shared values and common heritages that complicate factional divides. They offer a model of heroism for the longer haul. Richard and Saladin may never have met, either to treat or fight, but their historical and legendary collisions are also a collusion that invites to new ways of thinking about the crusades.

NOTES

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12

JULIAN WEISS

'El Cid' (Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar)

A Muslim horseman, veiled in black, gallops into the port citadel of Valencia. Dismounting, he berates the cowed Andalusi courtiers seated before him:

> where are your warriors? … You have become like women! Burn your books, make warriors of your poets … and then kill, burn!

He turns, gazes into the distance, and declares,

> I will sweep up from Africa, and then the Empire of the one true God, the true God Allah, will spread first across Spain, then across Europe, then … the whole world!

He is Yusuf Ibn Tashfin, leader of the North African Almoravids, as portrayed in the opening scene of Anthony Mann's 1961 blockbuster, *El Cid*, starring Charlton Heston and Sophia Loren. To the sound of 'Allahu Akbar', Yusuf's eyes gleam maniacally as the setting sun fades to a burning church, a wooden statue of Christ on the cross, punctured by arrows, and an old priest weeping at its feet. A gloved hand reaches in to help, and a young man brushes away the arrows, shoulders the cross and carries it away to safety. He is Rodrigo Díaz, from Vivar – 'a simple man', the voice-over explains, 'who unites all Spaniards, Christian or Moor, against a common enemy' – and he is about to embark on his own *Via Crucis*. At the end of the film, the corpse of the Cid, sacrificed in the service of this ideal, is strapped to his famed steed Bavieca, to lead an army that drives the Almoravids from the beaches of Valencia and back into the sea.

The film weaves medieval legend into a Cold War allegory of crusade and counter-crusade. Rodrigo symbolically shoulders the cross that defines the crusader as a bulwark against a foe that has made 'civilised' liberal-democratic values the target of its own holy war. Spain, on the edge of Europe, is also its paradigm: fragile unity hangs upon the capacity to absorb internal difference and turn it outwards, to face a threat from beyond.[1]

Icons are the fulcrum in this balancing act of unity in diversity. Objects of reverence, seemingly fixed in time and form, they allow multiple desires and perspectives to coalesce around a single focal point and generate feelings of community and tradition. From the earliest legends to the present day, this hero and his horse have galloped through vernacular and Latin chronicles, epic and ballad, prose romance, drama, opera, lyric, and film, with the 2003 Spanish animation, *El Cid: La leyenda*, exploiting post 9/11 fears of global Islamic terrorism. These diverse genres and representational modes mean that he is not forever strapped to the same horse riding out to face the same enemy.[2] This man of combat is a 'combat concept': an adaptable figure of thought that travels beyond its original historical referent to help societies represent their worlds through the imaginative engagement with another.[3] His legend is so open to reappropriation because it operates on the frontier between ideas perceived to be mutually incompatible: between individual freedom and political constraint, violence and law, religious difference and intercultural values. These antimonies produce the Cid as an icon, looking forward and outward even in death, simultaneously anchoring the viewer's gaze in Castile's mythic past, reimagined as Spain's imperial destiny. Such was his power as a national icon, a way of channelling Spanish history, that one nineteenth-century reformer, the economist Joaquín Costa, famously declared that the Cid's tomb should be double-locked to prevent him from ever riding out again.

The historical Cid was not a crusader.[4] He was born into a minor noble family near Burgos in the early 1040s, shortly after Castile split from the ancient kingdom of Leon. Although these kingdoms were reunited under Fernando I, at his death in 1065 they again split apart under his sons, Alfonso VI of Leon and Sancho II of Castile. Rodrigo rose to prominence under Sancho and married the more aristocratic Jimena. But when Sancho was murdered, allegedly at his brother's instigation, he transferred allegiance to Alfonso, now king of Castile and Leon. Perceived infractions of royal sovereignty, exacerbated by clan and class rivalries, led to two periods of exile. During the first (1081–6), he served Yusuf al Mu'tamin, ruler of Zaragoza, one of the mosaic of principalities (*taifa*s) created when the Cordoban Caliphate fell apart in 1031. Battlefield success and skill in exacting tributes (*parias*) earned him the honorific title 'Cid', derived (according to most) from the Arabic *sayyid* via its dialectal form *sid*, meaning 'lord' or 'boss'. Arabic writers avoid the term; it denoted the respect Castilians imagined he commanded from Muslim allies and opponents. Temporary reconciliations with Alfonso VI, alliances with Andalusi rulers, plundering raids into Castile, defeat of Berenguer, Count of Barcelona and his Muslim allies, were the prelude to his march to Valencia to retake the city after its

ruler, al-Qadir (Alfonso's puppet), was executed by the Almoravid faction. Starving it into submission in 1096 after a twenty-month siege, he took this rich and sophisticated port with its *huerta* (a fertile area) as his personal domain, akin to his own *taifa* or crusader state. Shortly after his death in 1099, Jimena, cut off from the Castilian heartland, petitioned Alfonso to evacuate her. The Castilians departed in 1103, leaving a burning city for the Almoravids, and taking Rodrigo's remains back to the Benedictine monastery he endowed at Cardeña, where they became the object of a tomb cult.

Rodrigo's career illustrates the fissures within Christian Iberia as much as it exemplifies that blend of *realpolitik* and religion that shaped the frontier with Al-Andalus.[5] But the idea of holy war was gathering momentum both in the Christian north – Urban II initiated the crusades with Spanish support in 1095 – and in the Muslim south, when an Almoravid *jihad* annexed Al-Andalus into an empire centred in the Atlas mountains. From the eleventh through the mid-thirteenth centuries, Iberia became the crusades' Western theatre, as Christian monarchs sought papal endorsement and foreign military support for territorial conquest. Alfonso I of Aragon ('The Battler') captured Zaragoza in 1118 aided by French crusaders. It inspired him to imagine continuing on through Valencia to Jerusalem, just as Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284) would later dream of extending Louis IX's adventures in the Holy Land. In 1269, Jaume I of Aragon ('The Conquerer') aborted his crusade to Jerusalem in favour of colonising Valencia as his 'crusader kingdom'. A century and a half of relative peace with the now client state of Granada ended in the 1480s, when Isabel and Ferdinand revived the spirit of crusade to pursue a conquest that would earn them the papal tribute 'Catholic Monarchs'.[6]

Yet the crusades and the Reconquest (a loaded term) are not synonymous. Cluniac refusal to allow mosques in Toledo (1085), a crusader rampage at Lisbon (1147), and French desertion before the historic battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) illustrate northern distrust of Iberian accommodationism, especially when it came to capitulation treaties.[7] From the 1070s, when Gregory VII claimed suzereignty over the *regnum Hispaniae*, to the 1280s, when Martin IV launched a crusade against Catalonia, Spanish monarchs resisted papal hegemony. As a counter-measure Alfonso styled himself *imperator totius Hispaniae*, while his Muslim subjects called him 'Emperor of the Two Religions'. He also had a Muslim concubine (or possibly wife), Zaida, baptised as Isabel.[8]

Cidian lore resonates with these tensions, just as it counters the image of 'Espagne' as a crusading terrain spread throughout the broad Francophone sphere of influence by Carolingian epic. For example, the *Historia Silense* (c. 1110) rejects French fantasies about Charlemagne's Spanish crusades;

legends of Bernardo del Carpio had this hero defeat Charlemagne at Roncesvalles, in some versions in alliance with King Marsil (the Muslim arch-enemy of the *Song of Roland*). Thus, crusade in Iberia operates not only on what we now consider an East/West axis; it is also orientated North/South, across the Pyrenees. As we shall see, legends about the Cid demonstrate the importance of challenging the perception, both medieval and modern, that the terms East and West or Christendom and Islam are binaries, whose 'thin separating lines [are] no less than a frontier between civilizations'.[9]

Rodrigo's legendary status begins in his own lifetime, with his reputation spread by word of mouth. Anecdote crystallised as narrative soon after his death with the anonymous and fragmentary *Carmen Campidoctoris* (1080 x 1190).[10] This Latin panegyric about the man 'skilled in battle' (*campeador* became Rodrigo's other epithet) traces the hero's rise under Sancho of Castile, the latter's murder and the hero's exile by Alfonso. Banished, he embarks upon a series of campaigns that 'make Rodrigo's name … famous among all kings, who live in dread of him and likewise pay him tribute'. The poem breaks off at the siege of Almenara, the Zaragozan fortress. We witness Rodrigo donning his fabulous armour, ready to vanquish the Count of Barcelona and his ally the *taifa* warlord Al-Fagib of Lérida. Mounting his steed – none finer in all the wars of Troy – he prays. The fragment anticipates in classical mode themes that would flower in popular legend.

Equally eulogistic is the *Historia Roderici*, an anonymous Latin chronicle of uncertain date (probably post-1144). Though its principal value is historical it also allows glimpses of popular legend.[11] More explicit is the Latin chronicle about Alfonso VII, the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, which, with its verse epilogue, the *Poem of Almeria*, constitutes one of the few overt crusading texts from Iberia.[12] Alfonso (d. 1157), 'Emperor of the Toledan Empire', continues the crusades of Charlemagne 'with whom he is rightly compared'. To counter suggestions of Frankish superiority, the chronicler declares that if Álvar Fáñez (a legendary figure in his own right) had been at Roncesvalles, Roland and Oliver would not have died and the Muslims would have submitted to the 'Frankish yoke'. But this warrior is rapidly elbowed out of the limelight when Rodrigo appears as the paragon of Castilian military power.

'Rodericus, Mio Cidi saepe vocatus,/ de quo cantatur' (Roderick, often called My Cid/ about whom it is sung).[13] These lines from the *Poem of Almeria* demonstrate how the greatest literary monument to Rodrigo, the *Song of my Cid* (*Cantar de mio Cid*), emerged not *ex nihilo* but from heroic legends that had been fermenting since at least 1140. The poem survives in a single fourteenth-century exemplar of a manuscript originally copied

in 1207 by one 'Per Abat', a monk from San Pedro de Cardeña, the resting place of the Cid's bones. It is the work of a highly skilful and imaginative poet; various textual and learned features indicate, for example, familiarity with French epic and legal knowledge. However, the poem also brilliantly exploits all the expressive resources of oral composition in a performative style that makes the audience and minstrel participants in a shared drama unfolding around them. It is living history, vital and present. The political and religious confrontations of the Cid's lifetime foreshadow those of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries: renewed tensions between Leon and Castile, and a renewed threat from North Africa, this time from the Almohad dynasty (the Muslim Berbers who conquered parts of Spain and North Africa in the twelfth century).[14]

The poem's three parts (*cantares*) follow the hero's path as, unjustly exiled, he leaves Castile, passes through Muslim borderlands still under Alfonso's control, and enters deep into *taifa* territory. His superior tactics and force of arms earn ever greater victories first over Muslims then the Count of Barcelona. His successes culminate in the conquest of Valencia, Alfonso's pardon and the marriage of his two daughters to the aristocratic *infantes de Carrión*. The marriage, Alfonso VI's idea of a reward, is a curse. The *infantes* are cowards and marry the Cid's daughters only out of greed. Humiliated in battle and at court, they take the daughters back to their estates, only to violate and abandon them in the wilderness. The remaining episodes narrate how Rodrigo recovers his honour not through personal vengeance (though clan feud is a recurrent motif) but through recourse to law, administered by the source of his troubles, Alfonso himself. A judicial duel vindicates Rodrigo and teaches the hitherto malleable king a lesson in feudal loyalty and good judgement. The poem ends with the Cid's daughters marrying princes of Navarre and Aragon: 'Now the kings of Spain are of his line,/ and all gain in honour through the man born in a favoured hour' (3724–75).

While the poem is triumphant it is not triumphalist, at least as far as Muslim/ Christian relations are concerned. The conquest of Valencia is presented as the end of a process. And we should remember that the material foundations were laid by the Jews. At the start of the poem, the penniless Rodrigo turns to his 'dear friends', Raquel and Vidas, two moneylenders. Forced (he says) by necessity, he tricks them into lending him money on the security of two chests filled with sand, the loan to be repaid at a later date. The episode is famous – scholars debate whether the Cid ever repaid them – and it matters here for two reasons. Though satirised, the two men, who are never called Jews, are no less comic than others tricked or vanquished by the Cid; the poem displays none of the Jew-hatred that led northern crusaders

to slaughter Jews on the Rhine and elsewhere, including Toledo in 1085. The episode also acknowledges, only to deflect, the role of Jews financing and colonising the frontier.

The frontier is where power is achieved by prudent leadership, pragmatism, and the measured use of force (*mesura* or restraint being a constant political motif). Treatment of defeated Muslim populations is always strategic: 'we gain nothing by beheading them ... for we are their lords;/ we shall stay in their homes and put them to use' (621–2); 'if we do not fight with Moors we gain no bread' (673); 'we are in their lands and are doing them all possible wrong/ ... if they come and besiege us, they have every right' (1103–05). Also telling is the minstrel's pity for the besieged Valencians: 'It is a harsh fate, my lords, to have not enough to eat,/ and to see women and children dying of hunger' (1178–9). Contrast those lines with Roland's famous boast: 'Pagans are wrong and Christians are right' (*Song of Roland*, 1015).

Having entered Valencia, the Cid turns the city into his own domain. The narrative sequence illustrates how medieval colonisation operates in cellular mode, by reproducing the institutions of the heartland.[15] He distributes booty and imposes feudal ties; restores vassalage with his monarch; brings his wife and daughters to consolidate hold on his domains (his family 'heredad'); and makes a donation to Cardeña before welcoming a Frenchman, Jerome, who establishes a bishopric. Jerome is the *Poem*'s version of the crusading Bishop Turpin from the *Song of Roland*. His hunger to slay Moors is treated with a degree of irony. The lack of a crusading impulse is epitomised by the Cid's refusal to pursue conquest into Morocco 'where the mosques are'. He will stay where he is, and exact tribute from them and from anyone else he pleases, for 'both Moors and Christians are in great terror of me' (2499–2504). The fear is also voiced by Rodrigo's Muslim ally, Abengalbón, who serves as a thematic foil to the evil *infantes de Carrión*. His honourable conduct after discovering their treachery demonstrates that nobility straddles a religious divide. However, he is also Rodrigo's *amigo de paz*, a tribute payer, whose 'friendship' is based on self-interest. Near the middle of the poem, and certainly at its ideological epicentre, he declares: 'such is his destiny,/ even if we wished him harm we could not succeed/; in peace or in war he will have what is ours./ I consider very foolish anyone who does not recognise this truth' (1523–6). The notion that peaceful co-existence is predicated on 'rational' subjection to Rodrigo's will is graphically illustrated by the Cid's final defence of Valencia against Bucar, an emir from Morocco. As he chases him towards the sea, Rodrigo offers a pact: 'the two of us must kiss each other and strike up a friendship' ('tajar amistad'). Bucar, seeing Rodrigo's sword poised to strike and understanding the pun on 'tajar', to

'cut', replies: 'God confound such a friendship!' (2411–12). He is sliced in two, from head to waist.

The Rodrigo of the *Cantar* suffers a severe personality change in the epic prequel known as the *Mocedades del Cid* ('The Youthful Deeds of the Cid'). Replacing the *mesura* of the mature patriarch is the truculence of a 'rebellious and destructive killing force of nature'.[16] Although in different registers, both epics are preoccupied with territorial integrity, the relation between monarchical and baronial power, and the limits of violence. Rodrigo secures Castilian-Leonese borders, advances the international prestige and sway of his king, without diminishing his own, and secures peace by intimidation. The most significant episode of the often incoherent and bizarre plot is the final confrontation with European powers. As a twelve year-old, Rodrigo kills Jimena's father in a clan feud over land, cattle rustling and the dishonouring of washerwomen (354–9). To restore her honour, the orphaned girl asks King Fernando for Rodrigo's hand in marriage. The youth defies royal authority and refuses marriage until he has won five pitched battles. The first, against a Muslim ruler, comes after a border raid, like the initial family feud: livestock and captives matter, not religion. Subsequent victories over Muslim and Christian potentates culminate in a quarrel with the pope, the Holy Roman Emperor, the King of France, and a Count of Savoy (804 ff). Angry that Fernando is the only Christian monarch not to pay papal tribute, they demand annually ten horses, thirty silver marks, assorted birds of prey – and fifteen noble virgins. Rodrigo allays Fernando's fears and leads an army to the gates of Paris, to battle a coalition from Germany, France, Lombardy, Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, Rome, Armenia, Persia, Flanders, and Savoy (879–86). A truce is sealed when the defeated Savoyard count offers his daughter to Rodrigo. Not deigning to accept (Spain has plenty of beautiful noblewomen), he hands her over to Fernando with the immortal words: 'make France your mistress' ('embarraganad a Francia', 1045). Their coupling produces a child, which is secretly sequestered by the now-pacified pope, thus averting further confrontation, at least for a while. Thanks to Rodrigo's prowess, Fernando becomes 'the Emperor's peer'.

The poem depicts Castile at the crossroads of Islam and Christendom. But aside from incidental religious motifs (Rodrigo's pilgrimage encounter with a leper), and the odd battle cry of 'Santiago', the frontier between the two is not defined by religion. The faultlines are within Christendom itself: the poem defends the autonomous bishopric of Palencia, resents the historic incursions of the Papacy, and echoes the imperial claims of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy. Self-determination, material resources, and political influence are achieved by intimidation and raids, not conquest. These were for long periods the defining features of Castile's frontier with Al-Andalus,

which the poem extends into the heart of Capetian France. Violence uncoils throughout the poem: it begins at clan level, with raiding parties and women used as exchange objects, symbols of territorial power and masculine potency; at the end, the cycle is repeated, but on an international scale. The youthful Rodrigo may withhold his violence, but never exhaust it; as narrated here his life, like the broad border zones of Iberia, lacks any sense of closure.

The *Mocedades* survives only at the end of one manuscript of the *Crónica de Castilla*, copied in or around 1400, when the political circumstances of Castile once again echoed those of the Cid's lifetime. The kingdom was emerging from a dynastic war between Pedro I and his half-brother Enrique de Trastámara, which ended in 1369 when Enrique treacherously stabbed Pedro, and was complicated by foreign interventions, notably from the French and English for whom Iberia was one battlefield in their Hundred Years' War. The manuscript's date testifies to the hero's continuing adaptability, and also to the essential role of chronicles in preserving Castilian epics. The *Crónica de Castilla* itself dates back to the turn of the previous century, and it also contains the first significant prose account of Rodrigo's early life. The difference between the prose and verse versions illustrates how epic lore was exploited by Castilian historiography, whose roots lie in the patronage of Alfonso X, the 'Wise' (r. 1252–84).[17]

Alfonso earned his sobriquet because his many legal, poetic and scientific projects in Castilian prose and Galician-Portuguese verse buttressed his (failed) claims to the Holy Roman Empire. His patronage of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian scholars and translators reflected his political sovereignty as 'King of the Three Religions'. He positioned his vernacular culture, like his kingdom, between the Latin West and the Arabic East. Alfonso's most influential historical project was the *Estoria de España*, begun around 1279, but left incomplete at his death. His descendants continued and revised its various drafts for their own ends, producing a historiographical school whose tangled branches spread throughout the fourteenth century and beyond, in both Castilian and Portuguese; they firmly established the Cid as a leading player in the *dramatis personae* of Iberian frontier history.

For Rodrigo's life and deeds Alfonso's historians and their avatars drew on Latin chronicles, Arab historians, vernacular tales now lost to us, as well as versions of both the *Cantar* and the *Mocedades*.[18] Like other popular epics preserved in this way, these two poems were refurbished to accommodate the stylistic and political needs of the chronicles. Their relatively bloodless prose diminishes the vitality and tensions that animate the heroic verse. The *Primera crónica general* (a redaction of the *Estoria de España*), the *Crónica de veinte reyes*, and the *Crónica de Castilla* illustrate how the

epic vision was refocused to throw into even greater relief the hero's moral and religious stature. The moneylenders Raquel and Vidas, for example, are repaid; accounts of Rodrigo's death, donations, and burial in Cardeña add substance and lustre to his piety; the dithering Fernando of the *Mocedades* and the unreliable Alfonso of the *Cantar* are remodelled to recalibrate the balance of power between monarch and noble; diminished roles for Jimena and her daughters underscore the Cid's political and ecclesiastical significance to the realm, rather than to his family.

By the end of the fifteenth century, chronicle visions of the Cid acquired a distinctly chivalric hue. The personal chronicle of Miguel Lucas de Iranzo, for example, casts him in a Cidian mould and records *fiestas* of mock border skirmishes between *moros y cristianos* (continued in popular culture until modern times).[19] This trend gathered impetus from the fashion for chivalric romance and a crusading ethos reenergised by the conquest of Granada, the expulsion of the Jews, and campaigns into North Africa and the New World, where the conquistadores could fantasise about extending the Reconquest into new terrain. Two personal chronicles, extrapolated from earlier medieval histories, projected the Cid well into Spain's imperial 'Golden Age'. The first, the *Corónica del Çid Ruy Díaz* (1498; also known as, *inter alia*, the *Crónica popular del Cid*) had twenty-one editions until 1627, and its *princeps* paraded the arms of the Catholic Monarchs.[20] The second (1512, with three sixteenth-century reprints) put flesh on the bones of Per Abat's claim that 'today the Kings of Spain are related to him' by assembling a genealogical appendix linking the Cid to Ferdinand and Isabel (whose treasure included the hero's legendary swords, Colada and Tizón). Both chronicles make Rodrigo the typical hero of romance, a fortune seeker rather than a soldier of fortune. Together with the epic by Diego Jiménez de Ayllón (1568; repr. 1579), they demonstrate, in text and woodcuts, how Rodrigo's fortune legitimised present imperial aspirations, transforming Castile's past into Spain's destiny. The portentous title of one printing of the 1498 version is eloquent: *Crónica del muy esforçado e invencible cavallero el Cid emperador de las Españas*. It appeared in 1526, not long after the coronation of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor. No less telling is the plural 'Españas'. Like Charles V, this 'brave and invincible knight' did not hold sway over an undivided *imperium*, but over a loose federation of dominions – the *Monarquía hispánica* – criss-crossed by internal frontiers.

Both prose works lift episodes from earlier chronicles that circulated widely in Spain and Portugal, such as Diego de Valera's *Crónica abreviada* (1482), the *Crónica de 1344*, and the *Crónica de Castilla* (pre-1312). But these extracts acquire new meaning as Spain harnessed ideologies of political Absolutism, religious unity, and racial purity to promote itself on the

world stage. The first chapter of the 1498 *Crónica* sets the tone. It recasts the myth of the papal tribute into a more emphatic statement of Spain's European autonomy. When Pope Urban threatens a 'crusade', Fernando (now more kingly) is urged by Rodrigo (now more ambassadorial) to resist on the grounds that 'the kingdoms of Spain were wrested by force of arms from the hands of the enemies of the faith' – turning Rodrigo into a harbinger of 1492. Fernando's bastard son, sired with the Count of Savoy's daughter, becomes Spain's cardinal at the Vatican. In an age obsessed with bloodlines, forced conversions and fear of Judaizing, Rodrigo becomes a defender of racial and religious purity. Three days after his death, the Cid is strapped to his saddle to fight Bucar, thirty-six Moorish kings, and a belligerent African queen, whose retinue includes 1,200 penitent *cavalleros negros* (chs. 56–7). The black queen and her knights pitch their tents closest to Valencia; and this clear and present danger to racial and gender hierarchy is the first to be eliminated in the ensuing slaughter.

Rodrigo also holds at bay the threat of the Jew. In the final chapter, an anonymous Jew (by the 1490s the mere word 'judío' was menace enough) enters the church where the Cid's body was seated on his throne. The Jew reaches out to pluck his beard, something never accomplished by Christian or Moor. As he does so, Rodrigo moves to unsheathe his sword. The Jew collapses in a heap, recovers, converts, and lives evermore within the literal and symbolic grounds of the church. After ten years, the Cid's corpse, once so lifelike (a sign of his sanctity: Philip II appealed to canonise him) begins to decay and the tip of his nose drops off. Still enthroned, the rotting body is entombed, eventually to be transferred with that of his wife Jimena to St Peter's in Burgos, flanking one side of the altar, with Fernán González, Castile's founding father, on the other. Together, they form an iconic tryptic of patriarchal order: independent, Catholic, and invincible. Yet the episode is also a parable of the necessity to monumentalise the past and counter the inevitability of decay. The fate of the Cid's body echoes the fate of his metonymic self, his horse Bavieca. Having lived for forty-two years under his master, he survives for a further two. No one else could mount him, so he is put out to stud, siring a thoroughbred line ('casta'), 'which survived for a long time in Castile, and was the best ever seen in these kingdoms' (ch. 61). The nostalgic myth of pure breeding underwrites Spain's infamous blood purity statutes.

As we have seen, Rodrigo derives his iconic power largely from the imaginary respect and awe of his Muslim enemies and allies. Naturally, the moral and military lordship encapsulated by the Arabised epithet 'Cid' was contested. Though it is attributed to them, this deferential image does not belong to the cultural memory of Muslim writers. For them, he is merely

Rodrigo, or (in Arabised form) *el campeador*. Arabic sources, mainly of Andalusi provenance, with some North African and a few Eastern texts, range from the early twelfth to the seventeenth century, covering a broad spectrum of genres. They dwell on the loss and recovery of Valencia, a key focal point in the history of Al-Andalus as a contested frontier between Islam and Christendom. Rodrigo usually appears as a self-serving adventurer, of little interest in his own right.[21] He is but a symptom and symbol of the problems of the *taifa* states, caught between Christian and the Almoravid advances. In general, Rodrigo embodies the need to defend the faith and atone for the sins of degenerate *taifa* rulers and their supporters, who created fertile conditions for the Christian's success. And as a Christian, he hardly differed from his co-religionaries, be they footsoldiers, like the barbarian 'Galicians'; counts, like the thieving Berenguer of Barcelona; Mozarab intermediaries, like the arrogant schemer Sisnando Davídez; or monarchs, like the unkempt Alfonso VI, who once interrupted Muslim ambassadors to examine his genitals. All bear a striking family resemblance to the Franks as depicted by the Muslim courtiers of the east. Regardless of literary genre, Rodrigo is 'the tyrant' (*at-taghiya*, as in the formulaic 'the tyrant Campeador – may God curse him!'), who typifies treachery, brutality, and rapaciousness.[22]

For a snapshot we may compare two accounts of Rodrigo's execution of Ibn Jahhaf, the *qadi* who ousted al-Qadir, installed as ruler of Valencia by Alfonso VI after the capture of Toledo. The episode, absent from the *Cantar*, was first recorded by the Valencian Ibn Alqama (1036/37–1115). His original history is lost, but fragments were preserved by Alfonsine chroniclers. As recorded by the *Primera crónica general*, chapter 918, Ibn Alqama relates how Rodrigo secures the allegiance of the Valencians by positioning himself between two Muslim factions. 'It is not my habit to go off with women or spend time singing and drinking as your former masters did, making themselves unavailable to you'. Nor does he make the extortionate demands imposed by Ibn Jahhaf. Establishing his base outside the city, he returns their property, respects their laws, and promises to act as their 'friend' and 'kinsman', 'judge and minister' ('alcalde e aguazil' – two terms that betray Castile's debt to Arabic and the more advanced Islamic urban institutions). His respect comes at a price: 'You will obey my commands and not deceive me'. Rodrigo turns Islamic law to his own advantage when he arrests the coup leader Ibn Jahhaf. He asks the Muslims what punishment they give 'to those who kill their lord'; 'stoning', comes the reply. The execution itself warrants only a few words.[23]

We cannot tell whether Alfonso's chroniclers doctored Ibn Alqama's account in the same way as they adjusted vernacular epics. But the contrast with the execution as related a century later, in Almohad Morocco, could

not be sharper. Ibn 'Idhari Al-Marrakushi (from Marrakesh) returned to the same event in his history of Maghreb and Al-Andalus (1312). Ibn 'Idhari's positive portrayal of the *qadi* and his coup clearly expresses Almohad distaste towards the now notorious *taifa* rulers and their Christian allies. He depicts in horrific and pitiful detail how Rodrigo – a treacherous, dirty infidel, filled with hate – wished to execute the man's entire family and, when persuaded to free women and children, he satisfies his bloodlust by burying Ibn Jahaff up to his waist before burning him to death, according to the custom of the Christians. To hasten his end, the martyr pulls the flaming logs closer to his face, dying to 'to preserve the profession of faith'.[24]

A near contemporary of Ibn Alqama, also writing soon after the Almoravid recovery of Valencia, was Ibn Bassam Al-Shantarini (from Santarem, in modern Portugal). His monumental literary anthology *Dhajira* (Treasury of the Excellencies of the Spaniards) records in ornate rhymed prose the general despair at the 'calamity that overtook Valencia, a calamity brought about by that tyrant, the Campeador – God tear him limb from limb!' (109). Ibn Bassam also exploits the conventional Arabic trope of the feminised city, here suffering sado-erotic penetration: Rodrigo 'loved it the way lovers love the places where they have tasted of love's pleasures … How many charming girls – their blushing, milk-washed cheeks envied by the sun and moon for their beauty … – were wedded to his spear-points, crushed beneath the feet of his swaggering mercenaries!' (112).[25] The trope was common in poetic laments on the loss of Valencia (one of which was translated by Alfonsine chroniclers to capture the pathos of the vanquished), and it would later find its way into Spanish frontier ballads.[26] Ibn Bassam deploys another motif that crossed the Muslim/Christian divide: the prophecy of the fall of Spain. The loss and shame of the Cid's victory fulfilled the prophecy that after Rodrigo, last king of the Visigoths, had lost Hispania to the Muslims, another Rodrigo would come to wrest it back. But for Ibn Bassam, Rodrigo was in many ways also a product of the Muslim political and cultural world. He explains that Rodrigo rose 'from obscurity' thanks to the patronage of the Banu Hud clan of Zaragoza, and he brings Rodrigo into a Muslim cultural orbit by attributing his virtues to his passion for 'tales of the deeds of ancient Arabia's most illustrious warriors … Thrilled and delighted by these tales, he was overcome with admiration' (113).

Cidian lore thus crossed religious and territorial divides. Though it could be manipulated in the political heartlands, it was the product, like the man himself, of the militarised border zone between Al-Andalus and Christian Iberia. The legendary Cid is more than the product of that border zone: he reproduces it ideologically. Muslim and Christian tales suggest a mutual awareness, accompanied by mutual gestures of refusal. Though we do not

have to suppose direct reciprocity, claim and counter claim converge on ideological nodal points. They comprise, amongst other things, an awareness of the thin line separating law from lawlessness and the demands of faith, both secular and religious: trust in the word of one's allies and in the guiding hand of one's God. As imagined by Christian and Muslim, Rodrigo attests to the belief that contiguous worlds bleed, metaphorically and literally, into one another. The lordship of this 'Cid' is rooted in the power of narrative to impose and contest the meaning of history and to create a sense of lived reality. Centuries of border conflicts taught both sides about the practice of frontier warfare: not just tactics and weaponry, but the need to buttress actual violence, and to limit its use, with a culture of terror and intimidation. Fear of what might return links Castilian and Andalusi visions.

The narrative encounter between Muslim and Christian is graphically illustrated by the rich corpus of traditional Hispanic balladry (the *romancero*). This form derives from the fourteenth-century demise and fragmentation of epics, but the majority of textual evidence comes from chapbooks and anthologies printed in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the most important being Juan de Escobar's *Historia y romancero del Cid* (Lisbon, 1605, with numerous reprints). This inspired Guillén de Castro's famous play *Las mocedades del Cid* (1605–15), which, via Corneille's *Le Cid* (1637), projected the youthful Rodrigo into early modern Europe. In the oral tradition, ballads were still being collected in the late twentieth century, particularly among the descendants of exiled Sephardic Jews living in North Africa and the former Ottoman Empire.

The subset known as frontier ballads (the *romancero fronterizo*) dramatises the exploits of Castilian nobles and *adelantados* (frontiersmen). Initially promoting the deeds of individuals, they enter collective cultural memory as a way of reimagining, in and for the present, the now vanished border within Christian and Muslim Iberia.[27] Shifts in narrative perspective often mean that the border is seen from opposing sides, but always with evocative rather than didactic intent. Not all ballads about the frontier are *romances fronterizos*; some have novelesque or epic origins. Here, the most relevant is the famous poem that begins 'Helo, helo por do viene/ el moro por la calzada' ('Here he comes, here he comes/ the Moor along the track').[28] Taking its cue from the epic battle between the Cid and Bucar outside the walls of Valencia, it fragments the scene into multiple overlapping perspectives, investing it with a distinctly oneiric quality.

A Muslim horseman, dressed in finery, gallops into the citadel of Valencia. He rides a bay mare, wears Moroccan slippers (*borceguíes marroquíes*) with spurs of burnished gold, and holds the characteristic Moorish spear (*azagaya*) and light shield (*adarga*). 'Here he comes, here he comes / the Moor along

the track': the opening incantation, so typical of the ballads, conjures up the man before our eyes: not out of thin air, but out of collective memory. His elegant attire clashes with his brutal language: as he reaches the city walls, he prophetically curses Valencia ('may you be burned by an evil fire') and vows by the power of his lance (the *azagaya* has now metamorphosed into a *lanza*) that the city will return to Moorish hands. He will pluck the beard of 'that dog' the Cid, enslave his wife, make his daughter his concubine, then turn her over to his men. Overhearing these words, the Cid tells his daughter to don her finery and flirt with the Moor; their courtly dalliance is interrupted by the sound of Bavieca's approaching hooves. As Bucar flees, Bavieca cries out to the mare: 'cursed be the mother who does not wait for her son!'. The chase ends with the Muslim king escaping by boat and the Cid, in fury, hurling his lance: 'Pick up that lance my son-in-law, pick it up: for one day I will demand it back!'

Like all ballads, it employs simple language and direct speech to evoke complex issues in a participatory and open-ended fashion. It also draws on the ballads' improvisatory capacity to fuse motifs and episodes from different narratives, here endowing the mature father of the *Cantar* with the truculence of the *Mocedades* and merging Bucar's deceitful courtship and vengeful sexual desires with the conduct of the Cid's devious Leonese sons-in-law. The opposing horses turn out to be blood relations; the Muslim *azagaya* is indistinguishable in phallic intent from the Christian lanza: they both symbolise dominion over the daughter, Urraca, a metonym for Valencia itself. The poem also conflates the daughter with another Urraca – the sister of murdered Sancho II – who as queen defended Zamora against Alfonso VI and who, according to some ballads, felt a fierce desire for Rodrigo. Valencia is the crossroads of mutual desire and loathing. Even as it marks out boundaries, it transgresses them, acknowledging the inevitable intermingling of blood and culture across a religious divide. The poem is structured by cyclical movement: arrival, contact, departure, and possible return. The poem ends, as it were, in freeze frame, with the Cid's lance and words hanging in mid-air. His desire for finality and dominance is unending; his heroism always expects – needs – a return from beyond the sea.

NOTES

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10 B. Powell, *Epic and Chronicle: The 'Poema de mio Cid' and the 'Cronica de veinte reyes'*, London, MHRA, 1983, 9. English translation by M. Harney (ed. and trans.), *The Epic of the Cid, with Related Texts*, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing, 2011, 123–6; A. Montaner and Á. Escobar, *Carmen Campidoctoris o Poema latino del Campeador*, Madrid, Sociedad Estatal España Nuevo Milenio, 2001.

11 Powell, *Epic and Chronicle*, 10–15 (15); English translation in S. Barton and R. Fletcher, *The World of El Cid: Chronicles of the Spanish Reconquest*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000, 90–147.

12 *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* trans. in Barton and Fletcher, *The World of El Cid*, 148–263.

13 *Ibid.*, 258.

14 For the best modern edition, see A. Montaner (ed.), *Cantar de mio Cid*, Barcelona, Real Academia Española & Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011. I quote, with some modification, the English translation in the bilingual edition by P. Such and J. Hodgkinson (ed. and trans.), *The Poem of My Cid ('Poema de mio Cid')*, Warminster, Aris & Phillips, 1991. Another good translation, with related texts, is Harney, *The Epic of the Cid*.

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20 Nieves Baranda (ed.), *Corónica del Çid Ruy Díaz* (1498), Madrid, Turner, 1995, xxxviii-lx and 1–109; J. M. Cacho Blecua, 'Texto, grabados y configuración genérica del la *Crónica popular del Cid*', in Alvar *et al*. (eds.), *El Cid*, 339–59.
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22 For representative samples see Smith, *Christians and Moors*, III, 86–89.
23 For the speech, see Smith, *Christians and Moors*, I, 117; for the execution, see R. Menéndez Pidal (ed.), *Primera Crónica General*, Madrid, Gredos, 1977, 591.
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25 Harney, *The Epic of the Cid*, 109–13.
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28 C. Smith, *Spanish Ballads*, Oxford, Pergamon, 1965, 100–3; Harney (trans.), *Epic of the Cid*, 175–77; for its many variants, see G. di Stefano, *Sincronia e diacronia nel Romanzero (Un esempio di lettura)*, Pisa, Università, 1967.

13

ANNE LATOWSKY

Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Louis IX of France

The crusading movement exerted an enormous influence on the culture of medieval Europe, especially in the region that is now France. Crusading began with a tremendous victory for the Frankish West in 1099, which was followed by a series of defeats and missteps for the members of European royalty who led major expeditions. To take the cross and make the perilous journey to the East as a crusader was at once a military endeavour and an act of personal penance. Portraits of crusader heroism therefore provide a complex mixture of martial prowess and humility, leadership and personal piety. Over the two centuries of major crusade expeditions, certain figures gained iconic, even heroic, status for their endeavours on behalf of the Holy Land. This chapter will consider three such figures of the French medieval past whose posthumous lives became intertwined with the memory of the crusading movement: Charlemagne (d. 813), Godfrey of Bouillon (d. 1100), and King Louis IX (d. 1270). The actual Charlemagne was never a crusader, but popular legends held that he had liberated Jerusalem in the ninth century and fought bravely alongside his nephew Roland in Muslim-held Spain. Godfrey achieved notoriety on the First Crusade and was named the first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He succumbed to illness soon after, but later became the most chronicled and mythologised of the First Crusade's leaders. Louis IX undertook two ill-fated crusades, the first of which saw his capture and imprisonment, and the second of which witnessed his death. He was canonised less than thirty years later, having established the act of crusading as a pious and penitential act of French kingship.

For those who created the cultural narrative of the crusades, whether in chronicles, poetry, liturgy, or in the visual arts, the role of Frankish leadership in the Holy Land was embedded in a larger tradition that held the Christians of northern Europe, under the authority of the papacy, to be the guardians of all of Christendom.[1] Moreover, the concept of Christendom in the imagination of the European West placed Jerusalem at its spiritual centre and demanded protection for its Christian inhabitants and pilgrims. For this

reason, the capture of the city in July 1099 after more than four hundred years of Muslim rule was viewed as a stunning, even providential, success. A new feast day on 15 July was soon inaugurated to celebrate the liberation of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre as a momentous event that had marked a new phase in Christian history.[2] The unprecedented output of writing that sought to memorialise the recapture of the Holy City reframed the course of history-writing and influenced all forms of cultural expression.[3] Charlemagne, Godfrey, and Louis each functioned within this universalising narrative, although in different ways, as leaders of a symbolic dominion and upholders of the God-ordained relationship between the Christian West and the Holy Land. In the literary imagination of medieval France, all three men came to embody different aspects of the paradoxical role played by secular leaders. They fought not on behalf of themselves or their people, but on behalf of the papacy and God to defend the Holy Land, a distant and largely theoretical dominion to the inhabitants of northern Europe who gave up their livelihoods and often their lives to make the journey.

The First Crusade inspired an unprecedented outpouring of historiographical narrative in Latin prose, including twelve chronicles in the first fifty years, a disproportionate amount of which came from the French-speaking regions of Europe.[4] Indeed it was the French and Provençal speaking parts of Europe that supplied the majority of crusade participants and whose cultural production left the greatest legacy.[5] Over time, crusade literature took the form of Latin and vernacular prose chronicles, Latin and vernacular epic verse and lyric poetry, ecclesiastical pseudo-historical works in Latin, often translated into French, as well as liturgy and sermons. The heroes of the crusades who remain famous today are largely the products of combinations of these various traditions, in works which were themselves influenced by eyewitness accounts, family lore, and oral tradition. Any attempt to gain an understanding of the emergence of the heroes and protagonists of the movement therefore demands careful attention to the various forms of evidence that survive.

The crusading movement began without clear military leadership, a situation that created both challenges and opportunities for those who chronicled what turned out to be the only successful major crusading expedition. Unlike later crusades such as the Second and Third, which were led with fanfare by the kings of France and England and the German emperor, no royal figure joined the expedition in 1096, nor did any dynasty or nation sponsor it. Godfrey was one of a small number of Frankish aristocrats who took the cross as military leaders and made it all the way to Jerusalem. Writing at various points after the fact, monastic chroniclers moulded the events to favour certain leaders, or, in some cases, no leader at all.[6] For

chroniclers from the first decade of the twelfth century such as Guibert of Nogent (c. 1108) and Baldric of Bourgueil (c. 1107), God alone had been the leader of the movement.[7] Albert of Aachen, writing around 1120, is known for his heroisation of Godfrey in his *Historia Ierosolimitana*, a show of favouritism deemed overly biased by some, but defended by others.[8] A Latin epic from the mid-twelfth century, the *Historia Vie Hierosolimitane*, written by two different poets, celebrates Bohemond in the first part and Godfrey in the second. The poem dramatises Godfrey's infamous clash with the Byzantine emperor, Alexius Comnenus, which prompted the Greek leader to close the local markets to him and his men. Godfrey ultimately took a much-discussed oath of allegiance to Alexius.[9] Over time, however, Godfrey emerged from the rest of the group as the most celebrated of the leaders of the First Crusade. Certainly the fact that he was the first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and then died soon after set him apart from the others as a figure likely to be mythologised.

Godfrey's reasons for taking the cross and joining the expedition to the Holy Land in 1096 are unknown. As Count of Bouillon and Duke of Lorraine (Lower Lotharingia), he was involved in the politics of both the kingdom of France and the German empire, but his army was made up of mostly French-speaking lords from eastern France.[10] Whatever his motivations for going, his performance in key battles of the First Crusade, culminating in the conquest of Jerusalem, brought him great renown as a brave and pious leader. Not long after being named the first ruler of the newly established Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in the summer of 1100, he fell gravely ill and was dead within in five weeks. Guibert speculated openly about poisoned gifts from Saracens, whereas Albert made more subtle insinuations with his mention of some fruit that Godfrey had accepted from the emir at Caesarea.[11] He was buried at Mount Calvary near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[12] His brother Baldwin, who had accompanied him on the crusade, was crowned King of Jerusalem in Bethlehem on Christmas Day of that same year. Whether Godfrey had actually received the title of king has been the subject of ongoing debate. Sources state that once the Frankish army had taken the city, the Franks decided to appoint a ruler. Albert of Aachen wrote that the crown was offered first to Raymond of Toulouse, and then to others, before Godfrey finally agreed to become the 'highest ruler in Jerusalem'.[13] Albert described visions that Godfrey had received that revealed that he had been predestined to assume this role and that God had intervened to make it happen. Chroniclers such as Robert the Monk and Guibert of Nogent also describe premonitory visions that predicted Godfrey's selection at Jerusalem. Hagiographical treatments of Godfrey's mother Ida of Boulogne, some of which were reiterated by

chroniclers, report Ida's prophecies about her son. She had predicted that Godfrey would be the first ruler of Jerusalem, and, as Guibert reported, Ida had heard Godfrey say as a child that he wanted to lead an armed pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[14]

Godfrey evolved as a figure in cultural memory in various guises, including the fearless warrior in the capture of Jerusalem, the divinely elected leader of Latin Christendom, and the descendant of the mythical Swan Knight. By the mid-twelfth century, he was already a legend and a figure of fiction whose exploits in the First Crusade became increasingly harder to distinguish from his evolving legendary persona.[15] In addition to Albert of Aachen's *Historia*, Godfrey also figures prominently in the *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* of William of Tyre, a chronicler and prelate in the Latin Kingdom. William's work was translated into French in the thirteenth century and widely read, which significantly enhanced the place of Godfrey in French cultural memory.[16] The Godfrey that emerged in William's chronicle was talented as a military leader but also showed strong aptitude for diplomacy during his short reign in the Latin Kingdom. As for his spiritual qualities, in William's eyes Godfrey had been a God-fearing man who was too good for the sinful world that he left behind.[17]

Late in the twelfth century, a group of Old French epic songs, *chansons de geste*, about the First Crusade were adapted and presented as a cycle that included *La Chanson d'Antioche*, *Les Chétifs*, and *La Chanson de Jérusalem*. Of the three, *La Chanson d'Antioche* was the earliest and seems to have drawn from Albert's chronicle and from that of Robert the Monk.[18] The crusading poems solidified Godfrey's fame as a crusading hero, and his reputation was further heightened with the arrival of a new set of poems that appeared sometime before 1220, and had likely been commissioned by nobles. These 'intermediate' poems added to the Crusade Cycle but went back in time to address Godfrey's birth and genealogy in works such as *The Swan Knight* (*Le Chevalier au Cygne*) and the *Enfances Godefroi*.[19] *Le Chevalier au Cygne* describes how the mythical Swan Knight came to the court of Emperor Otto, where he fought a duel with a Saxon duke and won the hand of the daughter of the duchess of Bouillon, who later gave birth to Ida, the future mother of Godfrey. According to the more primitive version of the legend, the Swan Knight was one of the seven children of a certain King Lothair and his fairy wife, who gives birth to septuplets. The king's mother banishes the children to the woods to be killed, but they are spared, although the six boys turn into swans when their magical necklaces are stolen. Lothair finds the sister and her swan brothers and restores the necklaces of five of his sons, who regain human form. The remaining swan spends his days pulling one of his brothers, the Swan Knight, around in

a boat. In versions of this myth that tie the Swan Knight to the house of Lorraine, the knight eventually marries Beatrix, the mother of Ida, who gives birth to Godfrey, Eustace, and Baldwin.

The promotion of Godfrey's descent from the Swan Knight demonstrates how the epic song cycles functioned to forge and promote desirable genealogical ties. Other families who later held the throne of Jerusalem had also claimed fairy origins, including the families of Anjou and Lusignan.[20] In the second set of crusade poems, popular in eastern France and parts of Lotharingia (present-day Lorraine, on the Franco-German border), the imperial ties to Godfrey suggest a growing desire in German circles to create connections to crusading. German emperors had participated in the Second and Third Crusades, which could explain growing interest in a German Godfrey.[21] The pilgrim John of Würzburg even complained (c. 1160–70) of the lack of recognition of German crusade participation and of Godfrey's Germanic origins.[22] The later set of poems may also have had a more contemporary imperial connection, since Duke Henry I of Brabant, son of Godfrey III, was likely involved in the production of the poems, perhaps in preparation for his own expedition to the Holy Land in 1197.[23] Not all chroniclers accepted the story of Godfrey's ties to the Swan Knight, however, including William of Tyre, whose political interests lay with the crusader state. In Book 9 of his *Deeds*, he claims to have purposefully omitted the Swan Knight, 'whence, legend declares, these brothers derived their origin, because although many authors give that as true, yet it seems to be without foundation'. His French translator retained the same stance.[24]

As liberator of Jerusalem and short-lived ruler of the newly established Frankish crusader state, Godfrey could be placed in an illustrious lineage that included Constantine the Great (whose mother Helena had uncovered the True Cross and sent part of it to her son), Heraclius, the seventh-century rescuer of the cross from the Persians, and Charlemagne, who in legend had liberated Jerusalem and brought part of the cross to France. In his early-thirteenth-century *Olympiade*, Pierre de Beauvais lists the various captures and losses of Jerusalem going back to Nebuchadnezzar. The eighth capture was by Heraclius, he states, and the ninth by pagans. After 101 years, Charlemagne and the Byzantine emperor Constantine took back the city, which the Christians held for 451 years, until the eleventh capture by the Turks. Number twelve is the liberation by Bohemond, Raymond, and Godfrey, 'who became king without wearing a crown of gold, there where God had had one of thorns, about whom it is written on his epitaph, "Here lies the second Judas Maccabee"'.[25] The last capture is by Saladin, and Pierre laments that the Turks still hold the Holy City.[26] Pierre singles out Godfrey from the other two famous First Crusade leaders as king, thus

likening him to the other rulers on the list. Legend even held that Godfrey had entered Jerusalem barefoot following the example of Heraclius.[27] As the ruling family of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Godfrey's family sought to enhance the perception of their inheritance of the role of protectors of the cross. For instance, King Fulk of Anjou and his queen Melisende, Godfrey's niece, were crowned at Jerusalem in 1131 on 14 September, the feast day of the exaltation of the cross. This occurred just two weeks after Baldwin II, a cousin of Godfrey, had been buried at Golgatha, the site of the crucifixion, near where Godfrey himself had been buried.[28]

Recollections of Godfrey in his guise as reluctant first ruler of the kingdom of Jerusalem for some writers evoked the figure of apocalyptic tradition known as the Last Emperor. Any time that a Christian leader fought pagans at Jerusalem, the scene had the ability recall the End Time prophecy that a Last Roman Emperor would one day defeat the pagan enemy, overcome the Antichrist, and lay down his weapons at Jerusalem, thereby ceding all power to God at the end of time.[29] Charlemagne and Heraclius were also associated with the Last Emperor prophecy. Since the imperial coronation of Charlemagne in 800, the Franks had often styled themselves as the inheritors of the leadership of the Christian Roman Empire. And while not an emperor, Godfrey was assumed to be a descendant of Charlemagne, had led the recapture of Jerusalem, and was believed to have refused the title of king in the city where Christ had been crowned.[30] Godfrey's actions evoked not only the Last Emperor prophecy, but other prophecies that placed Rome as the last of the Four Kingdoms before the End Time. In Lambert of St Omer's encyclopaedic work the *Liber Floridus* (c. 1120), one of the charts is entitled: 'The Six Ages of the World until King Godfrey'. According to Lambert, the sixth age of man had been from the birth of Christ down to the conquest of Jerusalem, which suggested that as he was writing the world had entered its final period as a result of Godfrey's glorious actions.[31]

Although he never took the cross, or even travelled to the East, Charlemagne was invoked as a role model for crusaders from the earliest moments of the crusading movement. At Clermont in 1095, Pope Urban II called on his listeners to remember the deeds of Charlemagne, his son Louis, and other kings who destroyed the kingdom of the Turks, urging them to take up the cross to extend the boundaries of Christendom and defend the Holy Sepulchre.[32] It is unclear to which 'Charlemagne' Urban was referring, however, since by that time the memory of Charlemagne was already a complex pastiche of history, oral tradition, and clerical legend. Over the twelfth century, while the more historically grounded sources continued to be known in literate circles, fictional versions of the emperor's life circulated in epic

poetry, ecclesiastical legend, and in artistic representations in manuscripts, stained glass, and sculptural art.

The two episodes in the fictionalised life of Charlemagne that led the Frankish ruler to be seen as a crusading hero are his recovery of the Holy Land at the behest of the Greek emperor, and his battles in Spain, as told in the *Song of Roland* and the chronicle known as the *Pseudo-Turpin*. The latter is an ecclesiastical version of the story that includes the defeat of Charlemagne and his twelve peers at Roncevaux and which gained enormous popularity in Latin and then in vernacular translation.[33] Both episodes appear in the saintly biography produced for the emperor Frederick Barbarossa sometime after Charlemagne's canonisation in 1165. Other examples of the prominent representations of these traditions include the Charlemagne window at Chartres and the thirteenth-century collection of royal biographies known as the *Grandes Chroniques de France*. The story of his Holy Land liberation started to circulate in the tenth century, but was most thoroughly elaborated in a Capetian document that was the source for the other prominent versions.[34] The document is essentially a *translatio*, which is to say a text designed to provide the accompanying narrative to the ceremonial movement of holy relics from one religious centre to another. Such texts usually include discussion of the political circumstances of the donation of the sacred objects. In this case, the document opens with the makeshift title, 'Description of how Charlemagne brought the nail and crown of the Lord from Constantinople to Aachen and how Charles the Bald brought these things to Saint-Denis', and presents Charlemagne's acquisition of relics of the Passion from the emperor in Constantinople to bring back from the East for religious centres in the kingdom of France. A vernacular poem from the late twelfth century, variously entitled the 'Voyage', the 'Journey', or the 'Pilgrimage' of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople, makes light of the pretensions of the Latin tradition by failing to represent the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre and then mocking the Franks' invocation of the life-saving power of the relics after a night of drunken boasting gets them into trouble with the Greek emperor.[35]

The most famous depiction of Charlemagne as an icon of the crusading movement appears in the *Song of Roland*, a story told in many versions, but most famously in the Oxford manuscript (now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 23, which dates from the mid- to late twelfth century). The poem is thought to have been composed in the period prior to the First Crusade, but the story of the disaster in the Pyrenees for Charlemagne's troops goes back centuries and is mentioned in Einhard's ninth-century *Life of Charlemagne*. In the decades after the failure of the Second Crusade of 1148, the crusading movement continued to have heavy royal involvement, especially on the

Third Crusade. As the situation in the Latin East deteriorated, culminating in the defeat of Frankish forces by Saladin in 1187 and the loss of Jerusalem, the defeat at Roncevaux and Charlemagne's return to avenge the deaths of his peers with the help of God took on greater significance. The poem is unlike the other poems in the Old French epic cycles, insofar as it depicts an otherworldly 200-year-old Charlemagne who triumphs over the entire East in a war of universal proportions, but only after the angel Gabriel comes to reassure him that God is on his side. At the end of the poem, Charles is tired and sad when he learns that there are more battles to fight. He is God's emperor, still standing after the flower of France has been killed, but the war will not be over as long as there are more pagans to fight. Over time, especially after the loss of Jerusalem, Charlemagne's fictional successes in liberating the Holy Land and finally conquering Spain after years of battle gained enough currency that he could be mentioned in the same breath as Godfrey, the greatest of the successful crusaders.

King Louis IX (r. 1226–70), by contrast, never joined the ranks of liberators of Jerusalem, much as he tried. Louis IX of France planned and led two large-scale official crusades, the seventh and eighth of the major numbered expeditions, both of which failed. Yet despite these failures, as the only French king ever to be sanctified, he came to embody Holy Land crusading as a pious and penitential endeavour essential to Capetian kingship, and transformed crusading into a manifestation of the holiness of the French monarchy.[36] Unlike Charlemagne and Godfrey, Louis IX did not become a heavily fictionalised figure of legend and epic poetry, but his crusading career did become an essential chapter in the literary world of medieval France. Writings that shaped his posthumous life largely took the form of biographies, some of which drew on the voluminous documentation gathered for his canonisation process. In the three decades after his death on crusade in 1270, Louis's life and deeds came under close scrutiny. The year after his burial at Saint-Denis in 1271, Geoffroy de Beaulieu, a Dominican monk and confessor of the king, wrote his *Life of Louis*.[37] Papal inquests in 1273, 1278, and 1282 gathered evidence of his saintliness, and in 1297 Boniface VIII promulgated a bull declaring his sanctity, after which his saintly remains were exhumed and elevated. The Franciscan Guillaume de Saint-Pathus wrote his official *Life of Saint Louis* in 1302, and by 1308 King Philip had begun to distribute his remains as saintly relics. Finally, in 1309, Jean de Joinville presented his *Life of Saint Louis* to the future King Louis X.[38]

Before he left on crusade for the first time in 1248, Louis had already publicly established his commitment to the cause of the Holy Land by commissioning a royal chapel in Paris to hold relics of the Passion of

Christ. In 1239, he had begun a years-long process of taking possession of a collection of twenty-two relics, including the Crown of Thorns and part of the True Cross, objects that had been in the possession of the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II. Louis was present at the dedication of the Sainte-Chapelle in 1248, a splendid monument to the French kingdom's relationship to the Holy Land.[39] As William Chester Jordan has shown, the association between Louis, the relics he acquired from the Byzantine emperor, and his crusades evolved such that the king came to be seen as the leader of the French as a new Chosen People, and France as a sort of Holy Land in the north. A well-known legend depicted in art even held that Louis himself had brought the relics of the Passion back from his crusade.[40]

As a descendant in a line of Capetian kings who had participated in the crusading movement, Louis naturally felt a strong commitment to the Holy Land. Beyond his dynastic obligations, events in his personal life, including a frightening bout of ill health, enhanced his resolve. The son of French king Louis VIII and his famously influential mother, Queen Blanche of Castile, Louis IX was crowned in 1226 at the young age of twelve. A key chapter in the larger narrative of Louis as crusader began with a serious illness in 1242. At a critical point, his mother brought relics for him to touch and he regained consciousness. Later accounts held that his recovery, and for some the visions he had seen while ill, had inspired him to ask to go on crusade, a decision that took on prophetic, even eschatological significance since the miraculous healing by the relics and his decision to take the cross had coincided with a particularly dire moment for the Franks in the Holy Land.[41]

Four years later, in 1248, in a venture that radically changed him as a man and as king, Louis set sail on an ill-conceived crusade that went first to Egypt. He and a group of his men were captured at Damietta in 1249, imprisoned for a month, and then ransomed in a deal favourable to the sultan. Determined to fulfil his crusading vow, he pushed on to Jerusalem. Once there, although a highly prestigious crusader, Louis had no actual authority in the Latin Kingdom since the King of Jerusalem was Conrad II, a member of the Hohenstaufen dynasty.[42] Upon his return to France in 1254, Louis was sick and defeated. Sources for the period depict a king in a severe emotional crisis that prompted him to devote the rest of his life to spiritual and moral perfection, contemplation, and self-examination. Prior to leaving, he had ruled in the Capetian tradition seeking to promote cohesion and order in the realm, but on his return he had become humble, inward-looking, and penitent.[43] His existence became simple, with modest clothing, no jewels, and general eschewal of the sumptuous life of royalty in favour of the ideal promoted by the

mendicant orders. Thus before his final crusade, Louis had already begun to acquire the saintly image that his hagiographers would later present, the image that would endure. Near the end of his life, he wrote his famous *Enseignements*, a set of precepts for his children, in which he preached submission to the will of God, humility, suffering in honour of Christ, and regular confession.[44]

Although Louis's first expedition to the Holy Land had exacted an enormous toll on the kingdom of France both in loss of life and in financial damage, he was determined to undertake a second mission. The situation in the Holy Land prior to his final crusade, the Eighth, was dire. And so, despite fragile health, Louis planned a major expedition to the East, perhaps due in part to his guilt over the failure of his first attempt. His plan was not universally welcomed by family and friends, nor by the crusade-weary kingdom that would bear the brunt of the burdens of the mission.[45] His devoted friend and most famous biographer, Jean de Joinville, was frank with him about his doubts and refused to join him. After Louis died on the mission, Joinville openly blamed those who had urged him to go.[46] Humbert of Romans, in a report to Gregory IX, noted a question in the air at the time: if God had wanted the crusaders to succeed, why had he permitted the drowning of Frederick Barbarossa, or the capture, sickness, and death of Louis?[47]

Prior to Louis's second and final crusading mission, the usually critical poet Rutebeuf seemed to be on Louis's side and eager to promote the effort at all costs in his *Complainte d'outremer*, a poem which relied on sermons and *chanson de geste* material: 'Now it is time for you to go there, to where you are sending people, without sparing gold or silver' [78–80], he wrote.[48] His pro-crusading mood may well have reflected the wishes of his patrons, however, rather than his personal opinions.[49] In the *Voie de Tunes* (*Road to Tunis*) of 1267, Rutebeuf praises those who had taken the cross in the past and exhorts listeners to follow suit.

Louis's mendicant lifestyle drew praise from his biographers but also a measure of poetic scorn. For his Franciscan biographer, William of Saint-Pathus, there were strong parallels between Louis and Saint Francis of Assisi. As Cecilia Gaposchkin has demonstrated, the liturgical practices of the Franciscans had a significant impact on the formation of Louis's posthumous reputation as a crusader. They in particular chose to highlight the king's crusading activities in hymns and liturgical readings as evidence of his adherence to the mendicant ideal. His death on crusade represented his willingness to suffer in the image of Christ.[50] Not all depictions of the humble Louis were laudatory, however. *Renart le Bestourné*, an allegorical poem also by Rutebeuf, who was known for his barbed tongue and dislike of the

mendicant friars, derided the king for his abstemious ways, claiming that he dined alone to avoid having to pay for entertainment for his guests.[51]

No portrait of Louis IX is better known to the modern world than the biography written in French prose by his friend and admirer, Jean de Joinville. Joinville's contribution has been the subject of scholarly debate, in part because his *Life of Saint Louis* was not particularly well known until the sixteenth century.[52] A substantial proportion of the *Life* recounts Louis's first crusade, which Jean experienced personally alongside the king, including their capture and captivity in Egypt. Lord of Joinville and a lettered man, he had studied at the court of Thibaut of Champagne. Gaposchkin has shed important new light on Joinville's contribution by arguing that the work was likely written in two stages, first at the time of Louis's death and then later around 1309, during the reign of Philip the Fair. The portion devoted to crusading was therefore written earlier and had not originally been destined to promote Louis as a saint. The goal was rather to portray him as a chivalric crusader, friend, and king, with information drawn largely from personal knowledge. This Louis was a brave and heroic knight with aristocratic values, a model that conformed to the tastes of his presumed audience. His Louis is a hero whose brave actions are his own. The second part, which frames the first and was designed for the process of sanctification, depicts the king as an infallible saint and role model for his descendants.[53]

Over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the larger narrative of the crusades, Frankishness gradually ceded to Frenchness as the French kingdom increased in power and influence. As had the monastic chroniclers of the First Crusade, the Capetians continued to foster a symbolic sense of dominion over all Western Christendom as a sort of spiritual empire.[54] By organising the transfer and housing of the relics of the Passion that he had acquired from Constantinople, as the early Capetians had allegedly done with relics said to have been brought back from the Byzantine capital by Charlemagne, Louis IX had assumed his own symbolic imperial Christian function.[55] Moreover, his splendid royal chapel stood as a monument to his association with the True Cross and the Holy Land. Instead of an ignoble failure, his death on crusade became a sort of martyrdom, after which he came to represent the ideal crusader who had sanctified French kingship.[56] To those looking back over the span of two hundred years of crusading, the movement appeared to have begun with a God-ordained victory for Christendom with no royal leadership. What came to be called in retrospect 'the First Crusade' had been a papal initiative turned Frankish-led victory for all Christians, but the void in leadership had allowed for the elevation of Godfrey of Bouillon to legendary status. When the practice of large scale, royally led crusading ended, Jerusalem remained back under Muslim

control, yet Louis had greatly reinforced the role of crusading in the formation of French royal identity.

Over the centuries, the legacy of Louis IX has largely remained that of Saint Louis, France's Most Christian King, who gave his life to the crusading movement. Charlemagne and Godfrey, whose crusading legacies were largely works of fiction, continued to evolve as warriors of legend and literature. At a time of great concern over the plight of Jerusalem in the late thirteenth century, for example, the Dominican friar Humbert of Romans, in his *Opus tripartitum*, called upon warriors to imitate the heroic deeds of Charlemagne and Godfrey of Bouillon.[57] They appeared together several decades later in Dante's *Paradiso*, in the sphere of warriors of the faith, and repeatedly in the popular late medieval and early modern motif known as the *Neuf Preux*, the Nine Worthies, in late medieval French and then Renaissance English tradition. In the version provided by fourteenth-century French poet Eustache Deschamps, the list of great leaders included three classical figures: Alexander the Great, Hector, and Julius Caesar; three biblical figures: David, Joshua, and Judas Maccabeus; and three Christian figures: Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey the Strong (*Godefroy li fors*) [Ballad 262, v. 4].[58] Finally, both became major characters of sixteenth-century Italian Renaissance epic, Charlemagne in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and Godfrey in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*). The crusading movement had thus radically and permanently altered the cultural landscape of medieval Europe and the Levant. By looking closely at the heroic figures that emerged in the literature of the crusades as products of continual cross-pollination between sources and traditions, students of this crucial period in history can gain a fuller, more nuanced sense of the great cultural experiment that was remembering the crusades.

NOTES

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14

ROBERT ROUSE

Romance and Crusade in Late Medieval England

The fall of Acre in 1291 – the last mainland bastion of the crusader states in the Holy Land – precipitated a collective trauma that would haunt the Christian peoples of western Europe for centuries to follow. The effects of this calamity were felt across European social, political, cultural, and artistic life in ways both profound and subtle. The purpose of this chapter is to examine how the popular Middle English romances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries narrate a series of increasingly complex fantasies of past, present, and future crusading histories, engaging in what Christopher Tyerman has termed the phenomenon of 'recovery literature'.[1]

Crusade romance, here understood in a capacious sense as those romances that engage with the martial, religious, and territorial struggle between Christianity and the Muslim East (amongst other non-Christian Others), encompasses not only those romances that deal with the historical period of the Eastern crusades (1095–1291), but also those that narrate the prehistory and fanciful future histories of the crusading project. Tyerman describes the textual effusion of recovery literature as a 'mountain of written advice thrown up in the two centuries after 1291 consistently associating the recovery of the Holy Land or the defence of the Church with personal redemption, honour and the resolution of Europe's internal political, social and religious problems'.[2] Contributing to the inward turn of this post-crusade zeitgeist, crusade romances manifested the frustrated desire for renewed crusade in late medieval England, dwelling not only on the heroic and salvational aspects of crusade, but also on the pitfalls and failures of the enterprise. While abortive attempts to resurrect the crusades as a practical project were not infrequent during this period – in England as well as in other parts of Europe – literary fantasies were the only form in which any such endeavour came to successful fruition. As narratives that gravitate towards, both geographically and thematically, the locus of Jerusalem, these texts also participate in a literary manifestation of the what Anthony Bale

has termed the pan-European desire for 'copies and imaginative artefacts' of Jerusalem and the Holy Land.[3]

This chapter examines how the English romances offer up a range of therapeutic narrative strategies in order to recast crusade as not something that flourished for two brief centuries, but rather as part of the enduring Christian struggle against the heathen world: a struggle that constructs a crusade temporality that transcends the historical reality of 1095–1291. As a generic form, romance is intimately entwined with crusade writing: Geraldine Heng has observed that the rise of romance in western European literary culture is concomitant with the period of the crusades, romance acting as a vehicle for the recounting and the glorifying of crusading heroes, both real and imaginary.[4] During the crusading period in England we encounter Anglo-Norman narratives such as *Gui de Warewic*, *Boeve de Hamtoune*, and insular versions of the Charlemagne cycle, including of course the *Chanson de Roland*. Similarly, the post-crusade period engendered further romances. Post–1291 we find such Middle English narratives as *Richard Coer de Lyon*, *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Sir Gowther, Sir Isumbras* – amongst others – which stand testament to the fevered production of crusade romance in post-crusade medieval England. Amongst the body of crusade romances we must also include English reworkings of the French Charlemagne romances such as *The Sultan of Babylon* and *The Sege of Melayne*, as these narratives present an ideological archaeology of crusading zeal, extending the conflict with the Muslim East back into the European past.[5] As we can see from the wide range of matter of crusade romance, the romance rewriting of crusade history was as much a temporal as a geographical project. English crusade narratives, as participants in 'recovery literature', seek to lead their audiences forward into imagined fantasies of the victorious restitution of Eastern lands to Christian control, but they also look back in time, to successful proto-crusades, most often to the time of Charlemagne and his prototypical defence of Christian Europe, but also further back, to the very foundational moment of the Christian association with the Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Proto-crusades? *The Siege of Jerusalem* and the Question of Charlemagne

Notorious for its entwined antisemitism and extreme violence, *The Siege of Jerusalem* narrates the cleansing of Jerusalem of its Jewish inhabitants, and the tearing down of the Jewish Temple, by Roman forces under Titus and Vespasian in 70 CE. A late fourteenth-century alliterative Middle English version of the Vengeance of Our Lord Tradition, based ultimately

upon Josephus's first-century account, the Siege has since the middle of the twentieth century been viewed by most critics as something of a *bête noire*, reviled for its abhorrent racial and religious politics.[6] The poem's graphic depiction of the Roman destruction of the Jews and Jerusalem spoke too clearly to a distasteful continuity between medieval antisemitism and the state-sponsored industrialised ethnic cleansings of 1940s. In recent decades, critical work on the poem has turned towards the degree to which the text's violence might be seen as in some way sympathetic to the abject Jewish bodies that it persecutes. This approach – which in part may be seen to seek to rehabilitate the narrative for modern readers – has been argued for by critics such as Elisa Narin Van Court and Bonnie Millar; less sympathetic readings of the text's complicated portrayal of Jewish persecution can be seen in Mary Hamel's work, who views the poem through a crusading lens, and from Christine Chism, who reads it through a late medieval discourse of an 'economy of salutary hatred'.[7] Picking up here on Hamel's reading of the poem as a text that engages with crusading history, I would like to suggest that the poem – and other Vengeance of the Lord narratives more generally – plays an important role in the popular retelling of crusade history in late medieval England.

Chism reads the Jews of the *Siege* as representing – in part – the Saracens of the world of romance, suggesting that this bodily alliance temporally conflates two periods of non-Christian rule of Jerusalem, the pre-Roman and the post-crusade. While the Jews of the poem have been read in many ways, as historical and contemporary Jews, as English Lollards, or as other heterodox figures, Chism argues that

> while I do not wish to suggest that the Jews of the poem are not Jews at all but merely Saracens in disguise, I would like to stress that in many influential narratives of the period, the two were persistently associated. The specter of collaboration between Muslim and Jew surfaces also in the long and well-documented history of recurrent European anxiety that the Jews of Europe were actually in league with the Muslims abroad and plotting the demise of Christendom.[8]

Chism's reading of the Jews as Saracens operates on both the aesthetic and the thematic levels. The description of the Jewish army that begins *passus* three of the *Siege* (ll. 445–84) resembles nothing more so than a romance depiction of an Eastern Saracen host: consisting of 'olyfauntes' (449), 'dromedaries … with harnays of mayle' (443–4), 'cameles closed in stele' (457), 'chares ful of chosen, charged with wepne' (461), and finally an 'olyfaunt y-armed / came out at the laste / Kevered myd a castel' (465–6) occupied by 'Cayphas' (474).[9] The Saracen appearance of the Jewish forces acts as a

punctum connecting the Jewish past and the Islamic present of Jerusalem, constructing for the reader a historiographical connection between the first century and the fourteenth. This *untimely* host contemporises the *Siege* and its themes of urban cleansing and renewal, both for Jerusalem and for the metaphorical new urban Jerusalems of western Europe.[10]

To call the *Siege* a crusading narrative is to place the romance history of the crusades within what medieval readers would have recognised as an extended history of violence between Christendom and the pagan, Eastern other. This other takes on multiple incarnations over the course of Western Christian history, but the correlation of Islamicised Jews, Christian violence, and the reclamation of Jerusalem figures the text as a proto-crusade, both recasting Josephus's Vengeance of Our Lord narrative as a crusade, and trans-temporally ante-dating crusading endeavour to the first century CE.

While the *Siege* demonstrates the depth of the temporal origins of the Western crusading project, a more recent narrative goldmine was also available to the English romance historiographers: the memorable feats of the Emperor Charlemagne (discussed above in greater detail by Anne Latowsky). Charlemagne's conflict with the Islamic world, in France, Spain, and northern Italy, was the matter of both history and legend, and the Middle English *romanciers* translated and transformed a number of these narratives for their eager audiences. In *The Sultan of Babylon*, *The Sege of Melayne*, and various incarnations of the Otuel and Fierabras narratives, we find a prehistory of crusading campaigns against the Islamic world that differs in a number of ways from the historical Eastern crusades; ways that were very useful to the 'recovery literature' zeitgeist of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England. The romances of Charlemagne and his twelve peers act as a precedent for calls for a universal and co-ordinated western European campaign, drawing together under the political umbrella of the Carolingian empire a wide range of geopolitical entities in a mirror of the unity of Western Christendom under a single figure that was seen as the ideal – an ideal that was rarely realised – of historical and wished-for future crusades. In Charlemagne, the romances found an image of ideal Christian leadership; an Arthur-like political figurehead around which the conflicts with the Saracen East could be told through the biographies of famous knights, creating a tapestry of interfaith conflict that provides another precedent and justification for continued crusading zeal.

It might be thought of as unusual, given the history of enmity between France and England in the later medieval period, that the English romances should valorise a French king as the exemplar of Christian martial success. However, the problem of the Frenchness of Charlemagne does not seem

to have impaired his attractiveness as a subject of romance. In the *Sege of Melayne*, for example, the English poet habitually refers to French heroes as 'oure ferse men' (501), 'oure worthy men' (495, 1245, 1266), and 'oure folke' (945, 1298), and does not otherwise invest his lyric identity with any sense of specific nationality. In the English romances, Charlemagne is presented as a pan-European figure; deracinated of his French identity and deployed as one of the nine worthies that were claimed by the whole of western European Christendom.

Crusading Anglo-Saxons: English Before the English

While *The Siege of Jerusalem* and the Charlemagne romances establish a history of crusading endeavour that permeates to the very origins of Western Christendom, the Middle English romances also advance more specifically English claims of involvement in what was presented as an ongoing struggle. Two of the earliest romances written in England are the Anglo-Norman narratives of *Gui de Warewic* and *Bouve de Haumtone*, later translated into Middle English as *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hampton* in the fourteenth century. These stories of England's past, members of a group of romances now known as the 'ancestral romances', were first written for powerful French-speaking baronial families in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and later translated for a more widespread gentry, mercantile, and popular audience in their Middle English versions. *Guy* and *Bevis* are set within the pre-conquest Anglo-Saxon past, providing legitimacy for the new Anglo-Norman feudal aristocracy. As narratives about the fictional ancestors of the baronial class – their primary audience – these romances focus upon contemporary baronial political concerns, including the mediation and limits of royal power, the just inheritance of baronial lands and titles, and the legitimacy of baronial claims to English lands in the centuries following the conquest, but they also engage with telling the history of crusading endeavour. While the narratives are clearly inventions, they were read and received as truthful records by their medieval audiences, and the pre-conquest characters that they created became celebrated participants in the family and regional histories into which they were interpolated. The story of Guy, for example, was incorporated into the genealogies of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick as a celebrated ancestor, while Bevis has left a mark not only upon the civic history of Southampton, but also that of Arundel castle, where a tower named in his memory was constructed by Richard FitzAlan, Earl Arundel, in the fourteenth century. These narratives, and the crusading elements that they contain, became important parts of familial and national romance pasts.

Guy of Warwick is set within the reign of the Anglo-Saxon King Athelstan. While this in no way corresponds to the historical Athelstan (who ruled 924–939), the name was one that efficiently marks the narrative as set in the pre-conquest period for its post-conquest audience. The deployment of this medieval 'Anglo-Saxonism' by post-conquest writers takes many forms, but is most often used to provide a sense of the enduring English past, situating laws, land tenures, and family histories within a continuum of English history that seeks to elide the cultural, political, and legislative rupture of 1066.[11] The historical setting of the narrative prior to the conquest is important in understanding the historiographical work that the narrative performs. The romance tells the story of Guy, the son of Siward of Wallingford, a feudal vassal of the Earl of Warwick. The second half of the romance takes place primarily in the East, with Guy participating first in the defence of Constantinople against its Saracen foes, and then later travelling and fighting extensively throughout the Levant and Egypt as a penitent servant of Christ.

Representative of a developing mode of pious or penitential romance, *Guy of Warwick* presents a model of chivalric behaviour that merges the superlative knighthood of earlier romance with the Christian discipline of the ideal crusading knight. Read as a 'recovery literature' romance, *Guy of Warwick* both establishes an English connection with the crusades, and also acts as a critique of some of the common practices of crusade, including a cautionary commentary upon the territorial goals of crusading activity. In the second half of the romance, Guy embarks on a penitential pilgrimage, which, like that of the *peregrini* of the First Crusade, is characterised by regular bloody conflict with the Saracens. While the majority of this second narrative movement presents the audience with a legitimate deployment of violence against the enemies of Christ, the romance also includes moments of admonitory commentary upon crusading practice.

One such moment occurs soon after the penitential turn of the romance. After setting out on his new path, Guy travels first to Jerusalem and Bethlehem, before eventually arriving in Antioch, where he encounters Jonas, the Christian Earl of Durras. Here Jonas tells Guy a long tale of misfortune, which has resulted in him being sent to search for Guy, so that the latter can champion the Saracen king Triamour in a judicial combat. Jonas narrates how he and his sons bravely defended Jerusalem from a Saracen attack: 'Ich & mi sones, wiþouten lesing,/ Out of þat lond we driuen þe king,/ And his men yaf dedli wounde' (st. 51:7–9). Then, however, they made the mistake of following the Saracens back into their own lands, where the population rises in support of their king: 'Þan dede we wel-gret foly:/ We suwed him wiþ maistrie/ Into his owhen lond./ Into Alisaundre þai fleye

owy:/ Þe cuntre ros vp wiþ a cri,/ To help her king anhond' (st. 52:1–6). This episode suggests that Jonas and his sons have over-stepped the legitimate bounds of crusade in turning their warfare from a defensive action into an offensive one. The legitimate deployment of crusade violence here seems directed towards a defence of Jerusalem, as opposed to the 'wel-gret foly' of invading the Saracen's 'owhen lond' of Alexandria. Read against the context of the later crusades – often, like the ill-fated Seventh Crusade, directed against Alexandria in an attempt to break the economic stranglehold of the Mamluk rulers of Egypt – this episode can be read as an explicit criticism of the right geographical focus of crusade. To seek to conquer or defend Jerusalem is a legitimate aim of crusade; to invade Alexandria is not.

Guy's romance, in addition to rewriting the family history of the Beauchamp Earls as one that *had always* held a close connection with their feudal lands that extends back into the Anglo-Saxon period, also establishes the crusade pedigree of the Beauchamps, and by extension, the English. *Bevis of Hampton*, another Middle English translation of an Anglo-Norman ancestral romance, does similar work, with a similar focus on Eastern territorial ambition. In *Bevis*, the romance begins with Bevis being disinherited by his Scottish mother and her German lover, who conspire together to murder his father, the Earl of Hampton. Saved and spirited out of England by his faithful tutor, Bevis is raised in the East by the King of Armenia, whose daughter Bevis eventually converts and marries. After winning renown in adventures amongst the Saracens in the East, Bevis returns to England to reclaim his patrimony, defeating his usurping mother and stepfather in the process. At this point, however, the familiar romance exile-and-return motif is disrupted by a curious case of regicide by horse.

Once Bevis has won his father's lands back, King Edgar's son is killed when he attempts to steal Bevis's horse Arondel. The larcenous prince is slain by the horse, who will only be ridden by his master, and Edgar flies into a rage and orders Bevis to be executed for the death of his son. The King here acts as a tyrant, and is eventually reined in by a council of his barons, who inform Edgar that under the laws of England, only Arondel the horse can be tried for the crime. In an early example of an animal trial, the horse is accused and convicted, and Bouve chooses to flee England once again to save the life of his horse. This initiates the second half of the romance, in which Bevis returns to the East, has children with his converted bride Josian, and conquers not only her father's kingdom of Armenia, but also Eastern kingdoms for his children. This romance, with its emphasis on cultural hybridity and intermarriage, complicates notions of Christian identity with regards to the crusades and territorial ambition. In a similar but more positive vein to Jean de Joinville's awareness of cultural admixture in *The*

Life of St Louis, the romance of Bevis raises concerns about the cultural identity of Western knights who spend a prolonged period of time in the Orient. To encounter the Other physically is to enter into what has been termed a 'contact zone', and such proximity brings with it risks of external contamination of one's own culture.

Despite their occasional moments of critique of crusade practice – a mode not unfamiliar to readers of other late medieval 'recovery literature' – *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Hampton* establish an English commitment to the crusade that, much like the Charlemagne romances, predates the historical Eastern crusades. As a body of romance history, they provide both their Anglo-Norman and Middle English audiences with a sense of sense of long-standing commitment to crusade within the Isle of Britain.

The Historical Crusades: *Richard Coer de Lyon*

A curious lacuna in the Middle English romances is, as it happens, accounts of the historical crusades themselves. The one exception to this is *Richard Coer de Lyon*, in which we find narrated a particularly English view of the Third Crusade.[12] *Richard Coer de Lyon*, and the powerful image of the cannibal King Richard that it narrates, has provided fecund ground for critical engagement in recent years. The romance, existing in two main variants (A and B), tells the story of Richard's journey to the Holy Land by way of Sicily and Cypress, eventually arriving at Acre where he proceeds to break the seven-year-old siege. The romance is marked by a distinctive sense of national spirit, with the virtuous Englishness of Richard and his men contrasted against both the Saracens and – importantly – the perfidy of his erstwhile allies, especially the French King Phillip.[13] The romance even goes so far as assigning the blame for the loss of 'Surri' (Syria) – in the romance literally referring to those lands lost prior to the Third Crusade, but with obvious wider connotations of territorial loss in the post-1291 era – to the ineptitude of the French nobility. Despite the romance casting an accusatory gaze upon the French, much of the recent critical work on the romance has focused upon one strange and disturbing episode: the cannibalistic consumption of the Saracen dead by King Richard himself. This story, which appears in different forms in the various surviving versions of the romance, can be summarised thus: Richard, having fallen ill upon his arrival at the siege of Acre, yearns for pork as a curative. His men, finding that no pork is available to serve their king, hit upon an ingenious solution, cooking, carving and serving up the body of a recently deceased Saracen. The meal restores the king to boisterous health, after which he throws himself back into battle with the Saracens. On his return from the battle, Richard demands to be

brought the head of the beast upon which he feasted, as he wishes to restore his energies once more. This provokes no small consternation in the royal kitchen, but eventually the king is presented with the grinning head of the black Saracen. Richard's response is one of high amusement: he enthuses once more as to the nutritious qualities of the meal, and states that never again will the crusaders go hungry while on campaign in the Holy Land, not while there is such a plentiful supply of meat on offer.[14]

Geraldine Heng, in a reading of the romance in terms of the fraught medieval discourses of race and nation, reads this episode as a nationalistic joke that acts as a metaphor for the romance's 'aggressive territorial ambitions, the consumption and discipline of alien communities, and the nascent, overarching impulse toward the formation of the medieval nation'.[15] Nicola McDonald likewise reads the episode as participating in the poetics of identity formation, arguing that 'Richard's consumption of the Saracen, constructed as both an alimentary necessity and an act of sacral devotion, provides the romance audience with a convenient focus for its own fantasies of religious supremacy, political dominion, nationalism and a good meal'.[16] According to this interpretation, this crusade narrative constructs identities, both Christian and English, by reading this episode of the ingestion of the racial and religious other as rearticulating and reinforcing notions of Christian English superiority. However, prioritising such a reading of the episode necessarily minimises the more problematic aspects of an English king engaging in cannibalism. Heather Blurton, contextualising Richard's dietary ingenuity against the wider history of cannibalism in medieval literature, notes that cannibalism is more typically associated with the Saracens, by way of the monstrous races tradition.[17] As a common literary and historiographical technique of othering, the casting of the body of the Saracen as cannibalistic makes it 'ethically monstrous in order to legitimate violence against it'.[18] When this trope is transferred to the body of the English King Richard, perversely transforming the vice into a virtue, a contradiction between the text's nationalistic othering of the French – as treacherous, as inept – and the representation of the English themselves becomes clear. Alan Ambrisco wryly observes that '[t]he English are cannibalistic and barbaric; the French, to their deep discredit, are neither'.[19] While this text may work, as McDonald and Heng rightly suggest, to articulate a developing sense of English identity, it does so at the cost of unified Christian – and crusader – unity.

Whether one reads the romance positively as forwarding English nationalism or negatively as a critique of a lack of Christian unity – or as both simultaneously – the romance is clear that during the Third Crusade the French and the English did not work well together, highlighting the commonly

held belief that the loss of the Holy Land was due primarily to Christian infighting and disunity. *Richard Coer de Lyon* is a romance that maps the Anglo-French animosity of the fourteenth century back onto the period of the crusades, presenting Richard's cannibalism as a trope that dismembers and consumes not just the literal body of the Saracen, but more importantly denotes the cannibalistic autophagy of Christendom itself as it was riven by competing and contradictory national interests.[20]

Penitential Romance: Thinking on Cultural Failure

One of the key questions that Tyerman's concept of 'recovery literature' poses is how the western European cultural imagination coped with and responded to the failure of the crusading movement. The loss of Acre in 1291 had a profound impact on the culture and literature of western Europe. As the culminating moment of some two centuries of military failure, the loss proved a deep wound to the collective Christian imagination. Gone were the great hopes of the early years of the crusading period and Christendom was left to face the undeniable fact that the Islamic foe had triumphed, depriving the West of both political control and spiritual access to the geographical heart of the Christian faith. Jerusalem, so medieval notions of geography held, was the centre of the world, the prime stage of biblical history and the arena of Christian salvation. What had the West done to deserve this defeat? Why had their God abandoned them? Such questions became a communal preoccupation during the decades following the fall of Acre, with meditations on the West's need for penitence finding expression in a wide range of historiographical and literary forms. In that fourteenth-century best-seller *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* we find an expansive account of the reasons that were thought to underlie the failure of the crusades. Mandeville, narrating his time in Egypt, recounts a conversation with his employer, the sultan. After describing the sinful state of Christendom – the general lack of piety, the infighting amongst Christian princes, and the unreformed state of the clergy – the sultan goes on to identify the cancer at the heart of Christendom:

> 'And for her owen synnes', he seyde, 'hath Cristen men lost al the lond the which that we holdeth, and for youre synnes hath your God gyve these londes to us, and noght thorgh oure streyngthe. For we wyte well', he seyde, 'when ye serveth well your God, that He wole helpe yow, so that no man shal do ageyn yow. And ye wyte well by youre prophecies that Cristen men shal wynne agen thes londes, when they serveth wel her God. But while they lyven so yvel as they doon, we have no drede of hem, for her God wole noght help hem'.[21]

Mandeville, whose book occupies an important place in Tyerman's body of 'recovery literature', voices the lack that lies at the heart of the penitential mood of the crusade romances discussed above. In a similar penitential mode to what we have seen in the second half of *Guy of Warwick*, Mandeville calls for internal reform, cohesion, and a refocusing of Christian martial endeavour outwards towards the true goal of crusade. Both chastising and hopeful, Mandeville highlights both the problem and the solution to the problem, pointing towards a prophesied future victory over the Saracen foes.

In addition to *Guy of Warwick*, other penitential crusade romances highlighted the importance of interiority and personal piety in the crusade movement. In the early fourteenth-century *Sir Isumbras*, we find the typical romance quest narrative take on the instrumental value of the penitential pilgrimage. *Sir Isumbras* begins with the fall of the protagonist, a narrative move not unfamiliar to readers of romance where knights often require new impetus to resume adventure after being ensnared in the comfortable predicament of marriage, children, and the ruling of estates; in this the romance structurally resembles the second half of *Guy of Warwick*. In *Isumbras*, however, we find little of the meditative self-critique of *Guy of Warwick*, but rather we find Isumbras described as a knight consumed with the earthly concerns and values of a secular lord, and thus forgetful of He who should be the object of his service:

> Swyche pryde in his herte was brought
> On Jhesu Cryst thoghte he nought
> Ne on His names sevene.
> So longe he levede in that pryde
> That Jhesu wolde no lenger abyde;
> To hym he sente a stevenne. (31–6)

Isumbras's chief sin is Pride, *superbia*, that most serious of the Seven Deadly sins. Out hunting one day, the lordly Isumbras encounters the first in a series of miraculous animals that populate this text, a speaking bird, who informs him that his Pride has offended his God, and he must endure suffering on earth. The bird gives him the following choice: 'In yowthe or elde thou schall be woe / Chese whedur hyt shall be' (37–48). Adjudged to have fallen into the sin of pride, the hunting knight is offered a stark choice by the avian messenger: to have 'wo' in either his youth or in his elder days. Isumbras, following what can be seen as the pragmatic tenets of proverbial wisdom, answers the talking bird thus: 'In yowthe sende me poverté / And welthe in myne elde' (59–60). In the answer that Isumbras gives to the proverbial choice offered by his feathered accuser – to undertake penance in either his

'yowthe' or 'elde' – we find expressed the belief that penance performed on earth is preferable, or perhaps is simply more knowable and thus controllable, than that which must be performed after death – since one is, in Isumbras's opinion, unable to perform pilgrimage-penance when one is old: 'In yowthe I may ryde and go, / In elde I may noght do so'. Addressing a state of spiritual 'wo' is a task better met with immediacy than not, and Isumbras's choice of alternatives supplies the penance with a voluntary aspect that weakly echoes that of Guy's own spiritual revelation. The stress on the voluntary nature of penance is important here, as volition is an essential part of the liturgical praxis of repentance in the medieval Church.[22]

Andrea Hopkins describes the aspect of penance active in *Sir Isumbras* as being most closely resonant with that of the indulgence: 'Indulgence, in the limited and specific sense of penance for warfare against enemies of the Church'.[23] In this sense of indulgence, *Sir Isumbras* and *Guy of Warwick* also take the form of what has been labelled crusade romances, seemingly linking the martial action of the chivalric romance with the penitential indulgence that underwrote the spiritual economy of the crusades. However, despite incorporating the penitential aspect of crusade, '[t]his fantasy version of crusading ideals … is wholly subordinated to the narrative of personal salvation and family reunion in the romance'.[24] Despite the crusading aspects of these narratives, their emphasis remains upon a form of solitary pilgrimage, more akin to the individual knight's quest rather than the communal expedition of war, holy or otherwise.

While *Guy of Warwick* contains a certain degree of corrective commentary on chivalric behaviour, he is far from embodying the figure of the fallen knight, but rather stands as one who redirects himself towards the martial service of God after coming to a self-realisation of his motivational misdirection. In contrast to the rather mild chastising of the Guy romance, in the late fourteenth-century romance of *Sir Gowther*, we find a clear embodiment of the difference between legitimate and misdirected violence.[25] The story of Gowther, born the prodigal son of a devil, is one that narrates a clear distinction between legitimate and illegitimate violence. Engendered upon his mother by an incubus in the seeming form of her husband, Gowther slays wet-nurses as a child and once he comes of age becomes the terrifying embodiment of medieval fears of unrestrained hyper-masculine knightly power: raping nuns and maidens, slaying monks and burning churches. At the very nadir of his reputation, the young Gowther is confronted by an elderly Earl, who accuses him of being 'sum fendys son' (209). Enraged by the accusation, Gowther confronts his mother and extracts from her the fearful truth of his lineage. Faced with this damning revelation, Gowther cries to

God for mercy, and heads forthwith towards Rome to seek penance and absolution for his violent deeds.

The penance that is placed upon Gowther by the pope is one that degrades him to the level of the animal, a suitable commentary on the nature of the violence that he has performed: 'Wherser thu travellys, be northe or soth / Thu eyt no meyt bot that thu revus of howndus mothe / Cum thy body within' (295–7). Mute and reduced performatively to the status of a dog, Gowther leaves Rome and travels to 'anodur far cuntré' (308) where he takes finds a place as a court fool in the castle of an emperor. While the pope has explicitly stated that his redemption shall be earned through his abjection as a man-dog, the narrative soon presents Gowther with another tried and true method of salvation for a knight: a personal crusade armed against the Saracen other. Soon after Gowther arrives at this court, the emperor receives a messenger from the sultan demanding his mute daughter in marriage, at pain of war if he declines. Refusing to marry his daughter to a 'hethon hownde' (392), the emperor prepares for battle. This situation now presents Gowther with a heaven-sent opportunity to expedite his redemption. Praying to God for arms and armour, Gowther is divinely supplied with arms and a steed, and proceeds to fight anonymously against the Saracens – for three days in succession – ultimately slaying the sultan in single combat and receiving his hard-won 'tokyn … fro God' (299), in the form of the miraculous healing of the emperor's daughter's mutism.

Violence in the romance is the sinful manifestation of Gowther's devilish nature, but violence also acts as the means of his redemption. The message of the romance is that violence directed against the legitimate body of the Saracen other is the true goal of the Christian knight, leading to both earthly and heavenly reward. Read in the light of Tyerman's notion of 'recovery literature', *Sir Gowther* may be understood as a call for chivalric violence to be redirected outside of Christendom, once again critiquing the internal dissention that was commonly held to be the cause of the loss of the Holy Land. *Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Isumbras*, and *Sir Gowther* present their audiences with protagonists in need of correction. Legitimate chivalric violence – directed against the Saracen in the right time and place – becomes a penitential salve for past misdeeds, linking internal salvation with external crusade.

The Middle English crusade romances construct a popular history of extended English engagement with the western European crusading project. As a body of narratives produced and recorded in the century following the fall of Acre, the romances participate in the phenomenon of 'recovery literature', recording, rewriting, and fantasising about successful English

crusading efforts. While few of the romances bear any direct relation to the historical crusades in the Eastern Mediterranean, they stand as powerful evidence of a continuing desire for crusade in later medieval England.

NOTES

1. Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: a New History of the Crusades*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2006, 827.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Anthony Bale, *Feeling Persecuted: Christians, Jews, and Images of Violence in the Middle Ages*, London, Reaktion, 2010, 159.
4. Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2003, 6.
5. Robert Warm, 'Identity, Narrative and Participation: Defining a Context for the Middle English Charlemagne Romances', in Rosalind Field (ed.), *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Romance*, Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999, 87–100.
6. On the Vengeance of our Lord tradition, see Suzanne Yeager's comments in Chapter 8.
7. Christine Chism, 'The Siege of Jerusalem: Liquidating Assets', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 28 (1998), 309–40; Christine Chism, *Alliterative Revivals*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002, 155–88, 184; Mary Hamel, 'The Siege of Jerusalem as a Crusading Poem', in Barbara N. Sargent-Baur (ed.), *Journeys Toward God: Pilgrimage and Crusade*, Kalamazoo, MI, Medieval Institute Publications, 1992, 177–94, 187–8; Bonnie Millar, *The Siege of Jerusalem in Its Physical, Literary and Historical Contexts*, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2000; Elisa Narin Van Court, 'The Siege of Jerusalem and Augustinian Historians: Writing about Jews in Fourteenth-Century England', *Chaucer Review*, 29 (1995), 227–48; Elisa Narin Van Court, 'The Siege of Jerusalem and Recuperative Readings', in Nicola McDonald (ed.), *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2004, 151–70.
8. Chism, *Alliterative Revivals*, 173.
9. Michael Livingston (ed.), *The Siege of Jerusalem*, Kalamazoo, MI, Medieval Institute Publications, 2004.
10. See also Robert Allen Rouse, 'Reading (in) Medieval London: Emplaced Reading, or Towards a Spatial Hermeneutic for Medieval Romance', in Nicholas Perkins (ed.), *The Materiality of Medieval Romance*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2015, 41–57.
11. For extensive discussion of this mode of popular historiography, see Robert Allen Rouse, *The Idea of Anglo-Saxon England in Middle English Romance*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2005.
12. Karl Brunner (ed.), *Richard Coer de Lyon. Der Mittelenglische Versroman Richard Löwenherz*, Leipzig, Wilhelm Braumüller, 1913.
13. For a detailed discussion see Geraldine Barnes, *Counsel and Strategy in Middle English Romance*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer 1993, 108–11.
14. A more extensive plot summary can be found in Geraldine Heng, 'The Romance of England: *Richard Coer de Lyon*, Saracens, Jews, and the Politics of Race

and Nation', in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (ed.), *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, New York, Palgrave, 2001, 135–71, 136.

15 Heng, 'The Romance of England', 137.

16 Nicola McDonald, 'Eating People and the Alimentary Logic of *Richard Cœur de Lion*', in McDonald (ed.), *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, 124–50, 143.

17 Heather Blurton, *Cannibalism in High Medieval English Literature*, New York, Palgrave, 2007, 108.

18 *Ibid.*, 114.

19 Alan Ambrisco, 'Cannibalism and Cultural Encounters in *Richard Coeur de Lion*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 29 (1999), 501–28, 518.

20 Tyerman, *God's War*, 906–11.

21 Tamara Kohanski and C. David Benson (eds.), *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*, Kalamazoo, MI, Medieval Institute Publications, 2007, ll. 1311–18.

22 Sarah Hamilton, 'The Unique Favour of Penance: The Church and the People, c. 800–c. 1100', in Peter Lineham and Janet L. Nelson (eds.), *The Medieval World*, London, Routledge, 2001, 229–45, 230.

23 Andrea Hopkins, *The Sinful Knights*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990, 57.

24 Phillipa Hardman and Marianne Ailes, 'Crusading, Chivalry and the Saracen World in Insular Romance', in Rosalind Field, Phillipa Hardman, and Michelle Sweeney (eds.), *Christianity and Romance in Medieval England*, Cambridge, D. S. Brewer, 2010, 45–68. Hardman and Ailes, 'Crusading, Chivalry', 56.

25 While *Sir Gowther* is preserved in two late fifteenth-century manuscripts (BL Royal MS 17.B.43 and National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19.3.19), the composition of the romance has been dated to c. 1400 by Alcuin Balmires, 'The Twin Demons of Aristocratic Society in Sir Gowther', in McDonald (ed.), *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England*, 45–63, 45.

15

LEE MANION

Renaissance Crusading Literature: Memory, Translation, and Adaptation

In 1587 the French Huguenot François de la Noue included an extensive plan for a religious war against the Ottoman Turks, a powerful Muslim empire, in his *Discours politiques et militaires* (*Political and Military Discourses*). This Protestant author's proposal calls for a confederation of all Christian realms, Protestant and Catholic, to fight against the Turks with the assistance of the pope as a way to end confessional warfare in Europe. Nearly a decade later the English author Richard Johnson published *The Seven Champions of Christendom* (1596–7), a hugely popular prose romance that presents St George, originally the patron saint of crusaders and later the national saint of England, commanding a collective army with other patron saints from France, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Spain, and Italy against the combined forces of Islam from Asia and Africa. In its title, *Seven Champions* applies a medieval, religious descriptor of geopolitical space – 'Christendom' theoretically includes everywhere that Christians rule – that is extended in the story through conversion, as George is installed as the leader of the converted realms of Morocco, Egypt, and Persia. La Noue's and Johnson's texts are notable for advocating religious war against real or imagined Islamic powers as a means for creating and expanding Christian unity during a period often presented in terms of strife between Catholics and Protestants. These texts thus indicate an alternative yet complementary way of understanding the actions, aspirations, and imaginative writing of many early modern people.

The conflicts described by La Noue and Johnson are all the more striking because of how crusading had been and continued to be used against other Christians. La Noue, a Protestant writing in predominantly Catholic France, knew that Catholic crusaders had attacked Huguenots as religious enemies in Toulouse in 1568, yet this sectarian violence did not stop him from denouncing in his *Discours* France's alliance with the Ottomans, begun in 1536, as the cause of France's diminishing glory.[1] By comparison, Johnson

wrote *Seven Champions* in an officially Protestant England under Elizabeth I, who in the 1580s also had negotiated for an alliance with the Turks against Catholic realms and was the target of a crusade, the Spanish Armada, in 1588, yet his romance remains committed to a model of Christian cooperation in order to spread the faith. Significantly, La Noue and Johnson modify or omit some common features of crusading practices, such as papal indulgences or penance. Even so, their imagining of Christian unity and victory over Islamic powers would have been received as an extension of earlier forms of holy warfare.

Why did this form of religious violence seem suitable or appealing to a range of early modern authors? How does the existence of such writing affect our view of the Renaissance and its importance in European history? Over the past few decades a sizeable body of scholarship has demonstrated two main points: crusading was not relegated to the medieval, 'barbaric' past, and in the early modern period the notion of an imperialist 'West' that dominated the 'East' was anything but apparent and inevitable. Instead, Christian Europeans keenly recognised their military and economic inferiority to several non-Christian powers and developed no single, coherent discourse explaining these encounters with religious 'Others'. Renaissance crusading literature, which includes treatises such as La Noue's, romances such as Johnson's, and an array of histories, polemics, travel writing, drama, and new genres, is a significant yet understudied part of that history. Such works help to qualify or deconstruct accounts of Western secularisation and progress that begin with the Renaissance by identifying the key changes and the surprising continuities between medieval and early modern thought about religious violence. After outlining some of the notable differences in Renaissance crusading activity, this chapter discusses two of the period's major genres of crusading literature, the history and the heroic poem, through three interrelated frameworks: memorial practices that recalled, celebrated, or transformed the past, sometimes encouraging imitation in the present; an investment in the translation of historical sources and literature into various vernaculars; and the adaptation of crusading ideas and interests to suit new contexts and worldviews. While the Renaissance often is described in ways that stress its connection to the modern world – the international system of territorial states, the circumnavigation of the globe, the intellectual force of humanism, and new technologies such as the printing press and gunpowder weaponry – crusading practices and literature are just as prominent a part of its culture. Such a reality requires us to reconsider how we mark the origins of modernity as well as the implications of crusading's intolerance today.

Shifts in Renaissance Crusading Practices

In the Middle Ages crusading against non-Christians primarily focused on three regions – the Eastern Mediterranean, Iberia, and the Baltic – and involved the actions of individuals and large armies, many of whom swore a sacred vow and 'took the cross' in an ecclesiastical ritual that was held to provide material and spiritual benefits. Despite the increasingly sophisticated papal mechanisms of funding and organisation, however, crusading was never entirely under Church control. Its imbrication with various elements of European religious culture meant that crusading practices were shaped by other forces, such as individuals' devotional desires, as well as by broader interests, both popular and learned, in holy sites, the protection of other Christians, or the conversion of non-believers. This mixture of influences made crusading adaptable, and such flexibility arguably contributed to its longevity.

The early modern period witnessed several changes that affected crusading's locations, methods, or perceived purpose. These changes impacted literature directly and indirectly, in some cases adding resonances to different regions or sites and in others prompting new topics and forms of writing. One major development was the expansion and military power of the Ottoman Empire, which shifted one of crusading's focal regions from the Eastern Mediterranean to Eastern Europe. In a relatively short period the administrative and military efficiency of the Turks enabled them to make huge conquests, transforming crusading in the East from an attempt, however remote, to capture Jerusalem and the Levant into a defence of European lands. Key events that shocked many western Europeans include the Ottoman Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453, the invasion of Otranto in southern Italy in 1480, the subjugation of Mamluk Egypt and the Holy Land in 1517, and the failed siege of Vienna in 1529. Eventually most remaining Christian holdings in the Eastern Mediterranean were lost, with Rhodes captured in 1522 and Cyprus in 1570–1. Though Christian victories occurred, including the conquest of Tunis in 1535, the defence of Malta in 1565, and the defeat of the Turkish navy at the battle of Lepanto in 1571, they did not lead to lasting territorial gains and, significantly, were accomplished not by volunteer crusading forces drawn from all Christian realms but by limited, carefully negotiated 'leagues' among powers such as Spain, the Papacy, the Knights of St John, Genoa, and Venice that mainly relied on professional soldiers. Accordingly, many examples of Renaissance crusading literature reframed themselves around the new political situation, specifically acknowledging the immense power of the Ottoman Empire, described by the English historian Richard Knolles as 'the greatest terror

of the world'.[2] William Shakespeare's play *Othello* (c. 1604), for instance, which may have been influenced by Knolles's work, takes place against an imagined version of the Turkish threat to Cyprus and shows the eponymous, presumably converted, Moor leading Catholic Venice's defence.

Whereas the rise of the Ottomans recast crusading as the recovery and defence of territory in Eastern Europe, in other regions crusading practices relating to conversion acquired a new intensity. The conclusion of the Iberian *reconquista* with the 1492 capture of Granada resulted in the expulsion of Jews and in forced conversions of Muslims to Christianity. The treaty for the surrender of Granada had specified that all the Muslim inhabitants would be able to 'live in their own religion' in perpetuity.[3] Shortly thereafter, Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella of Castile issued a charter that expelled all Jews from their kingdoms who refused to convert to Christianity because they supposedly 'subvert and steal faithful Christians [i.e. especially recent converts, known as *conversos*] from our holy Catholic faith'.[4] Subsequent Christian persecution of Muslims, including book burnings and forced conversions, led to a Muslim uprising, giving the opportunity for the monarchs in 1501–2 to expel from Castile all Muslims who did not convert. By the early seventeenth century, all non-Christians, including relatively recent converts from Islam known as *Moriscos*, were expelled from Spain and Portugal. Though forced conversions and expulsions occurred in the Middle Ages, the scale of this attempt indicates a renewed drive for religious uniformity that acquired racialising implications by being framed in terms of purity of blood; such thinking coincided with Portuguese and Spanish imperial ambitions in North Africa and the Americas.[5] The *reconquista* and its consequences highlight a long-standing tension regarding crusading's ability to create legitimate converts through violence.[6] These same issues of justified violence and the conversion of non-Christians also shaped European encounters with native peoples in the Americas, as seen through the actions of the *conquistadores*.[7]

As the Iberian expulsions sought to solidify the peninsula's Christian identity, the so-called Barbary Pirates of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Tripoli exemplified the expanding threat of Christian conversion to Islam. During this time many Europeans voluntarily converted in order to achieve independence and advancement (the English pirate John Ward is one prominent example) or in conjunction with emigration to North Africa for work and trade. Others converted under pressure, however, for in the same period that witnessed the beginning of the African slave trade to the Americas, hundreds of thousands of Europeans were captured and enslaved by pirate raiders from North Africa who operated across the Mediterranean and as far north as England, Ireland, and Iceland. Since slaves captured by Islamic piracy

could be ransomed, this practice generated several new cultural forms: charitable organisations that negotiated with captors on behalf of distant families; petitionary letters and captivity narratives that requested aid from captives' local communities or celebrated their heroic endurance; and rituals for converts' re-entry into Christian society that addressed anxieties about the seemingly invisible nature of a change in religion.[8] The extensive influence of the pirates and the enslavement of Christians on Renaissance literature is apparent in Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605/1615). Cervantes fought in the battle of Lepanto against the Turks and was later captured and held as a slave in Algiers for five years, attempting to escape multiple times before finally being ransomed. His personal experience and inclusion of a captivity narrative in *Don Quixote*, often called the first modern novel, indicate the far-reaching effects of crusading practices and thought.

Of course, Christian-Muslim relations in the early modern period, as in the Middle Ages, were not inveterately hostile. In the Renaissance trade and commercial interactions between Christian and Muslim powers increased significantly, sometimes along with the formation of political alliances. Trading companies and joint stock ventures flourished in conjunction with better sailing techniques; in England alone, entities such as the Muscovy Company, the Levant Company, and the East India Company promoted mercantile interests and created monopolies. To a certain extent, early modern Europeans learned more about powerful Muslim empires, such as the Ottoman Turks, Safavid Persia, or the Mughal empire in India, through this contact and exchange. Many of these interactions, however, did not lead to greater tolerance or empathy; Europeans generally displayed a calculating respect in conjunction with a religious disdain based on stereotypes extending back to medieval ideologies rather than on direct experience. Luís Vaz de Camões's epic romance *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusiads*) (1572), for example, is addressed to the young Portuguese king Sebastian I, who would die in 1578 on a crusade in Morocco. *Os Lusíadas* presents Vasco da Gama's historical 1497–9 voyage to India as a conflict between heroic Portuguese Christians and stereotypical, treacherous Muslims even though the author lived and worked for some time in Goa, India, interacting with real Muslims as part of Portugal's maritime empire.

Overall, although crusading practices and ideas changed in the Renaissance, particularly due to the Reformation, the rise of the Ottomans, the slave trade of the Barbary Pirates, and the expansion of sailing and commerce, the medieval tradition of holy warfare remained a potent tool for conceptualising and organising Christian Europeans' relationship to the rest of the world. While direct participation in crusading military forces

declined, as historian Norman Housley explains, 'the ideas, iconography, and language associated with crusading survived, to fertilize the thinking and behaviour of all Christians engaged in military struggles which they considered to be inseparable from their religious beliefs'.[9] Early modern literary authors and audiences continued to debate political and religious issues centred around ideas such as Christendom, conquest, conversion, and individual salvation, employing and adapting medieval crusading concepts or imagery for various purposes.

Crusading literature is a broad, fluid category in part because crusading practices themselves spanned roughly 600 years and assumed a variety of forms. As previous chapters in this volume have shown, medieval crusading literature encompassed several genres, such as the *chanson de geste*, romance, lyric, travel narrative, and chronicle. It also extended into sermons, papal bulls and letters, and treatises proposing military plans and governmental policies. A major challenge still confronting scholars is how to distinguish crusading literature from other kinds of devotional or commemorative writing. Different approaches to medieval crusading literature have focused on content, the use of rhetoric and propaganda, generic features, or the role of collective memory to make sense of the surviving evidence.[10]

The diversity of crusading literature expanded in the early modern period to include new forms, such as public drama, the heroic poem or epic romance, the captivity narrative, the news pamphlet, and a series of humanist laments, letters, ethnographic studies, and occasional poems. This variety proliferated in Latin as well as in the European vernaculars and continued to flourish among learned and popular audiences. In what follows I highlight some examples from the genres of the history and the heroic poem that show the interrelated operation of cultural memory, translation, and adaptation in producing a sense of the medieval crusading past that could speak to a confessionally divided world.

The Siege in History: Assimilating the Past

Some crusading literature emphasises the spatial and geopolitical aspects of memory. The siege of a city provides a way to represent larger aspects of historical change emblematically: the destruction or preservation of the city creates a memorial site that often is overlaid with suggestive parallels, such as the integrity of the human body. Given the frequent defensive position of Christian forces in the early modern period, sieges can signify the need to maintain the purity of the body, the realm, or the faith against outside threats while also highlighting resilience through walls and other fortifications.

One such text is Guillaume Caoursin's Latin history *Obsidionis Rhodie urbis descriptio* (*Description of the Siege of the City of Rhodes*), published shortly after the failed Ottoman assault on Rhodes in 1480. Caoursin was the vice-chancellor of the Order of Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, a crusading order of Catholic warrior monks that originated in the early twelfth century. Caoursin was an eyewitness to the siege, and his history became a best-selling work, with seven additional editions printed before 1500 and translations into English, Italian, Danish, and German.[11] Additionally, the *Descriptio* often was sold alongside printed indulgences that financed the Order's continued defence of Rhodes. In terms of its genre, it is notable that Caoursin's history is about a recent event, making it comparable to the news pamphlets that circulated throughout Renaissance Europe through the new medium of print and that appealed to a broader interest in Turkish advances.

The *Descriptio*'s popularity can be attributed to its positive presentation of the Knights, known as Hospitallers, in maintaining their resolve against the Ottomans, who attack Christianity through treachery, enticement, and numerically superior forces. Even as it presents an 'instant history', however, Caoursin's text relies upon medieval crusading concepts, including divine intervention in battle and the notion that slain warriors are martyrs, to frame the siege as part of a longer crusading conflict. In this manner the *Descriptio* refashions the Greek island and city of Rhodes into a Latin, European memorial site that substitutes for two lost cities, Jerusalem and Constantinople, locating the heart of Christendom in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The *Descriptio* emphasises the physical and symbolic threats to the city from its opening. On the one hand, the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II is said to be a tyrant who 'resolved to ruin the city and to annihilate thoroughly its very name', while on the other hand, he is surrounded by 'many apostates' who seek to betray the island for personal gain.[12] In other words, the Turkish attack directly menaces the city's and the Knights' identity and memory through its potential erasure, but it also raises the indirect danger of betrayal by former Christians and the collapse of Christian integrity. Caoursin's narrative works to contain both threats. His text stresses the unity of the besieged; at the same time, Ottoman attempts to subvert the city via renegade Christians are rejected in the extended account of George, a former Christian and gun engineer, who pretends to return to the faith to gain admittance to Rhodes. George's trickery is discovered and he is publicly executed, with everyone 'rejoicing at the death of this traitor to the Christian religion'.[13] By dwelling on George's deception, Caoursin's text raises the spectre of the infection of the Christian 'body' of the faithful

by Islam, but his exposure and execution reaffirm the commitment of all Rhodians, Hospitallers as well as Greek citizens, to Christianity.

Such a commitment to Christian unity echoes throughout the *Descriptio*. As the siege continues, Caoursin's text emphasises the devotion of the native Greek inhabitants to the Hospitallers and to the 'true faith'.[14] This assertion is noteworthy given the common Latin disparagement of Greek Christians since the First Crusade as treacherous and schismatic. Even more startling is the subsequent declaration of the Knights' messenger to the Turks that 'there is no distinction between Latins and Greeks'.[15] In this manner the *Descriptio* makes a wide claim to Christian unity by presenting the Greek inhabitants as loyal Christians (i.e. Catholics) who have learned to fight effectively against the Ottomans because of the Hospitallers. These Greeks are further differentiated from racial stereotypes of Eastern peoples when the same messenger informs the Turks that they 'contend not with Asiatics and effeminate men' but with 'the bravest of Catholic men'.[16]

Just as Caoursin's history works to render Rhodes a pure 'body' that repulses the Ottoman attack, so too does the text seek to transform Rhodes into a memorial crusading site that represents the lost cities of Constantinople and Jerusalem while also calling for continued European support. The opening of Caoursin's history links the siege of Rhodes to the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, which is described as the inciting event for further Turkish attacks, while references to the Hospitallers throughout repeatedly stress that they are the Knights of *Jerusalem*. By portraying Rhodes as the 'refuge and protection of Christians', and by concluding that such a 'powerful enemy' who had subjugated Constantinople could not conquer 'this principate of Jerusalem', referring to Rhodes, the *Descriptio* fashions a commemorative image connected to those more prominent religious cities and incorporates Rhodes into the crusading struggle to regain them.[17] Similarly, references to the defenders as fighting 'with the true faith of martyrs' and the account of a 'miraculous vision' of a golden cross, a maiden with a shield and spear, and a man in peasant apparel in the sky (presumably Mary and John the Baptist) recall parallel instances in medieval crusading narratives and serve to reinforce Caoursin's ending declaration that 'it must be admitted that this victory came down from heaven'.[18] A highly successful piece of propaganda, the *Descriptio* invokes crusading memories to recast the Greek Mediterranean and Rhodes in particular as the uncorrupted Christian body that can resist the Ottoman threat through unity. No longer the site where the famous Colossus once stood in pagan times (a feature referenced only once by Caoursin), the island now functions as a sanctified Christian domain where miracles and devotion maintain the faith.[19]

Still, the rapid dissemination of Caoursin's Latin history is just one aspect of this form of memorialising crusading literature. When the *Descriptio* was translated into various vernaculars, it not only reached a wider audience but also was adapted by the different translators, who received the events through expectations shaped by common crusading narrative patterns. The translation of Caoursin's text illustrates a wider trend in the reception of Renaissance crusading literature that continued up to and after the Reformation, in which new events were filtered through long-standing medieval notions, such as sinfulness as the cause for Christian defeat and crusading as the rightful recovery of lost Christian possessions. Translation, in this sense, is more than a copy of the original, authoritative 'source', nor is it following the model of *translatio imperii et studii* (translation of power and knowledge) that appropriates the cultural prestige of the classics for vernacular writers. Instead, translation here is an act of assimilation, transforming a border zone like Rhodes into something that affects all Christendom through a selective memory of the past.

For example, John Kay, in his 1482–3 English translation of the *Descriptio* as *The Siege of Rhodes*, drew upon other sources describing the event and inserted his own commentary, altering the nature of the conflict by emphasising the Turks' hostility to Christianity and citing religious devotion as the cause of victory.[20] Despite its dedication to Edward IV, Kay's translation is not simply an Anglicisation of Caoursin to suit his audience. Rather, it attributes the Turks' conquests to 'the synnes of the crysten people' and urges not just financial support for the Hospitallers but that 'all crysten prynces' act 'to recover the partyes crysten' that have been lost.[21] In *The Siege of Rhodes*, the sultan is moved to attack the island because of his ongoing 'purpos … to persecute and outerly undoo the crysten fayth'.[22] Moreover, Kay draws upon other conventional features of crusading literature when he embellishes the miraculous vision, adding that many of the terrified Turks 'afterward … forsoke theire fals beleve: and were crystened withinne the cytee of Rhodes'.[23] This fantasy of mass conversion after a miraculous victory shows how crusading narrative features could alter the reception of actual historical events. While Caoursin's and Kay's shorter works are focused on one recent event, even long, wide-ranging histories of the Turks or of crusading, such as Johannes Herold's *De bello sacro* (*On the Holy War*) (1549), generally operate in a similar manner by positioning current religious conflicts as a continuation of the past. On the whole, early modern crusading histories are useful resources for investigating authors' attempts to explain their present times and to call for military action through political and religious sites, sieges, and the body.

The Heroic Poem: Conversion and the Fallen Warrior

The Renaissance genre of the heroic poem, also known as the epic romance, included a variety of writing that blended classical forms with the appeal of the medieval chivalric romance to model martial behaviour. Its subject matter ranged from recent events to a heavily fictionalised past. It is no surprise, then, that several of the period's major examples employ crusading themes and topics. Among recent events, the Holy League's crusading victory over the Ottomans at Lepanto was a popular subject, prompting rapid poetic responses in Latin, Italian, Spanish, and other languages. Even James VI of Scotland (later James I of England) wrote a short work called *Lepanto* (1585), which caused the Protestant king some consternation for appearing to praise a Catholic victory, but which nonetheless presented the conflict as a Christian triumph over the infidel. By comparison, the widely influential *Orlando Furioso* (*The Madness of Orlando*) (1516/1532) by Ludovico Ariosto continued the medieval tradition of transforming the Frankish emperor Charlemagne anachronistically into a crusader against Islam. Ariosto's work, despite its teasing irony, employs the imagined wars of Charlemagne's knights to criticise contemporary strife among Christians that should be directed against enemies of the faith, urging the invaders of Italy to attack the Turks and recover Jerusalem instead. While many Renaissance authors of heroic poetry undoubtedly sought literary celebrity, the frequent celebration of crusading conflicts indicates religious warfare's importance as a conceptual structure for memorialising recent successes or for using an idealised past to assess the present.

Two contrasting examples are the Afro-Hispanic poet Juan Latino's *Austrias Carmen* (*The Song of John of Austria*) (1573), which also commemorates the victory at Lepanto, and the Italian poet Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* (*The Liberation of Jerusalem*) (1581), which fictionalises the capture of Jerusalem during the First Crusade. Latino was a black African former slave in Granada who became a professor of Latin grammar. The astonishing story of this neo-Latin humanist overlaps with ongoing persecution of the *Moriscos* by the Spanish crown. By writing his heroic poem in praise of the Habsburg Don John of Austria, Philip II of Spain's illegitimate half-brother and commander of the Christian forces, Latino glorifies the Spanish empire while at the same time affirming his Christian identity against the perceived threat of Muslim North Africans and *Moriscos*. Whereas Latino's Latin text had limited circulation, Tasso's Italian poem quickly became famous, with partial or full translations into French and English, including one by Edward Fairfax as *Godfrey of Bulloigne* in 1600. Fairfax's translation, dedicated to Elizabeth I, parallels

Kay's earlier approach to Caoursin. That is, whereas some have argued that Fairfax's language is 'domesticating' the poem for 'national' purposes, on the level of content the translation points to a process of adaptation that preserves and expands Tasso's attempts to bridge the confessional divide in Christendom, as when it changes Tasso's appeal to his patron to crusade against the Turks to a general call for 'Christian Princes … To win faire Greece out of the tyrants hands' and 'from realmes and seas the Turkes forth driue'.[24] In other words, Fairfax's Godfrey shows Tasso's poem not being received as an anti-Protestant work of the Catholic counter-Reformation, but as one reliant upon medieval narrative traditions.

Additionally, both Latino's and Tasso's heroic poems portray certain Muslim characters sympathetically or admiringly. Such portrayals, though certainly part of these works' complexity, did not mean that Renaissance audiences became more accepting of religious difference, since many medieval texts depicted noble Muslims either to make their defeat more impressive or to hint at their imminent conversion. In this respect Latino's memorialising of Ali Pasha, the slain historical Turkish commander, as noble and potentially convertible serves to exalt the Spanish empire without seriously questioning its essentialising racial attitude towards converts. By comparison, in Fairfax's version, Tasso's fictional account of the historical Danish prince Sweno's miraculous tomb encourages broader Christian unity by a return to the (imagined) politics of the First Crusade.

Latino's *Austrias Carmen*, composed for the anniversary of Lepanto, already participates in a memorialising tradition, but the poem's opening extends this idea by linking the violent suppression of Granada's 1568–70 *Morisco* rebellion to the subsequent naval battle. In this way the poem suggests that God favours the Spanish in their defeat of the 'hateful sect' of the Turks because they stamped out the *Morisco* uprising – people whom Latino describes as 'a notorious race of evil heretics' even though they are nominally Christian.[25] Granted, this extreme view on all *Moriscos* may derive from Latino's need to distinguish himself from other converts and from his concerns about censorship; perhaps even more significant is the poem's invocation to Pedro de Deza (1520–1600), a high-ranking crown official and inquisitor in Granada who implemented the king's policy to eliminate Muslim culture, and who elsewhere is credited with commissioning the poem. The link between Granada and Lepanto calls attention to Latino's ambiguous role as a black poet in Iberia praising Spanish empire; it also underscores how the poem's racialising treatment of *Moriscos*, who had all been baptised, marks them as essentially non-Christian, thereby denying baptism's efficacy. This aspect of the *Austrias Carmen* rests uneasily with its otherwise traditional presentation of crusading practices, including penance

and martyrdom, and with its praise for the hypothetical conversion of Ali Pasha, showing how Renaissance crusading literature reflected and occasionally questioned such developments.

Despite its fervid anti-*Morisco* and pro-Spanish rhetoric, Latino's poem contains some hints of a more complex racial and religious understanding in its treatment of Ali Pasha, the Turkish commander killed during the battle. Throughout the poem Latino stresses the leader's nobility and generosity while lamenting his fate and the suffering of his two captured sons. Ali Pasha is described as 'an outstanding example of strength' and a 'consummate warrior' who suffers extensive doubts before the battle; he fights bravely, and the text stresses how he 'had treated Spanish captives kindly … often mercifully relieving the hunger of suffering prisoners'.[26] Such descriptions are far from the 'betrayal' and the 'age-old conspiracy to destroy the pious' that characterise the baptised *Moriscos*.[27] Thus, when the poem asserts that 'if by chance [Ali Pasha] had been captured while fighting, he would have imbibed the Christian faith because of his wondrous virtue', it appears to allow for an appreciation of merit across religious divides.[28] However, this portrayal owes more to the medieval crusading trope of the convertible Muslim warrior than to any genuine appreciation for the Turks. Because Ali Pasha's conversion remains hypothetical and because his prowess serves to glorify the Spanish victory, the *Austrias Carmen*, despite its composition by an author who represents the mixed nature of Iberian culture, remains a polarising crusading text that cannot escape the Spanish monarchy's severe policies.

In contrast to the *Austrias Carmen*'s memorialisation of a recent event, Tasso took the distant past – the eleventh-century First Crusade – as the subject for his heroic poem. His preference for such subject matter relates to his concept of the heroic poem's purpose: 'since the poet's great concern should be with improving men, he will kindle the souls of our knights much more with the example of the faithful than with that of infidels'.[29] The fame of the *Gerusalemme liberata* and its translation by Fairfax surely derive in part from the author's obsessive talent, but one should not discount the appeal of the poem to move 'our knights' to action. Tasso inserts powerful memorial images into the story of a major Christian conquest that succeeded through cooperation to encourage the imitation of the past in his present against the Turks.

As the first canto unfolds, the emulative use of crusading memory linking Godfrey of Bouillon to contemporary Christian leaders – they must fight the Turks just '[a]s *Godfrey* chased them from Iudais lands' – broadens to include many major leaders on the First Crusade, both real and invented, in order to make a larger ideological point about Christian unity.[30] That is, after God and the crusaders choose Godfrey to be their commander, the

narrator invokes the 'minde, times enimie, obliuions foe, / Disposer true of each note-worthie thing' to record the 'famous' deeds of the leaders.[31] By enumerating the leaders and forces, Tasso is not simply replicating the classical epic's catalogue of armies; instead, the inclusion of French, Norman, English, German, Italian, Swiss, Norwegian, and Greek warriors provides a model of Christian cooperation for a confessionally divided Europe. Thus, in Tasso's poem crusading memory preserves the past so as to reject war between Protestants and Catholics as a misunderstanding of what true devotion entails – namely, the recapture of holy sites, the freeing of subjugated Christians, and the potential conversion of the infidel.

This use of memory to recall and create unity can also be found in a less discussed episode involving a miraculous tomb. In canto eight Sweno, the prince of Denmark, is ambushed by Arab forces. This scene generates potent memorial images when Sweno first likens the battlefield to a holy site and then, after his death, when a tomb miraculously appears around his corpse to motivate later generations; in this manner Tasso reflexively comments on the ability of crusading literature to influence the present. As Sweno addresses his outnumbered troops, he uses the language of worship and memory to reassure them, commenting that the site of the battle will be a 'temple, sacred to our memorie, / To which the holy men of future age, / To vew our graves shall come in pilgrimage', leading to the 'crowne … Of martyrdome, or happie victorie' for the soldiers.[32] This somewhat figurative language of a holy temple of memory becomes actualised when a 'stately tombe' miraculously arises around Sweno's body, inscribed with his name and deeds.[33] This tomb, the poem asserts, will inspire 'future ages' who, learning how Sweno, 'for Christes sake he came his blood to spill', will 'admire his deed, / And courage take when his braue end they reed'.[34] Through Tasso's language Renaissance readers encounter what is a textually constructed, not physical, tomb, which along with Sweno's deeds functions as a memorial image that leads them to true crusading devotion.

Sweno's fate therefore encompasses multiple aspects of crusading memory in a way that connects it to other parts of the *Gerusalemme liberata*, as crusaders again are shown to earn salvation through combat via miraculous signs while future generations are asked to remember their deeds and imitate them. Furthermore, because Denmark, like England, was a Protestant power by the time Tasso composed his poem, there may be an additional ideological use of crusading memory here that parallels the first canto's catalogue. That is, Tasso's addition of this glorious death and tomb for the historical Danish crusader may attempt to remind Denmark of its proper role in supporting Christian combat against religious opponents. Since canto eight next describes a rebellion in the crusader camp by the Italians,

English, and Swiss – the last two also Protestant realms in Tasso's time – that is subdued by Godfrey's divine authority, resulting in the condemnation of only the man who 'kindled this debate' and offering forgiveness to the others, it seems feasible that Tasso is invoking crusading memory to redirect confessional strife.[35]

The *Gerusalemme liberata* and Fairfax's *Godfrey* deserve more extensive study than is possible here, for both employ memorial images to do more than reflect crusade history or doctrine. Through the choice and presentation of subject matter, the poem responds to a Europe on the defensive against the Ottomans with the memory of the First Crusade. Although shorter works by James VI and Latino celebrating Lepanto and longer ones by Ariosto and Tasso glorifying the medieval crusading past are not the only examples of Renaissance heroic poetry, many show the effects of crusading narratives on their form and content. The early modern heroic poem, whether in Latin or the vernacular, can provide insight into the period's mentality on religious warfare, especially through its focus on convertible bodies and inspirational tombs.

Conclusion

Renaissance crusading may appear to be a contradictory term, but that reaction is more a result of our own interest in a certain periodising progression than of the time itself. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries crusading practices and literature continued to exist and flourish, albeit with the same kind of adaptations and transformations that had occurred in the later Middle Ages. The breadth of the period's investments in religious warfare can be deeply troubling, but it also can serve as a caution against too great an emphasis on the 'modern' over the traditional when describing historical attitudes. By continuing to expand our study of Renaissance religious relations, as many scholars already have done, beyond the drama of the English stage, we will better grasp how cultural memory and translation impacted how people received the intersecting genres of crusading literature.

NOTES

1 François de la Noue, *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, Basel, François Forest, 1587, 375.

2 Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*, London, Adam Islip, 1603, sig. A4^{v}. On Knolles's historiography and the frequent citation of this conventional phrase, see Anders Ingram, *Writing the Ottomans: Turkish History in Early Modern England*, New York, Palgrave, 2015, 3 and 76–9.

3 Citation from Olivia Remie Constable (ed.), *Medieval Iberia: Readings from Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, 2nd edition, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012, 501.
4 *Ibid.*, 510.
5 Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992, 297–304 and 309–12, and David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society & Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2003, 2–9.
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7 John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714*, New York, Routledge, 2005, 286–98.
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10 Lee Manion, '"Perpetuel Memorye": Remembering History in the Crusading Romance', in Megan Cassidy-Welch (ed.), *Remembering the Crusades and Crusading*, New York, Routledge, 2016, 114–28, 116–18.
11 Theresa M. Vann and Donald J. Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety and Crusader Propaganda: Guillaume Caoursin's Description of the Ottoman Siege of Rhodes, 1480*, Burlington, VT, Ashgate, 2015, ix and 65–73.
12 Vann and Kagay, *Hospitaller Piety*, 89, 93.
13 *Ibid.*, 129.
14 *Ibid.*, 131.
15 *Ibid.*
16 *Ibid.*, 133.
17 *Ibid.*, 119, 143.
18 *Ibid.*, 119, 141, 143.
19 *Ibid.*, 104–5.
20 *Ibid.*, 177–80.
21 *Ibid.*, 181.
22 *Ibid.*, 182.
23 *Ibid.*, 203.
24 Guilia Totò, 'Fairfax's *Godfrey* and the Building of National Literary Identity', *The Italianist*, 28 (2008), 5–23, 8, 12. Citations of the poem from Kathleen M. Lea and T. M. Gang (eds.), *Godfrey of Bulloigne: A Critical Edition of Edward Fairfax's Translation of Tasso's* Gerusalemme Liberata*, together with Fairfax's Original Poems*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1981, 1.5.1–2, 5.
25 Elizabeth Wright, Sarah Spence, and Andrew Lemmons (eds. and trans.), *The Battle of Lepanto*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2014, 309, 293.
26 *Ibid.*, 301, 393.
27 *Ibid.*, 289.
28 *Ibid.*, 365.
29 Torquato Tasso, *Discourses on the Heroic Poem*, trans. Mariella Cavalchini and Irene Samuel, Oxford, Clarendon, 1973, 39.
30 Lea and Gang (eds.), *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, 1.5.6.

31 *Ibid.*, 1.36.1–2, 5.
32 *Ibid.*, 8.15.1–2, 6–8.
33 *Ibid.*, 8.39.2.
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16

LOUISE D'ARCENS

The Crusades and Medievalism

In Ridley Scott's 2005 film *Kingdom of Heaven*, which dramatises events leading up to the Christian surrender of Jerusalem in 1187, the crusader Balian of Ibelin (Orlando Bloom) delivers a speech to the city's occupying Christians, under siege from Saladin's Saracen forces. Rallying his ranks to defend the city, he declares:

> None of us took this city from the Muslims. No Muslim coming before us was born when this city was taken. We fight over an offence we did not give, against those who are not alive to be offended ... your holy places lie over Jewish temples pulled down by the Romans; Muslim ones lie over yours. Which is most holy? Who has claim? No one has claim! All have claim!

As calls to arms go, this is a curious one. Rather than invoking Christendom's divine mandate to occupy Jerusalem, Balian instead sketches the city's volatile history as a holy site for the three main Abrahamic faiths. The interfaith pluralism of this speech seems at odds with spurring a defence of the city, and epitomised what critics regarded as the film's anachronistic liberalism.[1] But for anyone wishing to study how the crusades in Palestine have been depicted in literature and cinema from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first, Balian's words offer a rich entry point, capturing perfectly how these medieval conflicts, as a shared heritage for both East and West, have generated a modern afterlife that is dense with cultural, ideological, and geopolitical interests. As this chapter will show, this afterlife does not follow a linear trajectory, with dominant interpretations serially supplanting one another, but is instead a crowded terrain in which the crusades have been made to resonate with multiple overlapping or even competing agendas, including nationalist, imperialist, and racial ideologies, post- or anti-colonialism, and pan-Arabism. Indeed, when it comes to modern portrayals of the crusades, it appears that 'all have claim'.

Balian's speech is also reflective of the modern uptake of the crusades in that its invocation of historical conflicts is somewhat unstable, defying

neat categorisation. Does he see the past – in this case the 1099 Christian capture of Jerusalem, and the city's complex history of occupation — as remote and irrelevant, or does it continue to shape present concerns and experiences? Just as Balian confusingly appears both to invoke and disavow the past as a historical precedent and as a cause for current conflict, so too authors and film-makers since the nineteenth century have resorted variously, sometimes even within the same texts, to portraying the crusades as origin, prelude, precedent, allegory, and parallel to modern affairs. This is further complicated by the diversity of attitudes toward the crusades in the modern texts, which range from condemnatory and cautionary to celebratory – again, sometimes within the space of a single text. The afterlife of these conflicts is itself conflicted and undecided about their meaning for the modern world.

If modern portrayals of the crusades are considered under the larger category of medievalism, defined succinctly here as the postmedieval reception, interpretation, and recreation of the medieval past, they are not unusual either in their instability or their ambivalence. Rather, these qualities are symptomatic of the perception of the Middle Ages in the modern imaginary, which is founded on a number of key contradictions. From a temporal perspective, the medieval period is regarded paradoxically as both the crucible of the modern West yet also the superseded Other of democratic, secular, and scientific modernity. This contradiction is further intensified by a cultural-geographical perspective wherein the medieval period is imagined, as John M. Ganim has argued, to be both 'the point of origin of [Western] national identities' and yet 'the result of foreign incursion, of alien influence'.[2] This perception of foreignness, Ganim argues, is attributable to a pervasive 'twinned association' of the medieval with the Oriental, in which 'geography [is] transmuted into history':[3] the primitive vitality that the Middle Ages and the Middle East have long been deemed to share has, in the Western imaginary, rendered the medieval Oriental and the Oriental medieval.

Edward Said has described Orientalism, whereby Eastern and Islamic cultures are 'known' through the prism of Western values, as 'a *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical and philological texts' but also a political project, underpinned by the objective of 'dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'.[4] Parallel arguments can, and have, been made about how modern cultures interpret the Middle Ages through the prism of their own present concerns; but the dimension of nostalgia within much medievalism mitigates it, simply repudiating or colonising the medieval past. The twinning of the medieval and the oriental is a highly variable phenomenon: it has been

figured in negative terms as an anarchic barbarity common to both milieus, as seen in the frequent descriptions of twenty-first-century militant Islamists as 'medieval', but has also been romanticised as a kind of opulent *élan*, as epitomised by the rich medieval-oriental textiles created by William Morris (1834–96). Taking this into account, it is not surprising that modern authors and film-makers have been attracted to the crusades as a charged historical 'moment' where the Middle Ages and the Middle East converge, or that their depictions crystallise the tensions and uncertainties, as well as the fascination, the modern West harbours toward the oriental and the medieval. Indeed, it might be said that their intertwining of the Eastern and the premodern makes the modern literature and cinema of the crusades a quintessential site of medievalism.

The phenomenon of crusades fiction and film is best understood as recursive – that is, as returning to, reorienting, and even challenging a set of core preoccupations. This takes place against a geopolitical backdrop of oscillating hostilities and détentes between Britain, European nations, and Eastern powers from the late Ottoman Empire through to the Islamist coalitions of the twenty-first century. These include Napoleon's campaigns in the Eastern Mediterranean; the Crimean war; the Anglo-Afghan wars of the British colonial 'Great Game'; the Dardenelles campaign of the First World War; the 1956 Suez Crisis; the Arab-Israeli wars of the 1960s (and, more obliquely, the Vietnam War); the Afghan Wars of the 1980s; the Persian Gulf wars of the early 1990s; and the ongoing post-9/11 'War on Terror'.[5] To better convey this recursiveness, this chapter does not follow a strict chronology. Nevertheless, it makes sense to begin by discussing Walter Scott's *Tales of the Crusaders*, in particular his highly influential crusader romance *The Talisman* (1825). Scott was not the only, or indeed the first, early nineteenth-century writer to create crusades literature; the Napoleonic wars had already generated a body of heroic verse in English and French.[6] But he is a towering figure in this tradition because his widely read and translated Third Crusade novel established abiding narrative forms, literary tropes, and cultural concerns, and introduced some key ideological confusions and tensions that reverberate across the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries in both Western and Eastern contexts.

Because so many of its key motifs recur in subsequent depictions, its plot is worth relaying briefly but in full. During the Third Crusade (1189–92) Sir Kenneth, an impoverished Scottish knight, arrives in Palestine to find himself, after a dramatic encounter with a Saracen emir, navigating not just the intercultural tensions between the crusading forces and the Saracens, but the internecine tensions of the crusader camp – a fractured confederation led by an ailing Richard Coeur de Lion, who is portrayed as manly and

chivalrous but also mercurial and irascible. When Kenneth fails to guard the English banner (having been sabotaged by Richard's rival, Conrade of Montserrat), Richard condemns him to death. He is taken in, however, by the emir, who, disguised as the healer el Hakim, has cured Richard of his fever. A series of ensuing complications – a slave disguise, an assassination attempt, a dog exposing a crime, and the emir/Hakim being revealed to be the revered Saracen leader Saladin – culminate in a trial-by-combat between Kenneth and Conrade. Kenneth emerges victorious, is revealed to be Prince David of Scotland in disguise, and is granted the hand of his clandestine love, the king's sister Edith Plantagenet, complete with a wedding gift from Saladin – the healing talisman of the book's title. The novel ends by alluding briefly to Richard's subsequent (mis)fortunes, thereby situating the story's events within recorded history.

Scott was well-read in medieval sources and in the available crusades historiography. But, like most creators of medievalist texts, he was more interested in creating an oriental Middle Ages that was serviceable for his own time. By setting *The Talisman*'s action during a Christian-Saracen truce, Scott is able to foreground European and especially British national affairs, a theme which also dominates its companion *The Betrothed* (1825), set a decade earlier in the Welsh Marches, and *Ivanhoe* (1819), set in England in 1194, the time of King Richard's return. This interest in nation is not, however, the uncomplicated celebratory nationalism found in accounts such as Joseph François Michaud's Francocentric *Histoire des Croisades* (1811–40), where the crusades are a heroic chapter epitomising the abiding valour of the French character. Rather, *The Talisman* is a more agonised portrayal of the regrettable disunity that re-emerges on crusade between the equally proud English and Scots when the truce deprives them of their common Saracen foe. In a conclusion typical of what Georg Lukács has described as Scott's dialectical historical vision, in which two opposing forces are integrated into a third entity,[7] the tension between 'the two nations whom one island bred'[8] is resolved when Sir Kenneth weds Edith Plantagenet. Setting the novel during the crusade presided over by King Richard allows Scott to use twelfth-century Outremer as both precursor and historical allegory for the modern union of Scotland and England. The closing nuptials between Kenneth and Edith allegorise what Robert Crawford has called Scott's dream of a Britishness that 'makes full room for Scotland'.[9] David Simpson is nevertheless right to claim that Scott offers 'no … account of how we got from then to the now of the nineteenth century'; again, the crusades function as a compelling but indistinct historical precursor.[10] But that the novel is intended at least partly as a latter-day 'Matter of Britain' romance is signalled by Scott's inclusion of a framing discussion of the

fourteenth-century *Richard Coer de Lyon*, a Middle English verse romance about Richard's exploits on crusade which had clearly informed some of the key episodes in the novel.[11]

The linking of the crusades to the fortunes of British rule continues, unsurprisingly, in the patriotic war poetry produced across the territorial and colonial wars of the nineteenth century and up to the Gallipoli disaster of the Great War. Medievalist allusions in this verse ranged from generalised references to British and colonial soldiers as crusaders and Turks as 'paynims', through to more specific (though still often conventional) allusions to Richard and the Third Crusade.[12] This nationalistic link also continues, more obliquely but just as significantly, in another flourishing crusades subgenre: the modern Robin Hood tale, especially in its cinematic form. Although the link between Robin and the reign of Richard the Lionheart predates Scott's *Ivanhoe* by more than two centuries, it is now a commonplace that Scott's portrayal powerfully shaped the modern perception of Robin as a Saxon freedom fighter and a supporter of King Richard against his usurping brother John.

Unlike *The Talisman*, with its Levantine setting, post-*Ivanhoe* Robin Hood tales, especially as rendered cinematically, are set for the most part in England but include the Third Crusade in two ways. The first way, descended from *Ivanhoe* and *The Betrothed*, registers the crusade as a remote event that nevertheless casts a long shadow across domestic governance, having deprived England of its King and exposed his subjects to the depredations of Prince John and his Norman enforcers. One of the most famous instances of this is the 1938 film *The Adventures of Robin Hood*, in which the outlaw, played by an iconic Errol Flynn, upholds justice in the realm until Richard's return. The second way makes Robin himself a crusader in the ranks of King Richard, so that his devotion to justice at home corresponds to his defence of Christendom abroad. An instance of this is the 1922 film *Robin Hood* starring Douglas Fairbanks, a film which implies that the crusades are a precedent for the recently concluded Great War but is ambiguous as to whether that precedent is exemplary or cautionary. In films such as Richard Lester's *Robin and Marian* (1976), Kevin Reynolds' *Robin Hood: Prince of Thieves* (1991), and Ridley Scott's *Robin Hood* (2010), it is not Robin's soldiering but his return from crusade that is dramatised, which then frames his freedom-fighting at home. This is significant since these films are made respectively in the immediate wake of the Vietnam War, the Persian Gulf wars, and the 'War on Terror', all of which have prompted debates around the struggles of war veterans and the morality of the West's involvement in the politics of the Eastern world.[13] As a commentary on the Western coalition's then-recent combat in the Gulf War (1990–91), *Prince of Thieves*

is the least searching of the three. Opening with an action-adventure scene where its American-accented Robin escapes a Saracen prison and saves the life of the Moor Azeem – a thinly veiled allegory for the US's self-proclaimed liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi aggression – the film celebrates liberty and compassion as Western qualities while reproducing received notions of 'bad' oriental cruelty (the Saracen captors' brutality) and 'good' oriental customs of servitude (Azeem places himself in Robin's debt out of gratitude for his life). The American exceptionalism expressed in this framing scene is a Hollywood extension of the British nationalist concerns that had informed earlier versions of the tale. In Ridley Scott's *Robin Hood*, by contrast, the returned crusader Robin denounces the very concept of holy warfare (of the twelfth century but also, allegorically, of the twenty-first), saying that the Christian forces' quest for dominance in God's name has left them 'godless'. When Robin admits that he is haunted by the memory of a Muslim woman at Acre gazing at him pityingly as the crusaders massacred her people, the viewer recognises the film's humanisation of the Islamic world and its accusation against the West.

It is tempting to see the film's sympathetic portrayal of Muslim civilians as a recent phenomenon; as a reflection of the last few decades' policies of multicultural tolerance, or alternatively as an intervention into an accelerating climate of Islamophobia, or even as an indictment of the war crimes going unreported by the Western media. But in fact depictions of the crusades have long offered positive valuations of Islamic culture, even within texts that are otherwise engaged with British and European nationhood. Portrayals of the Saracens in which they are honourable, rational purveyors of interfaith tolerance, and skilled healers, corresponded in the nineteenth century to a wider Romantic orientalist mode of representation in which, Ivan Davidson Kalmar argues, 'fascination and often admiration were the characteristic tone'.[14] Kalmar claims that while this 'positive' Orientalism was not free of Western assumptions about race and culture, '[this] racism is often inextricably mixed with elements that contain its negation' and 'might challenge its own underlying opposition between Occident and Orient'.[15]

This uneasy wrangle between ethnocentric and exoticising impulses is perfectly captured in the description of the Saracens early in *The Talisman*:

> in contending with the Western Christians, animated by a zeal as fiery as their own, and possessed of as unconquerable courage, address, and success in arms, the Saracens gradually caught a part of their manners, and especially of those chivalrous observances which were so well calculated to charm the minds of a proud and conquering people. They had their tournaments and games of chivalry; they had even their knights, or some rank analogous; and above all, the Saracens observed their plighted faith with an accuracy which

might sometimes put to shame those who owned a better religion. Their truces, whether national or betwixt individuals, were faithfully observed.[16]

Although the Saracens' progress from 'fanatical savages who had burst from the centre of Arabian deserts, with the sabre in one hand and the Koran in the other'[17] is attributed to their contact with Europeans, as the story unfolds we see that they exceed the squabbling crusaders in the observance of such chivalric virtues as loyalty, mercy, and piety. The image of the civilised and noble Saracen is a leitmotif that recurs throughout Anglophone and European crusade texts from the 1805 French novel *Mathilde* by Sophie Ristaud Cottin, in which Saladin's brother Malek Adel falls in love with Richard the Lionheart's sister Matilda.[18] It is still evident in *Kingdom of Heaven*, in which Saladin's chancellor Imād ad-Din frees the film's crusader protagonist Balian in repayment for Balian earlier sparing his life. The fact that the scene where Balian forms a bond of respect with Imād-ad-Din (then disguised as 'Nasir') is closely based on the opening scene of *The Talisman* where Sir Kenneth forms a similar bond with the sultan Saladin (then disguised as 'Sheerkohf, the Lion of the Mountain') again underlines that what many have interpreted as the recent film's response to 'War on Terror'-era Islamophobia has in fact been long endemic to a strain of crusades representation.[19]

Because of the enduring preoccupation with the Third Crusade in so much Western and especially Anglophone crusader literature and film, the prevailing romantic Orientalism has been concentrated into the appealing figure of Saladin, celebrated in the West as the 'chivalrous Saracen' since the thirteenth century.[20] With the exception of a few Western texts such as *Kingdom of Heaven*, which feature such pre-Third Crusade exploits as the battle of Hattin and the Muslim recapture of Jerusalem, he is generally placed into a homologous dyad with Richard I based on their mutual recognition and admiration for one another. Although the two men are not believed to have met in life, warm diplomatic encounters between them are a mainstay of the Western orientalist imagination, and are regularly staged in literary and cinematic recreations, including in *The Talisman* and such films as *Richard the Lion-Hearted* of 1923 (which is heavily indebted to Scott's tale) and Cecil B. de Mille's 1935 film *The Crusades*. The two even band together as co-conspirators in the bawdy Frankie Howerd comedy *Up the Chastity Belt* (1972; called *Naughty Knights* in the USA), where Richard, fleeing to Palestine to avoid domestic boredom, attends orgies in Saladin's harem.

Although they are presented as counterparts, it has not been uncommon for Saladin to be presented as morally, culturally, and militarily superior to Richard and his European allies, whose self-interest and disloyalty have

eroded the crusader cause. In *The Talisman*, Saladin, far from taking advantage of his adversary's lingering illness, instead, in disguise, cures the English king. And later, when Richard has summarily banished Sir Kenneth from the crusader camp for losing the English banner, Saladin shows the Scottish knight clemency by taking him into the Saracen camp, later sending him back to Richard in disguise to restore Kenneth's honour. In de Mille's *The Crusades*, Saladin is not only a distinguished figure compared to the bluff and cranky Richard, but is chivalrous to Queen Berengaria when she is his hostage and respectful to Richard, returning Berengaria when he witnesses her love for her husband. In *Kingdom of Heaven* Saladin (Ghassan Massoud) is matched with Balian rather than with Richard, who is only just setting out on crusade in the film's final scene; but the parallel is familiar. Saladin's generosity toward the thwarted Christians of Jerusalem and his respect for Christianity – he guarantees safe passage for all Christians when Jerusalem is surrendered to him, and restores an up-ended crucifix to its rightful position – contrasts starkly with the infamous pillaging of a Muslim caravan by Raynald de Châtillon and Guy de Lusignan, whose decadence and scornful demeanour are the antithesis of Saladin's combination of simplicity and steely dignity.

This homosocial narrative of Saladin and King Richard's admiring rivalry, with Saladin as the more chivalrous of the two, is not solely a Western phenomenon, but has rich and revealing iterations in the Islamicate world, that is those societies whose cultures have been shaped predominantly by the influence of Islam. The best known of these is the Egyptian director Youssef Chahine's 1963 film *Al Nasser Salah Ad-Din* (*Saladin the Victorious*). Although its narrative arc and several episodes within its plot reveal the cross-cultural reach of 'the Talisman effect', and it is in dialogue with the Western cinematic treatment of the crusades,[21] Chahine's film is distinctive among Third Crusade depictions in crucial ways. Most conspicuously, it differs from the Anglophone-European corpus in its privileging of the Saracen perspective, re-narrating the Third Crusade in terms of its significance to Arab culture. Whereas the Western historical imaginary has been preoccupied with the crusaders' interests in the Levant, with Saracens appearing only in so far as they thwart or fulfil Western ambitions, Chahine's film emphasises the Arabs' legitimate in situ ownership of Palestine over Christendom's claim. For Saladin and his followers, 'Jerusalem has always been an Arab land' and the 1099 capture of the city has rendered the Arabs of Jerusalem 'mere refugees, driven from their lands, which they've inhabited for generations'. The film places Saladin in a broader Eastern political context, offering a corrective to the Western tendency to characterise him as exceptional among Muslims, as epitomised in Sir Kenneth's remark in *The*

Talisman, 'brave Moslem … there are few such as thou art. Such falcons fly not in flocks'.[22] Although he is revered as a leader, in Chahine's film he does not stand remote above his people; rather, his ideals and conviction are shared by them all.

The film's emphasis on the Saracens as 'Arabs' also makes it distinctive (though not unique, as will be seen) in its use of the crusades to promote an ideology of pan-Arabism, in particular the political agenda of the Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser (1956–70), in which the Arab people unite under one charismatic leader. Made in the years after the 1956 Suez Crisis, in which Nasser's newly independent Egypt was invaded by France and the United Kingdom among others, it is not difficult to recognise the parallel being drawn between contemporary events and a historical conflict in which Arabs of all faiths band together to expel the Western aggressors, with their English king and his French sidekick, Philip II. For all Saladin's and Richard's mutual admiration, it is vital for the film's political purposes that Chahine dramatises both the dissension within the crusader camp and, ultimately, the West's withdrawal from the Middle East. The pan-Arabist ideal is, importantly, an interfaith one for the Catholic-raised Chahine. This ideal is embodied in Saladin's military commander Issa who, despite being Christian and falling in love with the female crusader Louisa, proudly asserts his solidarity with his Arab brethren over 'those who use the Cross as an excuse to invade my land'. Given most depictions of the crusades map religion, geography, and racial-ethnic identity into oppositional structures (Christian/western/European vs Muslim/eastern/Arab), the introduction of this character offers a more nuanced and inclusive idea of a united people.

Saladin's Kurdish ethnicity would seem to make him an unlikely icon of Arab unity, and indeed for many centuries in the Middle East he was not considered a major figure. But as Carole Hillenbrand has pointed out, his combination of being Kurdish yet from a Turkish military elite, a leader of Arab lands and a unifier of Sunni Muslims means 'he was well placed to become a hero to many different groups in the Middle East in the modern world'.[23] Indeed, Chahine was not the first to invoke the legend of Saladin in the service of pan-Arabist aspirations. Jurji Zaydan, the Lebanese-born Egyptian writer, journalist, and architect of pan-Arabism and modern Arabic literature, dramatised some of the great sultan's victories in his 1914 historical romance *Saladin and the Assassins*. Also a Christian, Zaydan was a hugely influential figure in the pan-Arabist movement and the Nahda (the Arab cultural Renaissance), as well as being vital to the modernisation and standardisation of the Arabic language, and a promoter of Arab literature.[24] His twenty-two historical novels, which have long been translated into the languages of the Islamicate world, have only reached Anglophone audiences

as the result of a translation scheme in the twenty-first century. *Saladin and the Assassins* can be said to offer an Arab perspective due to the greater attention it gives to the turbulent events surrounding Saladin's removal of the decadent Egyptian Fatimid dynasty, which contextualise Muslim-Christian conflicts as part of a larger Arab-focused story.

The novel takes place before Saladin's famous victories over the crusaders, so the events that have been compulsively retold in the West are only fleetingly alluded to. As with so many of the texts discussed here, Zaydan's tale of an Arab Caliphate under a crumbling dynasty being reinvigorated has allegorical significance within his immediate political context – in this case the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire's accelerating quest for self-determination. The crusaders' presence is not explored in terms of a Christian mandate or rationale, but rather is symptomatic of a divided and subjugated Arab-Islamic Umma (community). Zaydan's reclamation of Saladin's story is especially significant when one considers that the consumption of Walter Scott's novels in the occupied nineteenth-century cultures of the Middle East, including wide reading of *The Talisman*,[25] exerted a vital influence on the development of the Arabic historical novel. Nickolas Haydock has queried as 'counter-intuitive' the received scholarly narrative, most visibly associated with historian Jonathan Riley-Smith, that 'nineteenth-century Western writers … had to remind Arabs of the crusades';[26] Zaydan's novel shows that even if literature like *The Talisman* sparked Arab writers' interest in novelising the crusader era, these writers did not limit themselves to the priorities established by the Western literary imagination.[27] The same is true of Zaydan's *The Battle of Poitiers* (1904), a romantic novel about the 732 clash between the armies of Charles Martel and 'Abd al-Rahman, which was more concerned with how that battle affected the spread of Islam than with its significance for European history.

It is not surprising, over eight decades later, to find another avowedly 'Arabised' version of Saladin's story in *The Book of Saladin* (1998), the second novel in the 'Islam Quintet' by the left-wing political commentator Tariq Ali. While most of the Cairo-based Zaydan's novels are devoted to Arab-Islamic history, the London-based Ali's Quintet dramatises moments of contact between the West and Islam. In *The Book of Saladin*, the Franj's occupation forms the backdrop and the motive for Saladin's rise and his centralisation of Muslim rule, and then becomes the object of his avenging might at Hattin and Jerusalem. When narrating the relative stalemate of the Third Crusade, Ali covers many of the same events as Chahine's film, but refuses the director's romanticisation of Richard as the 'exceptional infidel' and downplays any regard between Saladin and the English King. Given Ali's renown as a critic of Western imperialism and its destabilising global impact,

it is not surprising either that his account 'decolonises' Saladin from his lengthy Westernised reception or that it returns repeatedly to the colonising brutality of 'the barbarians from the West',[28] in particular their massacre of Jews and Muslims after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. As a vocal supporter of an Israeli-Palestinian one-state solution, furthermore, Ali appears keen to emphasise Saladin's sense of fellowship with Jews such as his physician Maimonides (Musa ibn Maymun) and his biographer Ibn Yakub, who narrates the novel. A compressed version of the novel's account is reprised in Ali's post-9/11 polemic *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (2002), where he concludes that 'the Crusades left a deep mark on European and Arab consciousness',[29] manifested in the West's repeated interventions in the East, so that 'Reason [is] once again usurped by military might'.[30]

Although Ali's accounts interpret the crusades through recent geopolitics, his view of the crusaders as self-interested invaders and pillagers has an established pedigree in creative representations. Around three decades before Ali's novel, the leftist Italian director Mario Monicelli made his anarchic comedies *L'Armata Brancaleone* (*Brancaleone's Army*, 1966) and *Brancaleone alle Crociate* (*Brancaleone at the Crusades*, 1970), both of which offer flaying portrayals of the medieval West's call to, and prosecution of, holy war in Palestine. Made during the Vietnam War and a period of Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as in Italy's 'Years of Lead', a decade of political violence, *Brancaleone alle Crociate* in particular satirises the capricious authority made possible when powers arrogate to themselves a moral mandate to occupy the lands of another. This ideological position is commonly credited to the popular influence of eminent Byzantine historian Steven Runciman's study *A History of the Crusades* (1951–4), with its view of the crusaders as barbarians who invaded the lands of a more advanced people. In the lineage of creative depictions, however, this attitude goes back further, at least as far as Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* and *The Talisman*, which some historians accuse of jaundicing Runciman's view with their depictions of most crusaders as either self-interested and corrupt or violent and beef-witted.[31] Further back still, before romanticising tendencies emerged, are the famously critical evaluations of Enlightenment historians such as Voltaire, Hume, and Gibbon, who condemned the holy wars as excursions in folly, brigandage, and waste. While it would be a distortion to cast their disapproval as though it were proleptically anticolonial, it nevertheless demonstrates that scrutiny of the crusaders' conduct as an occupying force long preceded not only Ali's postcolonial narrative but, indeed, the purported 'Runciman effect'.

Despite Edward Gibbon's much-quoted identification of 'savage fanaticism' as the motive for the crusades,[32] the emphasis on the politics and dynamics of occupation in many modern depictions means that religious faith, particularly Christianity, is frequently downplayed as a motive for the holy wars. This tendency is epitomised in recent iterations such as Ali's *Book of Saladin*, in which the 'Franj' (Frankish, or more generally crusader) presence in Palestine is driven by *Realpolitik*, and especially *Kingdom of Heaven*, which portrays crusaders cynically uttering 'God wills it' as they draw their swords to launch an unprovoked attack, their true motives being bloodlust and plunder. Henry Hallam remarked on this secularising tendency as early as 1818, saying '[l]ater writers, incapable of sympathising with the blind fervour of zeal, or anxious to find a pretext for its effects more congenial to the spirit of our times, have sought political reasons' for the crusades.[33] There are notable exceptions to this, including *The Crusades* (1935) by the devoutly Christian Cecil B. de Mille, which takes religious faith seriously while trying to broker a vision of interfaith compromise between Christianity and Islam. More commonly, though, religious affiliation is tied to political identity, as in the poetry of the Great War, where Christian and national sacrifice are intertwined; or it is symptomatic of ethnic identity, as in *The Talisman*, where Scott takes greater relish in describing the exotic dress and habits of the Saracens than in anatomising the terms of their faith. Even in Middle Eastern texts such as Chahine's *Saladin the Victorious* and Zaydan's *Saladin and the Assassins*, devout Islamic faith, which exposes the hypocrisy of the Christian infidel, is inextricable from a commitment to 'Arabness' as a political-ethnic identity. While the motif of the Saracens' greater adherence to their religion is also present in Western texts, here it reflects the tenacious legacy of medievalist-orientalist thought, with its collocation (whether romantic or reproving) of the Middle Ages and the Middle East with pre-rational cultures of faith.

If religious impulses are de-emphasised, individual morality nevertheless remains a strong theme. This is made possible by the characteristic romance inflection in modern crusader texts, which has had the overall effect of narrowing the compass of the stories so that the personal and interpersonal experiences of the characters are foregrounded. Intimate face-to-face encounters between both comrades and antagonists are a staple, from the exchanges between Richard and Saladin in *The Talisman* through to the stirring scene in *Kingdom of Heaven* where Balian surrenders Jerusalem to Saladin.[34] Forbidden loves receive as much or more attention than battle scenes or explorations of worship, from Sir Kevin's love for Edith Plantagenet in *The Talisman* through to Princess Sittalmulk and Saladin's

servant 'Imadin in Zaydan's novel, Louisa and 'Issa in Chahine's film, and Balian and Queen Sybilla in *Kingdom of Heaven*; Ali's *Book of Saladin* even follows a lesbian affair between Halima, a woman of Saladin's harem, and his wife Jamila. In film versions, the personal morality as an expression of politics is evident in the choice of cinematography. Paul Sturtevant discusses, for instance, how Chahine's use of montage in a massacre scene intercuts abstract images of red and white (the colours of the Egyptian and United Arab Republic flags) with extreme close-ups of victims' faces and the gloating visages of the looting crusaders,[35] while John Ganim has pointed out that notwithstanding its epic battle spectacles, *Kingdom of Heaven* still features a preponderance of interior scenes.[36] Indeed, even the grand moment where Balian surrenders Jerusalem is conducted in a combination of medium and tight close-ups. It is not surprising, then, that he ultimately withdraws to the realm of private conscience at the end, becoming another of the returned crusaders who have populated modern adaptations from Scott's *The Betrothed* through to Ingmar Bergman's iconic *The Seventh Seal* (1957) and the Robin Hood films of the last two decades. The popularity of this motif, which privileges the existential angst of the individual over the larger implications of intercultural conflict, reflects the extent to which modern audiences have preferred their crusades privatised.

Despite having occurred hundreds of years ago, then, the crusades continue to attract modern writers and film-makers because of their capacity to be 'scaled up' to offer commentary on larger geopolitical events while also 'scaling down' to offer an intimate portrait of cross-cultural enmity and friendship. They have continued to appeal as a sweeping public story of war, invasion, and religious intolerance, populated by compelling characters facing private dilemmas about personal ambition, the morality of violence, and the business of fulfilling a spiritual mandate in the temporal realm. They are far away, in time and often also in space, yet always current, continually haunting the present with their seemingly inexhaustible significance.

NOTES

1 See Charlotte Edwardes, 'Ridley Scott's new crusades film "panders to Osama bin Laden"', *Daily Telegraph*, 18 January 2004, www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/1452000/Ridley-Scotts-new-Crusades-film-panders-to-Osama-bin-Laden.html.

2 John Ganim, *Medievalism and Orientalism: Three Essays on Literature, Architecture and Cultural Identity*, Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2005, 3.

3 *Ibid.*, 3, 7.

4 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York, Vintage, 1979, 12, 3.

5 See Adam Knobler, 'Holy Wars, Empires, and the *Portability* of the Past: The Modern Uses of Medieval Crusades', *Comparative Studies in Society and*

History, 48 (2006), 293–325. Knobler focuses on political rhetoric rather than the creative depictions I focus on here. See also Bruce Holsinger, *Neomedievalism, Neoconservatism, and the War on Terror*, Chicago, IL, Prickly Paradigm Press, 2007.

6 See Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000, 73–7.

7 Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell, intro. Fredric Jameson, rev. ed., Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1983, *passim*.

8 Sir Walter Scott, *The Talisman*, www.gutenberg.org/files/1377/1377-h/1377-h.htm, chapter VII.

9 Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992, 53.

10 David Simpson, '"Which Is the Merchant Here? And Which the Jew?": Friends and Enemies in Walter Scott's Crusader Novels', *Studies in Romanticism*, 47 (2008), 437–52 (439).

11 Scott, *The Talisman*. Scott encountered the romance in George Ellis's 1805 *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*.

12 Siberry, *The New Crusaders*, 87–103.

13 These films' use of the Crusades to comment on recent wars is also noted by Lorraine Kochanske Stock in 'Now Starring in the Third Crusade: Depictions of Richard I and Saladin in Films and Television Series', in Nickolas Haydock and E. L. Risden (eds.), *Hollywood in the Holy Land: Essays on Film Depictions of the Crusades and Christian-Muslim Clashes*, Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Company, 2009, 93–122. See also Leila K. Norako's entry for the Crusades Project: http://d.lib.rochester.edu/crusades/text/crusades-twentieth-and-twenty-first-century.

14 Ivan Davidson Kalmar, 'Benjamin Disraeli, Romantic Orientalist', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 47 (2005), 348–71, 349.

15 Kalmar, 350.

16 Scott, *The Talisman*, chapter II.

17 *Ibid*.

18 Sophie Ristaud Cottin, *Mathilde, ou Mémoires tirés de l'histoire des croisades*, London, Peltier, 1805. Also see Siberry, *The New Crusaders*, 147–8.

19 For a fuller discussion of how closely some sections of *Kingdom of Heaven* are based on *The Talisman*, see Nickolas Haydock, *Movie Medievalisms: The Imaginary Middle Ages*, Jefferson, NC, McFarland & Company, 2008, 137–47.

20 See Carole Hillenbrand, 'The Evolution of the Saladin Legend in the West', in T. Madden (ed.), *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2011, 9–23.

21 John Ganim, 'Reversing the Crusades: Hegemony, Orientalism, and Film Language in Youssef Chahine's *Saladin*', in Lynn T. Ramey and Tison Pugh (eds.), *Race, Class, and Gender in 'Medieval' Cinema*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 15–29.

22 Scott, *The Talisman*, chapter II.

23 Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1999, 594.

24 Anne-Laure Dupont, 'What is a *kātib 'āmm*? The Status of Men of Letters and the Conception of Language according to Jurjī Zaydān', *Middle Eastern Literatures*, 13 (2010), 171–81.

25 See Saad Elkadem, 'The Popular Arabic Novel of the Nineteenth Century', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, (1982), 449–60, 453.
26 Nickolas Haydock, 'Introduction: 'The Unseen Cross Upon the Breast': Medievalism, Orientalism, and Discontent', in Haydock and Risden (eds.), *Hollywood in the Holy Land*, 15–16.
27 Kamran Rastegar, '*Literary Modernity between Arabic and Persian* Prose: Jurji Zaydan's *Riwayat* in *Persian* Translation', *Comparative Critical Studies,* 4 (2007), 359–78.
28 Tariq Ali, *The Book of Saladin*, London and New York, Verso, 1998, 7.
29 Tariq Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity*, London and New York, Verso, 2002, 42.
30 *Ibid.*
31 Thomas F. Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, Lanham, MD, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, 216.
32 Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, T. Cadell, 1837, ch. lxi, 1086.
33 Henry Hallam, *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., London, John Murray, 1818, I:33.
34 E. L. Risden sees the film as a buddy movie manqué. See 'Nobody but the Other Buddy: Hollywood, the Crusades, and Buddy Pictures', in Haydock and Risden (eds.), *Hollywood in the Holy Land*, 193.
35 Paul Sturtevant, 'SaladiNasser: Nasser's Political Crusade in *El Naser Salah Ad-Din*', in Haydock and Risden (eds.), *Hollywood in the Holy Land*, 123–46, 140.
36 John Ganim, 'Framing the West, Staging the East: Set Design and Landscape in Movie Medievalism', in Haydock and Risden (eds.), *Hollywood in the Holy Land*, 40–3.

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