

MIRACLES AND MARVELS IN LATIN NARRATIVE
HISTORIES OF THE CRUSADES, 1095-1204

by

BETH CATHERINE SPACEY

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History
School of History and Cultures
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
August 2016

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

This thesis examines the form and function of the miraculous as it appears in Latin narrative histories of the crusades of 1095-1204. It addresses an important scholarly lacuna by approaching crusading through the lens of the miraculous, a theme of critical importance to many historical representations of the crusades. Three core lines of analysis are pursued: how the miraculous, as the ultimate epistemological tool for the discernment of divine will, was employed by the authors of crusade narratives as a component in their rhetorical strategies; how representations of the miraculous can reflect changing contemporary attitudes towards the crusading movement; and whether the miraculous of crusade texts can mirror parallel changes to the intellectual landscape of western Europe. The importance of supernatural themes to the narrativisation of the crusades is revealed through the exploration of three thematic dichotomies: miracles and marvels; visions and dreams; and signs and augury. It will be shown that the miraculous represents a previously undervalued source for understanding how the crusades were conceptualised, represented, and memorialised in this period. Further, the findings of the thesis exemplify how crusade narratives represent rich and hitherto largely overlooked sources for the study of medieval western European intellectual culture more broadly.

Acknowledgements

I am fortunate in having accrued many debts of gratitude over the past four years. I am truly grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Council. Without their generous support I would not have been able to undertake this research. I would particularly like to thank my doctoral supervisor, Dr. William Purkis, who has been endlessly patient, knowledgeable and gracious. I hold him accountable for introducing me to the study of the crusades during my first year of undergraduate study in 2007, and both owe credit to and blame his enthusiasm and encouragement for my continuation into postgraduate study.

I am also grateful to Dr. Susan Edgington and Martin Hall, who have kindly shared their expertise in medieval Latin with me and other postgraduates in Latin Therapy sessions. For kind advice, illuminating discussion and bibliographic information, I am thankful to Steven Biddlecombe, Andrew Buck, Katie Hodges-Kluck, Elizabeth Lapina, Sjoerd Levelt, Helen Nicholson, Simon Parsons, Jay Rubenstein, Stephen Spencer, and Carol Sweetenham.

My fellow postgraduates at Birmingham have been immeasurably supportive. A particular debt of gratitude is owed to Amanda Myers and Ruth Léger, for their forbearance, humour and advice. Special thanks also to Helen Coy; may we be partners in crime for many years to come. I would also like to thank Stephanie Appleton, Bob Brown, Claire Harrill Littler, Bernadette McCooey, Phil Myers, Victoria Schuppert and Ian Styler for camaradery, culinary artistry and cat photos.

I have benefited incalculably from the support of my family, friends, and partner Fred in particular. Finally, my greatest debt is owed to my parents, who have given selflessly in order that I might pursue further education. When self-belief was lacking, I found it in abundance in them.

Contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Latin Sources for the Study of the Miraculous in Crusade Narratives	29
1. Sources for the First Crusade (1095-1099), 1099-c. 1184	30
2. Sources for the Second Crusade (1147-1149), c. 1147-c. 1208	38
3. Sources for the Third Crusade (1189-1192), c. 1191-c. 1222	44
4. Sources for the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), 1204-c. 1251	51
Chapter 2: Miracles and Marvels	58
1. Intellectual Inheritance of the Twelfth Century and Terminological Distinctions	63
2. The State of the Art: Witnessing, Recording, and Interpreting the Miraculous	68
3. The First Crusade	74
3.1. The Use of <i>Miraculum</i> and <i>Mirabile</i> in First Crusade Sources	74
3.2. The Origins of the First Crusade	83
3.3. “Vulgar Fables” and Authorial Self-Fashioning	86
3.4. Divine Intervention in Battle on the First Crusade	89
4. The Second Crusade	94
4.1. Negotiating Failure	94
4.2. The Use of <i>Miraculum</i> and <i>Mirabile</i> in Second Crusade Sources	96
4.3. Preaching the Second Crusade	100
4.4. Divine Assistance, Divine Punishment	103
4.5. Success Amidst Failure, I: The Conquest of Lisbon	108
5. The Third Crusade	112
5.1. The Use of <i>Miraculum</i> and <i>Mirabile</i> in Third Crusade Sources	112
5.2. Preaching the Third Crusade	116
5.3. A Notable Absence: The Limited Role of the Miraculous in Third Crusade Narratives	118
5.4. Success Amidst Failure, II: The Siege of Acre (1191)	121
6. The Fourth Crusade	125
6.1. The Use of <i>Miraculum</i> and <i>Mirabile</i> in Fourth Crusade Sources	125
6.2. Preaching the Fourth Crusade	130
6.3. Critical Voices	133
6.4. Justifying the <i>translatio</i> of Constantinopolitan Relics	137
7. Conclusion	141

Chapter 3: Visions and Dreams	143
1. Conceptual Differentiations: Visions, Dreams, and the Spaces Inbetween	145
2. The First Crusade	155
2.1. The Language of Visions in First Crusade Narratives	155
2.2. The Functions of Visions in First Crusade Narratives	173
3. The Second Crusade	183
3.1. Visions and the Conversion Efforts of St Vicelin of Oldenburg	184
3.2. Visions and the Conquest of Lisbon	186
4. The Third Crusade	189
4.1. The Language of Visions in Third Crusade Narratives	189
4.2. The Functions of Visions in Third Crusade Narratives	191
4.3. Visionary Intercession in Moments of Crisis	197
5. The Fourth Crusade	207
5.1. The Language of Visions in Fourth Crusade Narratives	207
5.2. The Functions of Visions in Fourth Crusade Narratives	213
6. Conclusion	218
Chapter 4: Signs and Augury	220
1. Knowledge of the Heavens: Licit and Illicit Means of Reckoning	221
2. The First Crusade	230
2.1. Augury and Signs in First Crusade Narratives	231
2.2. The Functions of Signs in First Crusade Narratives	240
3. The Second Crusade	253
3.1. Augury and Signs in Second Crusade Narratives	254
3.2. The Functions of Signs in Second Crusade Narratives	257
4. The Third Crusade	264
4.1. Augury and Signs in Third Crusade Narratives	265
4.2. The Functions of Signs in Third Crusade Narratives	271
4.3. The ‘Toledo Letter’ and the Planetary Conjunction of 1186	274
5. The Fourth Crusade	282
5.1. The Functions of Signs in Fourth Crusade Narratives	282
6. Conclusion	291
Conclusion	294
Bibliography	303
Primary Sources	303
Secondary Literature	309

Abbreviations

- AA Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).
- ATF Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, ‘Chronica Albrici monachi trium fontium’, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS 23* (Hanover, 1874), pp. 631-950.
- BB Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. S. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014).
- CCSL *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* (Turnhout, 1953-)
- CCCM *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout, 1966-).
- Chronica 2* Roger of Howden, *Chronica: Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series 51.2* (London, 1869).
- Chronica 3* Roger of Howden, *Chronica: Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series 51.3* (London, 1870).
- DeL* *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. C. W. David and ed. J. P. Phillips (New York, 2001).
- De Principis* Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol. VIII: De Principis Instrukione Liber*, ed. G. F. Warner, *Rolls Series 21.8* (London, 1891).
- EA Ekkehard of Aura, ‘Hierosolymita’, *RHC Oc.*, 5, pp. 1-40.
- FC Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095-1127*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).
- GeH* ‘Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium’, ed. L. Weiland, *MGH SS 23* (Hanover, 1874), pp. 73-123.
- GF* *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (Edinburgh, 1962).
- GN Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM 127A* (Turnhout, 2002).
- GP Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana: Untersuchung und Kritische Ausgabe*, ed. P. Orth (Hildesheim and Zürich, 1994).
- GRI* Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II, and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192; known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series 49.1* (London, 1867).

- GR2 Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II, and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192; known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series* 49.2 (London, 1867).
- HB Helmold of Bosau, *Slavenchronik*, ed. B. Schmeidler, *MGH SSRG* 32 (Hanover, 1937).
- HeFI ‘Historia de expeditione Friderici Imperatoris’, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SSRG Nova Series* 5 (Berlin, 1928), pp. 1-115.
- HP ‘Historia Peregrinorum’, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SSRG Nova Series* 5 (Berlin, 1928), pp. 116-72.
- Indiculum* ‘Indiculum foundationis monasterii S. Vincentii’, in *Portugaliae monumenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintumdecimum. Scriptores* 1 (Liechtenstein, 1967), pp. 90-3.
- IP1 *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: Eine Zeitgenössische Englische Chronik zum Dritten Kreuzzug in Ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. H. E. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962).
- IP2 *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, 1: Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi, auctore, ut videtur, Ricardo canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londoniensis*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, 1864).
- Itinerarium Cambriae* Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol. VI: Itinerarium Cambriae et Descriptio Cambriae*, ed. J. F. Dimock, *Rolls Series* 21.6 (London, 1868).
- MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
- MGH SS *MGH Scriptores in folio et quarto*, ed. G. H. Pertz et al. (Hanover and Leipzig, 1826-)
- MGH SSRG *MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum is usum scholarum separatim editi* (Hanover and Berlin, 1971-)
- NPNF *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Volume IV - St Augustine: The Writings Against the Manichaeans and Against the Donatists*, ed. P. Schaff (Grand Rapids, MI, 1979).
- OD Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948).
- OFC Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia duabus civitatibus*, ed. W. Lammers and trans. A. Schmidt (Berlin, 1960).

- OFGF Otto of Freising, *Ottonis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici I. imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SSRG* 46 (Hanover, 1912).
- OV Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969-1980).
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina*, comp. J. P. Migne, 217 vols. and 4 vols. of indexes (Paris, 1844-64).
- PT Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977).
- RA Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969).
- RC Ralph of Caen, *Radulphi Cadomensis Tancredus*, ed. and trans. E. D'Angelo, *CCCM* 231 (Turnhout, 2011).
- RHC *Recueil des historiens des croisades*, ed. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1841-1906).
- RHC Oc. *RHC Historiens Occidentaux*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-95).
- RM Robert the Monk, *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. M. G. Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2013).
- SG Saxo Grammaticus, 'Ex Saxonis Gestis Danorum', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 29 (Hanover, 1892), pp. 37-161.
- WT1 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63 (Turnhout, 1986).
- WT2 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63A (Turnhout, 1986).

Introduction

Behold, the journey for Jerusalem has been begun by God.¹

When the Anglo-Norman chronicler Orderic Vitalis attributed the origins of the First Crusade to divine inspiration in c. 1135, almost forty years after its symbolic starting point at the Council of Clermont in November 1095, he was engaging in an established tradition.² The majority of contemporary textual responses to the events now known as the First Crusade represented the endeavour within a framework of divine instrumentality; God ‘willed it’. The capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099 by the forces of the First Crusade, seen as an act of God enacted through them, was heralded as miraculous in its own right.³ Confessed, penitent, and cleansed by the ordeal of the expedition itself, the crusaders were conduits for the divine power which had returned Christendom’s earthly inheritance. The subsequent process of narrative representation and re-presentation contributed to a memorialisation of the First Crusade in which the miraculous was of central importance; it was the epistemological proof that God had orchestrated the event.

The Holy Land expedition of the Second Crusade, called in response to the loss of Christian-held Edessa to Zengid forces in December 1144, could boast no such climactic victory.⁴ The

¹ OV 5, 9.1, p. 4: “En Ierosolimitanum iter diuinitus initur.”

² On Orderic’s view of sacred history see C. Watkins, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 25-7. On Orderic more generally see especially M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Woodbridge, 1984); and D. Roach, ‘Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade’, *Journal of Medieval History* 42.2 (2016), pp. 177-201.

³ There are several important surveys of the events of the First Crusade, the most recent of which are discussed in greater detail below. For perennially useful treatments of the First Crusade, see especially J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997) and *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd edn. (London, 2009); and M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (Oxford, 1993).

⁴ Important overviews of the Second Crusade include G. Constable, ‘The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries’, *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp. 213-79 (a more recent version of this article can now be found in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century: Collected Studies*, ed. G. Constable (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 229-300), and J. P. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London, 2007). An important collection of essays can also be found in J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch, eds., *The Second*

premise which underpinned the prevalence of the miraculous in First Crusade narratives, that God willed it, became problematic. Indeed, it was rationalised that the failures which culminated in the subsequent loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in October 1187 represented a withdrawal of divine favour in response to the lust, pride and greed of the Latins. William of Tyre, a native of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem writing between 1170 and 1184, explained the failure of the Second Crusade as follows:

For they started on the way as if contrary to the will of an angry God, and, in punishment for the sins of man, they accomplished nothing pleasing to Him on that entire pilgrimage. Nay, they even rendered worse the situation of those to whom they intended to bring succour.⁵

The remainder of William's account of the affairs of the Latin East continues in a tone described by Peter Edbury and John Rowe as "gloom-laden".⁶ William's pleas on behalf of the kingdom of Jerusalem for support from Europe were not devoid of genuine urgency; Jerusalem fell to Saladin's forces in October 1187, a year after William's death. It was not the news of the city's loss which ignited the desire for a new crusade in western Europe, however. It was in response to news of Saladin's victory at Hattin on 4 July 1187, where the king of Jerusalem and the relic of the True Cross were captured, that Pope Gregory VIII issued *Audita tremendi*.⁷ The news of the loss of Jerusalem would not reach the papal curia

Crusade: Scope and Consequences (Manchester, 2001); and in J. T. Roche and J. Møller Jensen, eds., *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom* (Turnhout, 2015).

⁵ WT2, 16.19, p. 741: "Nam tanquam invita divinitate et eis irata iter assumpserunt: in tota illa profectioe nichil deo placitum, peccatis nostris exigentibus, operati sunt, sed nostrum, quibus opem se laturos arbitrabantur, statum in deteriolem mutaverunt conditionem." English translation is from William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, trans. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, 2 vols. (New York, NY, 1943), 2, 16.19, p. 165. On the theme of punishments for sins as part of William's causal framework, see T. M. S. Lehtonen, 'By the Help of God, Because of Our Sins, and by Chance. William of Tyre Explains the Crusades', in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. T. M. S. Lehtonen and K. Villads Jensen (Helsinki, 2005), pp. 71-84.

⁶ P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 173.

⁷ Gregory VIII, 'Audita tremendi', *PL* 202, cols. 1539-42. On *Audita tremendi*, see especially P. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), pp. 63-79.

until the end of November.⁸ While the resulting crusade could claim the participation of kings and several strategic victories, Jerusalem was not recaptured and Saladin was not defeated.⁹ The textual response to the Second and Third Crusades was lukewarm by comparison with that of the First. Overtones of the miraculous and of divine intervention became undertones of small-scale, individual expressions of divine mercy.

Pope Innocent III's industrious pontificate began with the issue of *Post miserabile* in August 1198, in which the new pope lamented the plight of the Latin holdings in the Holy Land and called for the organisation of a new crusade. Seven years later, in a letter addressed to Boniface of Montferrat from between c. 15 August and 15 September 1205, Innocent commented that Constantinople had been "marvellously conquered by God's strength alone".¹⁰ While the intentions of the Fourth Crusade continue to be contested, many of the sources produced in its wake reveal a concerted effort to represent its outcomes as miraculous.¹¹ The symbolic victory of the Fourth Crusade was different to that of the First. In

⁸ P. W. Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East', in *Pope Celestine III (1192-1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, ed. J. Doran and D. J. Smith (Farnham, 2008), pp. 129-43, p. 129.

⁹ Useful considerations of the Third Crusade's successes and failures can be found in H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993); M. Markowski, 'Richard Lionheart: Bad King, Bad Crusader?', *Journal of Medieval History* 23.4 (1997), pp. 351-65; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn. (London, 2005); T. Asbridge, *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London, 2012), pp. 367-516, and 'Talking to the Enemy: The Role and Purpose of Negotiations Between Saladin and Richard the Lionheart During the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 39.3 (2013), pp. 275-96; J. Phillips, *The Crusades, 1095-1204*, 2nd edn. (London, 2014).

¹⁰ *Die Register Innocenz' III, 8. Band, 8. Pontifikatsjahr, 1205-1206, Texte und Indices*, O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, H. Weigl, C. Egger and R. Murauer eds. (Wien, 2001), 8.134(133), p. 246: "Qua sola Dei virtute mirabiliter triumphata." On anxieties expressed later in Innocent's pontificate concerning the credibility of miracles, see B. Bolton, 'Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Supporting the Faith in Medieval Rome', in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory, *Studies in Church History* 41 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 157-78.

¹¹ For detailed considerations of the nineteenth-century literature on the Fourth Crusade, see D. E. Queller and S. J. Stratton, 'A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1969), pp. 233-77; and more recently, D. E. Queller and T. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, PA, 1997), p. 318-21. On the importance of Egypt as the intended goal of the crusade, see J. H. Pryor, 'The Venetian Fleet for the Fourth Crusade and the Diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople', in *The Experience of Crusading, I. Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 103-23; J. Riley-Smith, 'Towards an Understanding of the Fourth Crusade as an Institution', in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Paris, 2005), 71-87; and V. Ryan, 'Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade', in *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions. Papers from the Sixth*

contrast to the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, responses which heralded the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 as a miracle burned brightly but briefly, failed to achieve the same historiographical purchase, and assumed a substantially different form. The Latin narrative evidence reveals how, in the space of just over one century, the crusades experienced a fluctuating conceptual relationship with the miraculous.

Recent decades have witnessed the growing acceptance of the study of the medieval miraculous; it is no longer the superfluity of an ‘Age of Faith’, to be dutifully excised in favour of more sober historical pursuits.¹² In the words of Patrick Geary, hagiography has “moved from the periphery to the center of the scholastic enterprise”.¹³ This process began in response to the adoption of methodologies current to the fields of cultural and social anthropology in the 1970s, which heralded the rejection of post-Enlightenment condescension of medieval religiosity.¹⁴ Ronald Finucane’s 1977 work *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* was instrumental in reintroducing miracles as a fruitful area of historical inquiry; however a residual scorn for the historical actor can still be detected.¹⁵ Finucane adopted a statistical approach which remains popular.¹⁶ A decade

Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25-29 August 2004, ed. T. F. Madden (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 3-13.

¹² See especially B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (London, 1987); J. Le Goff, ‘The Marvelous in the Medieval West’, in *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1988), pp. 27-44; S. F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992); C. W. Bynum, ‘Wonder’, *The American Historical Review* 102.1 (1997), pp. 1-26; M. E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Aldershot, 2007); Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*.

¹³ P. J. Geary, *The Living and the Dead in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994), p. 10.

¹⁴ See M. Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and Translation* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 11-20; and A. E. Bailey, ‘Peter Brown and Victor Turner Revisited: Anthropological Approaches to Latin Miracle Narratives in the Medieval West’, in *Contextualising Miracles in the Christian West, 1100-1500*, ed. M. M. Mesley and L. E. Wilson (Oxford, 2014), pp. 17-39.

¹⁵ R. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977). Anne Bailey has compared Finucane’s vocabulary to that of Edward Gibbon, discovering that ‘ignorance’, ‘credulity’ and ‘rustics’ occur in both. See Bailey, ‘Peter Brown and Victor Turner Revisited’, p. 18, n. 6.

¹⁶ Another important statistical analysis of miracles can be found in Pierre-Andre Sigal’s analysis of over five thousand (mostly curative) miracles written in France in the eleventh and twelfth century. See P.-A. Sigal, *L’homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale: XIe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1985). For a more recent example of the statistical analysis of miracle collections, see I. Metzler, *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking About Physical Impairment During the High Middle Ages, c.1100-1400* (London, 2006).

later Benedicta Ward's survey of eleventh- and twelfth-century miracles did much to prepare the ground for later scholarship on the medieval miraculous and influenced what follows here in several important ways. First, it foregrounded historical perceptions as an area of historical inquiry. Secondly, it approached the functionality of the miraculous without fundamentally undermining the act of faith which it implies.¹⁷ Other important scholarship has been and continues to be undertaken which wrestles with the question of how best to approach the medieval miraculous.¹⁸ For example, Simon Yarrow has problematised the two-tier model of 'elite' and 'popular' piety made popular by functionalist approaches to the miraculous. By exploring beyond ambivalent constructions in texts Yarrow has been able to access object-oriented religious expression.¹⁹

Carl Watkins and Robert Bartlett have produced books of seminal importance for this thesis.²⁰ Both of these monographs explore understandings of the supernatural using evidence from medieval chronicles, focusing in particular on changing conceptual boundaries. In *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England*, Watkins pursues the shifting relationship between sacred history and natural philosophy during the course of the twelfth century, and analyses how this affected understandings of the miraculous. Bartlett brings together four important lectures in *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* which explore a variety of topics pertaining to the medieval miraculous. These include a consideration of the conceptual tension between natural and supernatural causation in the Middle Ages.

Three further works which have been formative for this thesis are Michael Goodich's *Miracles and Wonders*, Steven Kruger's *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, and Jean-Claude

¹⁷ Ward, *Miracles*.

¹⁸ An interesting challenge to the empiricist method for the study of the history of religions can be found in G. C. Kee, *Miracles in the Early Christian World* (London, 1983).

¹⁹ S. Yarrow, 'Miracles, Belief and Christian Materiality: Relic'ing in Twelfth-Century Miracle Narratives', in *Contextualising Miracles in the Christian West*, pp. 41-62.

²⁰ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*; R. Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2008).

Schmitt's *Ghosts in the Middle Ages*.²¹ Goodich's book provides an excellent entrée into the scholastic understanding of miracles in the central Middle Ages, introducing the twelfth century as a period of scholastic innovation and anxiety. He suggests that the formalisation of canonisation procedures and the rise of heresy were core influencers in the increasing scrutiny of the miraculous. Kruger delves comprehensively into the late antique intellectual foundations of the medieval understanding of dreams before bringing his survey forward to the central and then late Middle Ages. His treatment of Macrobius' *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* as an authority for the schematisation of dream types in the Middle Ages is of particular value. Kruger utilises both theoretical treatises and autobiographical accounts of visions and dreams in order to demonstrate the varieties and idiosyncrasies of medieval understandings of visions. While Schmitt's book levels its gaze securely on 'ghosts' in the traditional sense – phenomena little evidenced in crusade narratives – its exploration of how medieval people were able to rationalise instances of communication with the dead is of central importance also to the study of visions of saints: the "very special dead".²²

Aside from the important exceptions discussed above, much of the fundamentally important scholarship on the medieval miraculous is primarily concerned with hagiographical texts, such as *vitae* and *miracula*.²³ This is to be expected given the wealth of miraculous content which these sources provide. A particularly vibrant area of scholarship focuses upon Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman hagiography; Yarrow and Rachel Koopmans have both produced surveys of miracle collections associated with important shrines.²⁴ More recently still,

²¹ M. E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*; Kruger, *Dreaming* (Cambridge, 1992); J.-C. Schmitt, *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, trans. T. L. Fagan (London, 1998).

²² To use a phrase coined by P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London, 1981).

²³ For example, Brown, *The Cult of the Saints*; and Geary, *The Living and the Dead*, and *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1978).

²⁴ S. Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006); R. Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (Pennsylvania, PH, 2011).

Bartlett has dedicated a chapter of his examination of saints from the first Christian martyrs to the Protestant Reformation to miracles.²⁵ A recent edited volume titled *Contextualising Miracles in the Christian West, 1100-1500* also reflects continuing energies in the study of miracle narratives pertaining to saints' cults; each of its contributions concentrates on the evidence of *miracula*.²⁶

The miraculous of *historical* narrative is neglected by comparison. This distinction is indicative of several key differences between the miraculous as it appears across different genres. Of central importance to much of the miraculous of crusade narratives (with important exceptions relating to the Fourth Crusade) is the absence of a relic or saint as a conduit of divine potency. Divine intervention is often direct. Related to this is the frequent absence of geographical or communal anchorage; as an account of a "military monastery on the move", crusade narratives travel through the spheres of influence of particular shrines or sites.²⁷ The narrative focus is itinerant. When saints are involved, they are often employed on account of their attributes; the Virgin Mary appears in an intercessorial capacity, and Byzantine military saints appear in moments of martial crisis. Further, rather than being intended for use in canonisation proceedings or in the support of a particular shrine, the miraculous of crusade narratives represents a vital ingredient in the construction of a theologically sensitive history of divinely orchestrated events.²⁸ It is also the backbone for the epistemology of crusade martyrdom, and of the nature of the crusades as divinely ordained. While scholarship on the medieval miraculous can now be said to have an established

²⁵ R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Woodstock, 2013).

²⁶ Mesley and Wilson, eds., *Contextualising Miracles*.

²⁷ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, p. 2.

²⁸ Although outside the scope of this thesis, an important exception to this rule is Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis*. See C. Smith, *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot, 2006); and M. C. Gaposchkin, *The Marking of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusading in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 2008).

intellectual pedigree, it has only recently been embraced by those working in the field of crusade studies.

As a topic of historical inquiry, the crusades appear to be experiencing a period of scholarly expansion. The pursuit of what might be termed ‘events history’ has yielded in part to the study of myriad topics from multiple perspectives, each with the intention of achieving a fuller understanding of the individuals who inhabited that historical space.²⁹ Since the foregrounding of spiritual and ideological motivations for crusading by Jonathan Riley-Smith, a process which began in the 1970s, the religious convictions which contributed to contemporary understandings of the crusade movement have been fruitfully pursued.³⁰ The subsequent focus on historical perspectives and particularly of religiosity during the past three decades of crusade scholarship has generated several works of huge importance for the understanding of the spiritual underpinnings of the crusades.³¹ Influential forays into crusade spirituality (in both its internalised and proactive senses) include Marcus Bull’s survey of aristocratic piety in Gascony and the Limousin at the time of the First Crusade,³² and William Purkis’ study of key devotional practices associated with crusading and the development of conceptions of Jerusalem pilgrimage in twelfth-century Iberia.³³ The medieval historiography of the crusades has also received renewed scholarly attention in recent years, with the production of important new critical editions and studies of texts.³⁴ Scholarly vibrancy is

²⁹ A helpful summary of the history of crusade scholarship can be found in C. Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester, 2011).

³⁰ J. Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London, 1977), now in its fourth edition (London, 2009). See also, N. Housley, with M. Bull, ‘Jonathan Riley-Smith, the Crusades and the Military Orders: An Appreciation’, in *The Experience of Crusading*, 1, pp. 1-10.

³¹ In a recent book about the practicalities of crusading, or “the application of reason to religious warfare”, Christopher Tyerman has lamented the pervading historiographical preoccupation with what he considers the “drama of the campaigns.” See C. Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London, 2015), pp. 1-2.

³² Bull, *Knightly Piety*.

³³ W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008).

³⁴ Of particular value are the new critical editions of Robert the Monk’s *Historia Iherosolimitana* and Baldric of Bourgueil’s *Historia Ierosolimitana*, both of which include detailed studies of the texts in their

evidenced in several further areas of importance. Particularly welcome are approaches which privilege non-Christian responses to the crusades.³⁵ Meanwhile steps are being taken to redress the lack of dialogue between the field of crusade history and innovative methodologies utilised elsewhere in medieval studies, including gender and emotions.³⁶ In parallel to this, attention has been paid in recent years to the processes by which the crusades entered into and existed in the collective memories of subsequent generations.³⁷ This is of particular relevance to the approaches adopted in this thesis, as the study of memory necessitates the scrutiny of representations, and relies upon the premise that the source material is inherently constructed. Further, it will be shown in what follows that the miraculous represented a particular facet of how the memory of a particular crusade was changed over the course of subsequent narrative renderings.

The study of the historical events which comprise the crusading movement continues to yield interesting results. Our understanding of events, people and processes is repeatedly challenged in fruitful ways. In the last decade important monographs on the First Crusade

introductions. See RM and BB. On the medieval historiography of the crusades, see especially M. Bull and D. Kempf, eds., *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2014).

³⁵ Jewish and Muslim perspectives have received particular attention, see especially R. Chazan, *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley, CA, 2000); P. E. Chevedden, 'The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusade: A New (Old) Paradigm for Understanding the Crusades', *Der Islam* 83 (2006), pp. 90-136; N. Christie, *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's War in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Muslim Sources* (London, 2014); and P. M. Cobb, *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 2014).

³⁶ On gender and the crusades, see especially D. Gerish, 'Gender Theory', in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. H. Nicholson (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 130-47; S. Edgington and S. Lambert, eds., *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff, 2001); N. R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2007); and A. Holt, 'Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades', in *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. D. Thibodeaux (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 185-203. On emotions, see especially S. J. Spencer, 'The Emotional Rhetoric of Crusader Spirituality in the Narratives of the First Crusade', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 58 (2014), pp. 57-86, and 'Constructing the Crusader: Emotional Language in the Narratives of the First Crusade', in *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. S. B. Edgington and L. García-Guijarro (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 173-89.

³⁷ M. Gabriele, *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011); N. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: the Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2012); N. Paul and S. Yeager, eds., *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image and Identity* (Baltimore, MD, 2012).

have been produced, each championing its own approach and reframing the subject matter.³⁸

Peter Frankopan argued that modern understandings of the First Crusade are distorted on account of the scholarly privilege received by the Latin sources over those in Greek, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian and Hebrew. This meant that, for example, the role of the Byzantine emperor Alexios I Komnenos in the instigation of the crusade had become artificially subordinated to that of Pope Urban II.³⁹ Jay Rubenstein's *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* offered a vivid reappraisal of the First Crusade that hinged upon the proposed contemporary perception of the Christian capture of Jerusalem as apocalyptic, arguing that "an apocalyptic mind-set... had shaped much of the action of the First Crusade".⁴⁰

An important area of scholarly endeavour relating to the Second Crusade has concerned contemporary attitudes to warfare on different geographical frontiers, and particularly, whether the 'pluralist' identification of these as crusades is anachronistic.⁴¹ The question whether contemporaries viewed certain campaigns in the Baltic⁴² and Iberia⁴³ as part of a broader programme of spiritually meritorious, papally sanctioned warfare and not just as part

³⁸ See C. Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden, 2008); J. Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York, NY, 2011); P. Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London, 2012); Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*.

³⁹ Frankopan, *The First Crusade*, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁰ Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, p. 264. On apocalyptic thought and the First Crusade, see also M. Gabriele, 'Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade', in *Christian Attitudes towards Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook*, ed. M. Frassetto (London, 2006), pp. 61-82; and R. Chazan, "'Let Not a Remnant or Residue Escape": Millenarian Enthusiasm in the First Crusade', *Speculum* 84 (2009), pp. 289-313.

⁴¹ See especially N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 1-23; Constable, 'The Second Crusade'; and J. T. Roche, 'The Second Crusade: Main Debates and New Horizons', in *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. J. T. Roche and J. Møller Jensen (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 1-32.

⁴² See especially E. Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*, revised edn. (London, 1997); A. L. Bysted, C. Selch Jensen, K. Villads Jensen and J. H. Lind, eds., *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades, 1100-1552* (Turnhout, 2012).

⁴³ See especially J. F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, PA, 2003); Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*; P. J. O'Banion, 'What has Iberia to do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish Route to the Holy Land in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Medieval History*, 34 (2008), pp. 383-95.

⁴³ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*.

of on-going cross-cultural conflict continues to receive attention. Of particular interest to scholars of the Wendish Crusade has been its largely tokenistic efforts to baptise the Wends (the German term for the Slavic peoples in the twelfth century), overseen by the papal legate Bishop Anselm of Havelberg. Indeed, the unique character of the Northern Crusades stems in part from such attempts to utilise Christianization as a vehicle for cultural and political assimilation.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, scholarship concerned with peninsular crusading has endeavoured to tease allusions comparable to that of crusading rhetoric from the source material.⁴⁵ Jonathan Phillips' *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* represents a synthesis of these innovations by not only considering the crusades of the Near East, Baltic and Iberia, but also by framing his analysis with an overview of responses to the First Crusade and how they informed the conceptualisation of the Second.⁴⁶

Scholarship on the Third Crusade has recently concentrated on three areas in particular: the identification and evaluation of previously unconsidered source materials;⁴⁷ the re-evaluation of key historical figures;⁴⁸ and analysis of the ways that the crusade was conceptualised and

⁴⁴ F. Lotter, 'The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Regions East of the Elbe', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 267-306, especially pp. 303-6.; P. Taylor, 'Moral Agency in Crusade and Colonization: Anselm of Havelberg and the Wendish Crusade of 1147', *International Historical Review* 22.4 (2000), pp. 757-84.; A. V. Murray, ed., *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150-1500* (Aldershot, 2001), ed., *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* (Farnham 2009), and ed., *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe: The Expansion of Christendom in the Baltic Lands* (Farnham, 2014); A. L. Bysted, et al., *Jerusalem in the North*, p. 49.

⁴⁵ For example, William Purkis commented that Caffaro's lack of crusading rhetoric leads one to question whether participants on the Almería campaign really did perceive themselves as 'crusaders'. See Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 174-5.

⁴⁶ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*.

⁴⁷ See especially J. H. Pryor, 'Two *excitationes* for the Third Crusade: the letters of Thierry of the Temple', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25.2 (2010), pp. 147-68; J. Willoughby, 'A Templar chronicle of the Third Crusade: origin and transmission', *Medium Ævum* 81.1 (2012), pp. 126-34.

⁴⁸ See especially Markowski, 'Richard Lionheart'; and Asbridge, 'Talking to the Enemy'. More recently, Alan Murray has explored the historical figure of Friedrich von Hausen, a poet and crusade participant. See A. V. Murray, 'The power of Friedrich von Hausen in the Third Crusade and the performance of Middle High German crusading songs', in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. S. John and N. Morton (Farnham, 2014), pp. 119-28.

represented.⁴⁹ Helen Nicholson has also done some important work surveying the roles and representations of women in the sources for the Third Crusade.⁵⁰ By contrast, the scholarship on the Fourth Crusade appears to have largely revolved around one particular issue for decades; the cause of the crusade's diversion (and even whether it can be called a 'diversion') to Constantinople.⁵¹ Famously described as a "crime against humanity" by Steven Runciman,⁵² the debate surrounding the Fourth Crusade's outcome has only recently abated.⁵³ The analysis of causal relationships has given way to the study of perceptions and representations. Scholarship from the field of Byzantine studies has proved particularly illuminating.⁵⁴ Meanwhile the 800th anniversary of the crusader conquest of Constantinople in 1204 was marked by several important international conferences focused on that event.⁵⁵ The work of Alfred Andrea, which includes various editions, translations, and studies, has been influential in the recent broadening of source material consulted in the study of the Fourth Crusade.⁵⁶ Such scholarly advances have opened up the field of crusade studies to hitherto disregarded approaches and source materials. This is reflected in the recent increase

⁴⁹ See especially M. Markowski, 'Peter of Blois and the conception of the Third Crusade', in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2-6 July 1987*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar (London, 1992), pp. 261-9; W. J. Purkis, 'Crusading and Crusade Memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), pp. 100-27.

⁵⁰ H. J. Nicholson, 'Women on the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 23.4 (1997), pp. 335-49.

⁵¹ Queller and Stratton, 'A century of controversy'; Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*.

⁵² S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades, Volume 3: the Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 130.

⁵³ This is a particularly large area of scholarship, but important pieces include T. F. Madden, 'Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade', *The International History Review* 17.4 (1995), pp. 726-43; P. Noble, 'The Importance of Old French Chronicles as Historical Sources of the Fourth Crusade and the Early Latin Empire of Constantinople', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), pp. 399-416; Pryor, 'The Venetian Fleet'; and Riley-Smith, 'Towards an Understanding'.

⁵⁴ See for example M. Angold, 'The Road to 1204: The Byzantine Background to the Fourth Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 25.3 (1999), pp. 257-78 and *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003); and R. Macrides, 'Constantinople: the crusaders' gaze', in *Travel in the Byzantine World. Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 193-212.

⁵⁵ For the published proceedings, see T. F. Madden, ed., *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions*; A. E. Laiou, ed., *Urbs Capta*; and P. Piatti, ed., *The Fourth Crusade Revisited: Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'ottavo centenario della IV Crociata 1204-2004* (Vatican City, 2008).

⁵⁶ See especially A. J. Andrea, ed. and trans., *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade: Revised Edition* (Leiden, 2008).

in academic discourse which bridges scholarship on the crusades and the medieval miraculous.

As outlined above, historians of the crusades and the Latin East have called upon the topic of the miraculous in various ways in the past few decades, albeit often in a fragmentary way. Bernard Hamilton's important essay about the significance of signs to contemporaries of the First Crusade is an example of this.⁵⁷ Hamilton situates his overview within a context of discomfort surrounding the legitimacy of warfare and violence; the desire to see signs, he argues, was a response to these uncertainties: "It appears to me that even those who went on the First Crusade had doubts about whether God really did will this expedition and sought signs of divine approval to strengthen their faith in its validity."⁵⁸ The methods adopted by crusade contemporaries in order to address anxieties surrounding legitimacy are of central importance to this thesis. However, instead of using the signs of narrative histories to assess the concerns and desires of the crusaders themselves, as Hamilton does in his article, it is with how the creators of those sources understood the functionality of signs that this analysis is primarily concerned. It is the argument of this thesis that such an approach allows for more concrete conclusions surrounding medieval perceptions of the miraculous to be drawn.

A more theoretically nuanced approach to the relationship between miracle stories and the First Crusade is found in Bull's exploration of the utility of miracle stories as sources for understanding what motivated western Europeans of the late eleventh century to take part in the First Crusade.⁵⁹ Bull argues that while the motivations and perceptions of these individuals are ultimately unreachable, influential cultural dialogues can be discerned. Building on this, Bull argues that the representations of Jerusalem and of Muslims in

⁵⁷ B. Hamilton, "God Wills It": Signs of Divine Approval in the Crusade Movement', in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles*, pp. 88-98.

⁵⁸ Hamilton, "God Wills It", p. 90.

⁵⁹ M. Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000-c.1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders' Motivations', in *The Experience of Crusading*, 1, pp. 13-38.

contemporary *miracula* had the potential to influence ideas sparked by the core themes of the crusade message. This in turn contributed to the centrality of these themes in narrative renderings of Pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont after the fact: "By assuming the status of the big answer to how the crusade started, Clermont necessarily became an encapsulation of informed contemporary impressions of what made western European society respond to the crusade message."⁶⁰ While Bull does touch briefly on the miraculous of crusade narratives, it is to emphasise how the narratives of *miracula* cannot function if the miraculous elements are excised.⁶¹ This article is also of more general importance as a demonstration of the value of the miraculous as a source for the crusades.

Of the considerable amount of miraculous material to be drawn from First Crusade narratives, two episodes in particular have received the most scholarly attention: first, regarding Peter Bartholomew, his visions, and the *inventio* of the Holy Lance of Antioch; and second, concerning the appearance of celestial knights during the battle outside Antioch on 28 June 1098. The wealth of primary source material concerning the Holy Lance of Antioch and Peter Bartholomew's visions is perhaps responsible for the scholarly attention these events have received. Runciman's 1950 biography of the Lance is undoubtedly a product of its time, in which the spectre of the 'Age of Faith' is conjured as explanation for the "baffling" events, and the visions themselves receive short shrift.⁶² In an important reinvigoration of the topic from 1984, concurrent with the burgeoning scholarly viability of the medieval miraculous, Colin Morris explores the political lines along which the support for and opposition to the

⁶⁰ Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem', p. 22.

⁶¹ Bull, 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem', pp. 26-7.

⁶² S. Runciman, 'The Holy Lance Found at Antioch', *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), pp. 197-209, p. 197: "Amongst the many strange episodes in the history of the First Crusade, there is none so dramatic and so baffling to the historian as the story of the Holy Lance."

Lance developed.⁶³ Morris acknowledges the problems inherent in the study of the medieval miraculous, whilst simultaneously expounding its great utility; the content of the visions themselves is one of the key forms of evidence used in this article. More recently, intellectual context has been provided by John France, who related Peter's political influence to the significance of the Late Antique holy man as identified in the seminal work of Peter Brown.⁶⁴ Also of significance is Thomas Asbridge's problematisation of the significance of the Lance's discovery in relation to the decision to meet Kerbogha's forces outside the city fourteen days later.⁶⁵

Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton have explored the Maccabean language used in descriptions of the celestial knights at Antioch. Focusing on three episodes in crusade narratives which feature references to the Maccabees (the battles of Antioch in 1198, Tall Danith in 1115 and *Ager Sanguinis* in 1119), Lapina explores several different ways in which the authors of crusade narratives conceptualised parallels between crusaders and Maccabean warriors.⁶⁶ Morton traced the use of the motif over time, demonstrating how this changed in response to the varying fortunes of the crusade movement. His observation that "the nature and tone of their comparisons began to change as the desire to celebrate crusading turned into the need to explain their defeats" is equally pertinent to the narratives of change identified in

⁶³ C. Morris, 'Policy and Visions: The Case of the Holy Lance at Antioch', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages. Essays in honour of J.O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 33-45.

⁶⁴ J. France, 'Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew', *Crusades* 5 (2006), pp. 1-20; P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp. 80-101.

⁶⁵ T. Asbridge, 'The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory on the First Crusade', *Reading Medieval Studies* 33 (2007), pp. 3-36.

⁶⁶ E. Lapina, 'The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch', in *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspectives*, ed. G. Signori (Leiden, 2012), pp. 147-59.

this thesis.⁶⁷ These works are important in expounding an aspect of the intellectual repertoire available to those who sought to interpret and to represent those events.

Two monographs published while the research for this thesis was being conducted represent important advances in the reconciliation of the two areas of scholarship, revealing that the discipline has begun to recognise the value of approaches which embrace the miraculous. The first is Lapina's *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade*, published in 2015.⁶⁸ *Warfare and the Miraculous* is a consideration of the textual response to the First Crusade as reacting to the unprecedented nature of the event, and the role of the miraculous within this. It is an exploration of how the miraculous was used to situate the events of the First Crusade within sacred history. As with her article on the Maccabees, Lapina's monograph takes the reported appearance of the celestial knights at Antioch as its starting point. As an assessment of how the violence of the First Crusade was presented as inherently salvific, Lapina's book engages in detail with one specific aspect of the functionality of the miraculous. This thesis complements and expands upon Lapina's findings by considering a variety of supernatural forms from across an increased chronological span.

The second recent monograph to represent an important reconciliation of crusade history and the study of medieval miracles is David Perry's excellent *Sacred Plunder: Venice and the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade*, which also appeared in 2015.⁶⁹ Perry explores historical responses to the relocation of Constantinopolitan relics in western Europe by surveying the corpus of *translatio* narratives relating to them. Particularly pertinent to this thesis is Perry's identification of the use the miraculous as a legitimising device. While there is unavoidable overlap between Perry's findings and those contained in this thesis, the consideration of the

⁶⁷ N. Morton, 'The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees', *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), pp. 275-93, p. 293.

⁶⁸ Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*.

⁶⁹ D. Perry, *Sacred Plunder: Venice and the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade* (University Park, PA, 2015).

Fourth Crusade included here is broader in scope than the localised approach offered by Perry, and incorporates non-hagiographical sources into its analysis.

The appearance of dedicated considerations of the miraculous in crusade narratives in the past decade has revealed the potential for such approaches to enrich crusade scholarship and the study of the medieval miraculous more broadly. Unlike previous analyses, the following study is not limited to the detailed investigation of a single motif, episode, or crusade, but takes a holistic approach to the miraculous of narrative sources produced by Latin Christians in response to the crusades of 1095 to 1204. This approach has revealed that important evidence concerning perspectives on the crusades can be found beyond narratives of the events themselves.⁷⁰

Three central lines of analysis will be pursued in the following exploration. First, the form and function of the miraculous is assessed, in order that an appreciation of the role of the miraculous as an element of rhetorical strategy might be developed. Second, it will be considered whether (and if so, how) the miraculous of crusade narratives is able to reflect contemporary attitudes towards the crusading movement. Finally, the ability of the miraculous of crusade narratives to echo the changing intellectual landscape of twelfth-century western Europe is evaluated. By exploring these key questions, this thesis demonstrates the value of crusade narratives for the study of medieval historiography more broadly. Further, it is intended that this thesis will redress the piecemeal approach to the supernatural in crusade sources taken thus far by considering multiple texts from across the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries. Through the exploration of a range of crusade narratives it is shown that the supernatural represented an important aspect of the rhetorical palette of western Europe in the central Middle Ages, and that modern scholarly approaches

⁷⁰ See for example Chapter 3, section 3.1.

which employ sensitivity to this can achieve a fuller appreciation of several aspects of western European culture in that period.

The concentration on sources pertaining to the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Crusades is significant for two main reasons. First, it is a period which incorporates the nascence, frustration and transformation of the crusading movement, therefore providing the opportunity to trace changing contemporary responses to the crusades. The ability of the miraculous to function as a conceptual barometer is derived from its nature as a medium for the communication of divine will. The miraculous represented evidence of God's instrumentality in the affairs of those for whom the First Crusade was not the work of man but of God, as voiced by Robert the Monk in the prologue to his history.⁷¹ The discernment of God's will became a primary concern for those seeking to understand and represent the crusade movement. As the crusades of the twelfth century repeatedly failed to live up to the successes of the First Crusade, so this is echoed in the use of the miraculous in the contemporary source material; if God no longer 'willed it' then the presence of the miraculous became problematic. As will be shown in what follows, the glut of miraculous content provided by accounts of the First Crusade is followed by a simultaneous quantitative reduction and qualitative diversification in the miraculous for the Second and Third Crusades. The nature of the Fourth Crusade necessitated that full advantage be taken of the justificatory function of the miraculous, and therefore some increase is detectable on account of this.

Secondly, the crusades of the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries coincided with extraordinary cultural invigoration in western Europe, which heralded revitalisation in intellectual, religious, economic, and political spheres.⁷² This occurred in large part as a

⁷¹ RM, p. 4: "Hoc enim non fuit humanum opus sed divinum."

⁷² The literature on the 'twelfth-century renaissance' is vast. See especially C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (London, 1955); R. L. Benson, G. Constable, and C. D. Lanham, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1991); and R. N. Swanson, *The Twelfth-*

response to the translation of Greek and Arabic texts into Latin in this period.⁷³ Developments in the scholastic understanding of the miraculous, born from exposure to Greco-Arabic learning and the rise of natural philosophy – or what Carl Watkins calls “the search for the causes of things”⁷⁴ – can be detected through scrutiny of crusade narratives.⁷⁵ Charles Homer Haskins commented that the crusades and this cultural florescence “scarcely touch” in terms of a causal relationship; the roots of the ‘renaissance’ predated those of the crusades.⁷⁶ It is certainly the case, however, that the fruits of this ‘renaissance’ can be detected in the western European sources for the crusade movement, however intangible the route taken by that intellectual cargo. Crusade narratives were not produced in an intellectual vacuum. On account of this, crusade histories represent rich and hitherto largely untapped repositories of evidence for western European intellectual development in the twelfth century.⁷⁷

In a review article surveying responses to poststructuralism from within the discipline of history, John Arnold commented that:

Century Renaissance (Manchester, 1999). For more recent considerations of the term, see especially G. B. Ladner, ‘Terms and Ideas of Renewal’, in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 1-34; C. S. Jaeger, ‘Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century “Renaissance”’, *Speculum* 78.4 (2003), pp. 1151-83; and A. Novikoff, ‘The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century Before Haskins’, *The Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005), pp. 104-16.

⁷³ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, pp. 278-302; M.-T. d’Alverny, ‘Translations and Translators’, in *Renaissance and Renewal*, pp. 421-62.

⁷⁴ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p. 24.

⁷⁵ On nature and the ‘twelfth-century Renaissance’, see M.-D. Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin Medieval West*, ed. and trans. J. Taylor and L. K. Little (London, 1997), esp. pp. 1-48.

⁷⁶ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, p. 15.

⁷⁷ On the value of crusade sources for the study of the Middle Ages see especially RM, p. x; and M. Bull and D. Kempf, ‘Introduction’, in *Writing the Early Crusades*, pp. 1-8, esp. pp. 3-6.

The question regarding the traces of the past is not so much a matter of whether one can or cannot build a knowledge of the past through such materials, as what one understands oneself to be *doing* when working with them.⁷⁸

While Gabrielle Spiegel was able to argue in 2009 that the linguistic turn had “run its course”, the self-reflexivity which it stimulated has maintained its utility as a lesson for historians practicing in its wake.⁷⁹ The following is therefore a short overview of the opportunities and limitations of the approaches and methodologies utilised in this thesis.

The following approach to the source material and to the act of writing history is in large part a response to the destabilising effect of postmodern theory upon the field; or what Donald Morton has called “the widespread acceptance of uncertainty itself”.⁸⁰ What has emerged in the wake of this epistemological challenge is a return to the source material, and a heightened sensitivity to the nature of the source material as inherently constructed. Following the lead of Bull, it has been a central concern throughout the preparation of this thesis that the sources be treated as “cultural artefacts”.⁸¹ Aside from underlining the potential of crusade texts as rich sources for the study of the Middle Ages more broadly, this designation also hints at the interpretative processes required for their use. An artefact has by definition been manufactured.

Certain narratological tenets have influenced the methodology employed in this thesis. First, that the biographical author is necessarily removed from the representation of themselves contained within the text and communicated through the narrative agent.⁸² This tenet has not

⁷⁸ J. Arnold, ‘Responses to the Postmodern Challenge; or, What Might History Become?’, *European History Quarterly* 37 (2007), pp. 109-32, p. 128.

⁷⁹ G. M. Spiegel, ‘The Task of the Historian’, *American Historical Review* 114.1 (2009), pp. 1-15.

⁸⁰ D. Morton, ‘The Crisis of Narrative in the Postnarratological Era: Paul Goodman’s *The Empire City* as a (Post)Modern Intervention’, *New Literary History* 24.2 (1993), pp. 407-24, p. 407.

⁸¹ See M. Bull, ‘Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem’, p. 16; and Bull and Kempf, ‘Introduction’, *Writing the Early Crusades*, p. 5.

⁸² M. Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 2nd edn. (Toronto, 1997).

been followed to the extent of the ‘death of the author’, however.⁸³ The stance taken here is that the narrator, as an extension or tool of the author, inescapably constructs the narrative in terms which represented part of that individual’s thoughtworld. This is not to say that the perspectives of the author and the narrator are necessarily the same, but that the narrative voice as a construction is dependent upon the cognitive architecture of the author. When viewed in this way, the rhetorical strategies employed in the construction of a narrative can be seen to reflect authorial intention, albeit indirectly. Marilyn Robinson Waldman has argued for a parallel means of inference in the study of Ghaznavid historical narratives, derived from the use of structures.⁸⁴

So, rather than seeking to ascertain what an author might have thought, this thesis examines the cultural assumptions that informed their narratorial decisions. The texts consulted in the preparation of this thesis have not been used in order to biographise their authors. While it is possible to exercise a greater degree of certainty concerning the individual and the purpose of the text in the existence of corroborative evidence concerning the historical author, the primary concern of this thesis is purpose, strategy and function. Second, that knowledge of the intended audience is largely limited to the anticipated assonance or dissonance of certain motifs or claims based upon its cultural currency. Watkins has described this method of inference as follows:

⁸³ Seán Burke has explored the lineage and tenets of ‘iconoclastic’, ‘anti-authorial’ literary theory. See S. Burke, *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* (Edinburgh, 1998).

⁸⁴ See M. R. Waldman, *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography* (Columbus, OH, 1980), p. 12: “Elements of structure - organization, pace, arrangement, focus, selection, repetition, juxtaposition, omission, and emphasis - can convey the attitudes of the author. The attitudes thus conveyed are often not found in, or reinforced by, any explicit declarations.”

From relative weights of testimony and corroboration piled up in support of different accounts, we can discern something of what it was anticipated the audience would find easier or harder to believe.⁸⁵

It should be noted, however, that this approach is primarily concerned with authorial expectations of audience response. An audience is not intellectually inert, homogenised, or insular. The third consideration is that the act of writing is in itself processual, and rather than representing static reflections, these examples signify a discursive development of understanding.⁸⁶

As a result of the abovementioned approaches, this thesis is not a survey of ‘popular’ understandings of miracles in Catholic Europe at the time of the crusades. Further, it is only an exploration of how crusade participants ‘experienced’ the miraculous on crusade insofar as the sources permit. Certainly, there are instances where the transmissional route of a miracle story lends itself more favourably to the empirical experience at its origin, and hints at otherwise lost perceptions and responses. Nonetheless the material is approached with an acute sensitivity to the constructed nature of these narratives. On account of this, it is in fact with representations constructed by ecclesiastically educated males that this thesis is largely concerned. While criticism might be levelled at studies which have been perceived to place too great an emphasis on contemporary scholastic perceptions of the crusades, it is inescapable that the miraculous of crusade texts be viewed in large part through this admittedly narrow lens.

It is not the intention of this approach to reflect dichotomous ‘learned’ and ‘popular’ medieval understandings of the miraculous. Watkins has shown the insufficiency of such a

⁸⁵ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p. 18. See also pp. 16-8, and 38-44.

⁸⁶ G. M. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, CA, 1993), p. 10.

dichotomy, calling instead for approaches to an “organic whole”.⁸⁷ Individuals from across social strata were perfectly capable of engaging with miracles in theologically complex and critical ways. Nor did individuals develop their own perceptions in isolation from influences external to their immediate social milieu. It is not the case, therefore, that only the literate perceived the miraculous in the ways shown, but that the breadth of perspectives on the miraculous which can be accessed with any degree of confidence are necessarily restricted by the processes of composition by which they reach us. Such an approach reveals much of importance about how the miraculous could be perceived and represented.

The central line of analysis pursued throughout this thesis is whether and in what ways the miraculous can be seen to function as part of a rhetorical strategy in crusade narratives. A useful example of how stories of the miraculous have been shown to perform a function is contained in Carolyn Carty’s exploration of how visions were used to legitimise the construction of ecclesiastical buildings.⁸⁸ Implied within this is an act of authorial intention. While it would be incorrect to suggest that function, like meaning, is always interpreted in the way it was intended, the exploration of multiple examples within a single text can elucidate broader patterns of purpose.

The study of the miraculous, as an important aspect of Christian religiosity in the Middle Ages, raises important questions about the relationship between belief and function. Assessing the functionality of the miraculous in its written form need not undermine the act of belief, a risk identified by Steven Justice.⁸⁹ Nor does it resurrect the ‘Age of Faith’; important scholarship has revealed how scepticism and doubt are evidenced in medieval

⁸⁷ C. Watkins, “‘Folklore’ and ‘Popular Religion’ in Britain during the Middle Ages”, *Folklore* 115.2 (2004), pp. 140-50.

⁸⁸ See C. M. Carty, ‘The Role of Medieval Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999), pp. 45-90.

⁸⁹ S. Justice, ‘Did the Middle Ages Believe in Their Miracles?’, *Representations* 103.1 (2008), pp. 1-29, p. 10.

texts.⁹⁰ Justice has proposed an approach to medieval belief which recognises it as an active process embracing, even requiring, cognitive problematisation and confrontation.⁹¹ The miraculous and its function as part of a text is approached with an awareness of the contradictory, processual and self-reflexive nature of medieval belief.

Aside from the function of the miraculous, the other lines of analysis pursued in this thesis concern how the use of the miraculous in crusade narratives is capable of reflecting broader intellectual and conceptual patterns. Narratives of change, particularly societal change, can easily become a teleological ascension towards a perceived end point. Concepts of the miraculous did not develop in a linear way from terminological interchangeability to rigid dichotomy. Brian Stock, in his consideration of medieval literacy, replaced “linear, evolutionary thinking with a contextualist approach, which describes phases of an integrated cultural transformation happening at the same time”.⁹² Although it is difficult to discern distinct phases in the material consulted here, efforts have been made to contextualise instances of change rather than to assume that it is representative of teleological progression.

While much of the focus of this thesis is on sources relating to crusades to the eastern Mediterranean, sources concerning crusading endeavours in Iberia and northern Europe at the time of the Second Crusade are also incorporated into the following analysis. These are particularly valuable counterweights in the exploration of how the miraculous is seen to

⁹⁰ On medieval scepticism and doubt, see especially J. Van Engen, ‘The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem’, *The American Historical Review*, 91.3 (1986), pp. 519-52; S. Reynolds, ‘Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 1 (1991), pp. 21-41; J. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005) and ‘The Materiality of Unbelief in Late Medieval England’, in *The Unorthodox Imagination in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. S. Page (Manchester, 2010), pp. 65-95; and K. Brewer, *Wonder and Scepticism in the Middle Ages* (Abingdon, 2016).

⁹¹ Justice, ‘Did the Middle Ages Believe’, pp. 17-18: “I have argued that our modern scholarly accounts of medieval belief, which try to explain belief from the outside, cannot actually explain it. One reason they cannot is that medieval belief already incorporates their possibility as part of its sceptical self-affliction: naturalizing or demystifying accounts of belief not only are available to medieval sources, but are internal to their acts of belief.”

⁹² B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), p. 5.

reflect responses to failure. Both the quality and frequency of stories of the miraculous relating to these frontiers of crusading warfare supports the contention that contemporaries viewed, or at least sought to represent, such enterprises as analogous in terms of divine predestination and orchestration.⁹³

The material considered in this thesis is organised according to three core themes, which correspond to the three central chapters. These are miracles and marvels, visions and dreams, and signs and augury. As will be evident from the titles, each chapter focuses on a theoretical dichotomy. This is intended to draw attention to the potential for medieval authors to have engaged with terminological nuances at a level rarely credited by previous scholars. Each theme is then traced chronologically through the source material. While considerable intellectual and perceptual overlap exists between these categories, it has been necessary to tease out these distinctions for two main reasons: first, in order that multiple developmental arcs and reactionary patterns might be made clear; and second, that the body of material might be more easily navigable. In instances where the relationship with material discussed in a separate chapter is important, this is indicated in a footnote. Key interthematic patterns will be addressed in the thesis conclusion, which will draw together the thematic narratives for each crusade. It is not the intention of this thesis to impose an anachronistic series of categories upon the miraculous in these sources based upon characteristics as perceived by a modern reader; the groupings emerged following close textual analysis and centre upon the terminology used in the sources themselves.

⁹³ On the attribution of historiographical primacy to Jerusalem, and the accuracy of the ascription of 'crusade' to warfare on other frontiers, see Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 1-23; G. Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in *Crusaders and Crusading*, pp. 3-32; Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, pp. 1-8.

In order that the thematic considerations can progress without interruption, the main sources discussed in this thesis are introduced in an initial chapter. The material is discussed chronologically dependant upon the crusade documented by that source. In instances where a single source considers multiple crusades it is categorised based upon the crusade for which it has been most utilised in this thesis. This chapter is intended to set out the relevant historiography concerning each source and, where possible, its author, and to clarify how this scholarship has informed the analysis contained in the central chapters.

The first thematic chapter, miracles and marvels, concerns a particularly rich body of evidence as it embraces not only phenomena identified as a miracle or a marvel, but also those designated as qualitatively miraculous or marvellous. It begins by outlining how the miraculous features in crusade narrative and introducing the key terminology. This is followed by a brief exploration of theological authorities and terminological distinctions. In the remainder of the chapter it is shown that the stories of the miraculous in crusade histories often function to eulogise or to legitimise through divine association. Of the crusades considered in this thesis, it is the First Crusade which contains the bulk of miraculous material. The narrative histories of the Second and Third Crusades reveal a considerable reduction in the inclusion of miracles, and it is shown how its functionality changes in response to contemporary attitudes towards the success, or otherwise, of those endeavours. Finally, it is demonstrated how stories of the miraculous become more numerous for the Fourth Crusade on account of the types of narrative under consideration, but that their function continues to rely upon their ability to act as proof of divine sanction.

The second thematic chapter is concerned with examples of visions and dreams in narratives of the crusades of 1095 to 1204. It begins by exploring two important early authorities on the theory of visions and dreams which can be seen to influence the considerations of crusade narratives. It is shown how an awareness of these authorities can augment an understanding

of how the authors of crusade narratives conceptualised the visionary, and what they sought to communicate through lexical decisions. The exploration of the crusade narratives themselves proceeds chronologically, and for each crusade the language of the visionary is assessed. A notable exception to this is the material for the Second Crusade, which contains almost no references to visions at all. It will be shown how this dearth of material can be seen to reflect contemporary attitudes towards the fortune of the crusade movement. It will also be revealed in this chapter that, much like in Chapter 2, the content pertaining to the visionary is weighted most heavily in favour of the narrative histories of the First Crusade, but that these motifs continue to function as an epistemological tool in the rhetorical strategies of crusade narratives into the thirteenth century.

The third and final thematic chapter explores the representation and function of means of reckoning and of signs in crusade narratives. As in the previous chapters, certain factors key to the intellectual context are considered at the outset; namely, how attitudes towards and the boundaries of theologically licit and illicit means of reckoning were changing at the time of the early crusades. This context is important, as it will be demonstrated how it is reflected back by the crusade narratives themselves and their engagement with signs and augury. Again, a chronological approach to the material is taken, revealing that the narratives of the First Crusade contain the largest volume of material pertaining to signs. Signs communicating victory, in particular, are evidenced in these sources. The material pertaining to the later crusades reflects instead the changing attitudes towards crusading throughout the twelfth century; as it became increasingly common to blame the failure of crusading endeavours on the sins of participants, so signs indicating divine disapproval begin to be used. Further, these later crusade narratives reflect the diversification of the ways that means of reckoning were rationalised and represented over the course of the twelfth century on account of the increasing availability of non-Christian scientific texts in this period.

It will be concluded not only that the miraculous was employed as part of an author's rhetorical strategy, but that its exploration can be seen to reflect both changing attitudes towards the crusading movement and changes to the intellectual landscape of western Europe. On account of this, it will be argued that crusade narratives represent important sources for the investigation of the Middle Ages in general.

Chapter 1: Latin Sources for the Study of the Miraculous in Crusade Narratives

This thesis traces the use of themes pertaining to the miraculous in Latin texts typically produced within a generation of the events being narrated, though there are some exceptions to this guideline. The sources themselves are predominantly dedicated crusade narratives; texts produced with the intention of documenting, refining and interpreting crusade expeditions. As Bull has shown, the shape and form of these histories was amorphous on account of their innovation; Greco-Roman precedents for the extended narrativisation of military endeavours do not appear to have served as models, “which explains in part these texts’ eclectic generic register, which shades between campaign narrative, the *res gestae* of individual crusade leaders, epic, pilgrimage account, vision literature, and hagiography, with admixtures of sermonizing and humorous anecdote”.⁹⁴ Beyond the dedicated crusade histories, chronicles also represent an important body of evidence, particularly for the Second, Third, and Fourth Crusades. The textual response to these later crusades did not match that of the First Crusade in terms of the production of dedicated histories. Hagiographical texts, particularly translation accounts, are an important corpus of source material for the Fourth Crusade, and many of these represent a type of crusade narrative in their own right. Evidence drawn from vernacular histories is also considered for the Fourth Crusade.

In order that the analytical chapters might better concern themselves with their intended themes, it is necessary to outline the key sources and their respective historiographies here.

⁹⁴ M. Bull, ‘The Western Narratives of the First Crusade’, in *Christian–Muslim Relations 600-1500*, ed. D. Thomas, A. Mallett et al., Brill Online, 2015, as made available at http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-i/the-western-narratives-of-the-first-crusade-COM_24927 (Accessed: 30 May 2016).

Therefore what follows is an overview of the key primary source material, considering both the text itself and, where possible, what is known about the historical individual(s) who wrote or compiled it. Relevant historiography will also be identified. The dates in the chapter division titles correspond to the years in which the crusade took place and to the timespan in which the relevant source material was composed respectively.

1. Sources for the First Crusade (1095-1099), 1099-c. 1184

The sequence of events now known as the First Crusade inspired an abundance of literary endeavour for centuries afterwards.⁹⁵ The number of extant narratives reveals a complex network of intertextuality which enables the detection of individual influences upon a certain tradition. Not only has the scholarly primacy of so-called ‘eyewitness’ accounts diminished in the wake of approaches focused on historical perspectives, but the status of the ‘eyewitness’ sources themselves has been challenged; it is on account of this that these types of sources will be referred to as participant narratives throughout this thesis.⁹⁶ At the centre of the corpus of primary sources for the First Crusade is the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*.⁹⁷ It has earned this centrality for two main reasons: first, it was composed by a crusade participant, most probably a cleric,⁹⁸ and has therefore been prioritised by Rankean positivist approaches,⁹⁹ and second because a considerable proportion of other crusade narratives, including those written by other participants, rely upon its

⁹⁵ Existing surveys of the western sources for the First Crusade include: S. B. Edgington, ‘The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence’, in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. J. P. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 19-28; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 17-36; and Bull, ‘The Western Narratives of the First Crusade’.

⁹⁶ See Y. N. Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade’, *Crusades* 3 (2004), pp. 77-99.

⁹⁷ *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (Edinburgh, 1962).

⁹⁸ Formerly thought to have been the work of a lay crusader, Colin Morris has made a convincing case that the *Gesta Francorum* was in fact written by a cleric. See C. Morris, ‘The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History’, *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), pp. 55-71. Morris’s arguments have been problematised recently by C. Kostick, ‘A Further Discussion on the Authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*’, *Reading Medieval Studies* 35 (2009), pp. 1–14. Marcus Bull has recently characterised the suggestion that the author was a knight as “implausible but tenacious”, and has linked the ascription to the source’s predominance. Bull, ‘The Western Narratives of the First Crusade’.

⁹⁹ See Tyerman, *The Debate on the Crusades*, pp. 127-41.

contents. It is believed to have been completed within months of the narrative's symbolic end point: the crusader victory against an Egyptian force at Ascalon in August 1099. Little else has been inferred about the author, other than that he was attached to the contingent led by Bohemond of Taranto before departing from Antioch with the rest of the crusade army as it progressed towards Jerusalem. There is a significant body of scholarship on the *Gesta Francorum*, much of which is concerned with its relationship to a strikingly similar participant narrative attributed to a Poitevin priest named Peter Tudebode.¹⁰⁰ In a deviation from approaches which seek to establish which represents the original text, Rubenstein has argued for a common source called the "Jerusalem history".¹⁰¹ This has been challenged by Bull who has shown through comparison of the texts' morphologies with evidence from a newly discovered manuscript that Peter relied on a now lost recension of the *Gesta Francorum* for his *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*.¹⁰² More recently still, Samu Niskanen has argued for a problematisation of the linear transmission proposed by Bull.¹⁰³ Despite continued efforts to clarify the relationship between these texts, Peter's crusade narrative is often overshadowed by the *Gesta Francorum* on account of their similarities. However, the instances where the *Historia* differs provide particularly valuable insights into the perceived insufficiencies of the *Gesta* narrative.

¹⁰⁰ Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977). On the relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, see especially J. France, 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 39–69; J. Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), pp. 179–204; M. Bull, 'The Relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*: The Evidence of a Hitherto Unexamined Manuscript (St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, 3)', *Crusades* 11 (2012), pp. 1–17; S. Niskanen, 'The Origins of the *Gesta Francorum* and Two Related Texts: Their Textual and Literary Character', *Sacris Erudiri* 51 (2012), pp. 287–316. On the relationship between the *Gesta* and non-participant narratives, see especially Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 135–52.

¹⁰¹ Rubenstein, 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*'.

¹⁰² Bull, 'The Relationship between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia*'.

¹⁰³ Niskanen, 'The Origins of the *Gesta Francorum*'.

There are two further participant narratives; the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres's *Historia Hierosolymitana*. Raymond of Aguilers completed his *Historia* soon after the events it narrates (c. 1101).¹⁰⁴ He is believed to have been a southern French cleric in the entourage of the Provençal count, Raymond IV of Toulouse, also known as Raymond of Saint-Gilles.¹⁰⁵ He had co-authored the work with Provençal knight Pons of Balazun until the latter's death during the siege of 'Arqah (February-May 1099). The fourth and final of the participant narratives is that of Fulcher of Chartres.¹⁰⁶ Fulcher was a northern French cleric who travelled east with the armies of Duke Robert II of Normandy and Count Stephen of Blois before becoming chaplain to Count Baldwin of Boulogne at Edessa in October 1097. His *Historia* begins with a narrative of the crusade, begun probably c. 1101, followed by an account of the years until 1127 which Fulcher spent living in Jerusalem.

Three crusade narratives produced in the first decade of the twelfth century declare themselves to be reworkings of the *Gesta Francorum*. Their monastic authors, Baldric of Bourgueil, Guibert of Nogent, and Robert the Monk, each sought to represent the events of the First Crusade in terms deemed more appropriate for events of such magnitude.¹⁰⁷ This process, famously coined "theological refinement" by Riley-Smith, saw the *Gesta Francorum* and to an extent the *Historia* of Fulcher of Chartres repackaged with the benefit of the perceived clarity of interpretation granted by hindsight and monastic erudition.¹⁰⁸ Baldric of

¹⁰⁴ Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. H Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969).

¹⁰⁵ See Thomas W. Lecaque, 'The Count of Saint-Gilles and the Saints of the Apocalypse: Occitanian Piety and Culture in the Time of the First Crusade', PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2015.

¹⁰⁶ Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095-1127*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

¹⁰⁷ On the cultural significance of the First Crusade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see W. J. Purkis, 'Rewriting the History Books: the First Crusade and the Past', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, pp. 140-54.

¹⁰⁸ See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 135-52. Jay Rubenstein has recently argued that this term should be nuanced to incorporate broader narrative refinements in these texts. See J. Rubenstein, 'Miracles and the Crusading Mind: Monastic Meditations on Jerusalem's Conquest', in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition, Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward*, ed. S. Bhattacharji, R. Williams and D. Mattos (London, 2014), pp. 197-210.

Bourgueil began work on his *Historia Ierosolimitana* in 1105 while he was abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St Peter at Bourgueil.¹⁰⁹ Two years later he was made archbishop of Dol, and in 1130 he died leaving behind an impressive body of work of which his crusade narrative is but one example.

Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos* was written between 1107 and 1108 during the author's exile from his abbacy of Notre-Dame de Nogent.¹¹⁰ As with Baldric, there are other extant works attributed to Guibert.¹¹¹ Other than reworking the *Gesta Francorum*, which Guibert decried as unsophisticated, he also appears to have come across and critically received Fulcher of Chartres's crusade narrative towards the end of the production of his own. Scholarship on the *Dei gesta* has been particularly concerned with his polemical representation of Islam and Judaism.¹¹² Of particular importance for this thesis is Karin Fuchs's *Zeichen und Wunder bei Guibert de Nogent*, which surveys Guibert's understanding of the miraculous as it features in his *Monodiae*, *De pignoribus sanctorum*, *De laude sanctae Mariae*, and *Dei gesta per Francos*.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. S. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014). On Baldric and his crusade history, see S. Biddlecombe, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, pp. xi-cvii, and 'Baldric of Bourgueil and the *Familia Christi*', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, pp. 9-23.

¹¹⁰ Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 2002). On Guibert and his crusade history, see J. Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, NY, 2002).

¹¹¹ For a Latin edition of Guibert's *De pignoribus sanctorum*, see Guibert of Nogent, 'De pignoribus sanctorum', ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127 (Turnhout, 1993), pp. 79-175, and for his book of monodies, see *Autobiographie*, ed. E.-R. Labanda (Paris, 1981).

¹¹² See J. Flori, 'La caricature de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval. Origine et signification de quelques stéréotypes concernant l'Islam', *Aevum* 66 (1992), pp. 245-56; S. Kruger, 'Medieval Christian (Dis)identifications: Muslims and Jews in Guibert of Nogent', *New Literary History* 28 (1997), pp. 185-203; E. Lapina, 'Anti-Jewish Rhetoric in Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos*', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), pp. 239-53.

¹¹³ K. Fuchs, *Zeichen und Wunder bei Guibert de Nogent: Kommunikation, Deutungen und Funktionalisierungen von Wundererzählungen im 12. Jahrhundert* (Oldenburg, 2008). For her consideration of the function of miracles and signs in *Dei gesta*, see pp. 191-8.

In contrast to Baldric and Guibert, little is known about Robert the Monk (also known as Robert of Rheims).¹¹⁴ In the *apologeticus sermo* which prefaces his history, Robert notes that he wrote the work at the request of his abbot.¹¹⁵ It was intended that he provide a work which appropriately situated the events of the First Crusade within its providential framework. Instrumental in this was to be Robert's experience of Pope Urban II's sermon at the Council of Clermont, for which he was apparently present. The work is believed to have been completed in c. 1110 and is known to exist in over eighty extant manuscript witnesses from between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, a figure which dwarfs that of any other contemporary First Crusade history.¹¹⁶ A notable aspect of the *Historia Iherosolimitana*'s circulation is its apparent popularity in the German empire in the twelfth century despite its obvious emphasis on the French as the instruments of divine will.¹¹⁷

Two further sources of Latin authorship which inform the following analysis were written by individuals who were in the Levant soon after the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem: the *Tancredus* (better known as the *Gesta Tancredi* from its title in the Recueil edition)¹¹⁸ of Ralph of Caen and the *Hierosolymita* of Ekkehard of Aura. Ralph had been schooled at Caen under the tutelage of Arnulf of Chocques, chaplain of Robert of Normandy on the crusade and later patriarch of Jerusalem.¹¹⁹ Having completed his studies Ralph was

¹¹⁴ Robert the Monk, *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. M. G. Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2013). On Robert's crusade history, see also C. Sweetenham, trans. *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade, Historia Iherosolimitana* (Aldershot, 2005); M. Bull, 'Robert the Monk and his Source(s)', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, pp. 127-39; and D. Kempf, 'Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade', in *Writing the Early Crusades*, pp. 116-26.

¹¹⁵ RM, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ Bull and Kempf, *The Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. ix-x.

¹¹⁷ See Bull and Kempf, *The Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. xlii-xlv.

¹¹⁸ Ralph of Caen, 'Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana', *RHC Oc.* 3, pp. 587-716. This edition has since been superseded by Ralph of Caen, *Radulphi Cadomensis Tancredus*, ed. and trans. E. D'Angelo, *CCCM* 231 (Turnhout, 2011).

¹¹⁹ Arnulf of Chocques is a controversial figure. Schooled at Caen under Lanfranc, he went on to teach Ralph and to maintain a close relationship with him. Arnulf travelled with the army of Count Robert of Normandy on the First Crusade and it is from his role on this expedition and in the nascent Kingdom of Jerusalem that he appears as a divisive character. Arnulf had assumed spiritual leadership of the crusade following Adhémar of Le Puy's death in August 1098, and his continuing scepticism over the authenticity

ordained as a priest and joined the entourage of Bohemond as chaplain in c. 1106. Bohemond had returned to Europe to raise reinforcements for his campaign against the Byzantine Empire. Ralph then accompanied Bohemond's forces to the eastern Mediterranean in 1107. Before Bohemond's death in 1111 Ralph transferred his services to Bohemond's nephew Tancred in Antioch, who in turn died in December 1112. Ralph began his prosimetric history of the crusade after Tancred's death, probably while living in Jerusalem where Patriarch Arnulf was able to promise Ralph that he would edit the work upon its completion.¹²⁰ He had likely completed it before mid-1118. Ralph's relationship with Arnulf is an important factor in the way that key miraculous episodes are portrayed, as will be discussed below.¹²¹ Considerations of Ralph's text in relation to the miraculous rarely look beyond his famously negative portrayal of Peter Bartholomew. However, as Natasha Hodgson has demonstrated the value of the *Gesta Tancredi* as a source for the study of Norman identities, so this thesis reveals its significance for the study of the miraculous.¹²²

While the majority of key sources are Anglo-Norman or French in origin, there are some important correctives in the form of one Bavarian and one Lotharingian narrative. Ekkehard of Aura travelled to Jerusalem after 1099 as a participant in the 1101 expedition.¹²³ He is thought to have written his crusade history *Hierosolymita* between 1102 and 1106, using oral testimony and sections from the chronicle of Frutolf of Bamberg, which he had previously

of the Holy Lance of Antioch followed by his arrangement of Peter Bartholomew's ordeal by fire secured his negative portrayal in the crusade histories of Peter's supporters, notably in that of Raymond of Aguilers. He played a key role in the discovery of the relic of the True Cross at Jerusalem. After his election as the first patriarch of Jerusalem in 1099, he was challenged by Daimbert archbishop of Pisa and deposed. He resumed the office in 1112. See J. G. Rowe, 'Paschal II and the Relation Between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Speculum* 32.3 (1957), pp. 470-501; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 95-9; Bachrach and Bachrach trans., *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, pp. 1-2; and W. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy c.1050-1134* (Woodbridge, 2008), esp. pp. 184-5.

¹²⁰ See Bachrach and Bachrach, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, p. 4.

¹²¹ See Chapter 3, section 2.1.

¹²² N. Hodgson, 'Reinventing Normans as Crusaders? Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*', *Anglo Norman Studies* 30 (2008), pp. 117-32.

¹²³ Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', *RHC Oc.* 5, pp. 1-40.

revised for his *Chronicon universale*.¹²⁴ Much of the scholarly attention given to Ekkehard's crusade history has been on account of its version of the 1096 violence against Jewish communities in the Rhineland.¹²⁵ As will be shown, it is also a rich source for perceptions of marvels. The second Germanic narrative is the *Historia Ierosolimitana* attributed to Albert of Aachen.¹²⁶ It is an important source for several reasons: first, its version of the First Crusade was written without the influence of the participant narratives; and second, it is by far the longest and most detailed of the contemporary narratives. It can be inferred from the text that Albert was born no later than c. 1080. His *Historia* appears to have been written over two periods. The first six books concern the events of the crusade itself, and Albert may have begun preparing these chapters from c. 1102. The remaining six books were written from c. 1120 and detail further expeditions to and the affairs of the nascent crusader states.¹²⁷ Albert's narrative of the First Crusade is a synthesis of oral testimony gleaned from returning participants. The independence of Albert's rendition is illustrated by his ascription of the crusade's stimulus to Peter the Hermit rather than Pope Urban II's sermon at the Council of Clermont. It is also detectable in the work's focus on Godfrey of Bouillon.

Finally, reference is made in this thesis to the *Historia Ierosolymitana* of William of Tyre.¹²⁸ The *Historia* is a chronologically-arranged *narratio rei gestae* which centres upon Jerusalem from the loss of the city by the Christians in 614 almost until the eve of the city's conquest by the armies of Saladin in 1187.¹²⁹ It contains a lengthy consideration of the events of the First Crusade, for which William relied in large part upon the works of Albert of Aachen, Raymond of Aguilers, Fulcher of Chartres, Baldric of Bourgueil and the anonymous author

¹²⁴ See E. Haverkamp, 'What Did the Christians Know? Latin Reports on the Persecutions of the Jews in 1096', *Crusades* 7 (2008), pp. 59–86, esp. pp. 76-7.

¹²⁵ See for example M. Gabriele, 'Against the Enemies of Christ'.

¹²⁶ Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).

¹²⁷ AA, pp. xxi-xxvi.

¹²⁸ William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63 and 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

¹²⁹ E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, trans., *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (New York, NY, 1943), 1, p. 4.

of the *Gesta Francorum*.¹³⁰ Edbury and Rowe note that William used these sources as a “springboard for his historical imagination”.¹³¹ William was a native of the kingdom of Jerusalem, where he is believed to have been born around the year 1130.¹³² He rose to prominence in the court of King Amalric of Jerusalem (d. 1174), was granted the archdeaconry of Tyre in 1167, and was appointed chancellor in 1174.¹³³ In the May or June of the following year he was granted the additional charge of the archbishopric of Tyre.¹³⁴ It is believed that William worked on the *Historia* over a protracted period of time, between 1170 and 1184, while continuing to focus primarily on his secular and ecclesiastical responsibilities.¹³⁵ Of particular relevance to this thesis is scholarship which has concluded that William was somehow “less credulous” than his contemporaries on account of his allegedly critical approach to miraculous material.¹³⁶

It should be noted that the focus on chronological breadth in this thesis, combined with the vast corpus of source material for the First Crusade in particular, has meant that certain crusade narratives have remained outside its scope.¹³⁷

¹³⁰ Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 45-6.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹³² Babcock and Krey, trans., *A History of Deeds*, 1, p. 6; Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, pp. 13-4. For a detailed consideration of William of Tyre’s life and career, see also R. Hiestand, ‘Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus’, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 34 (1978), pp. 345-80.

¹³³ Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 15-6.

¹³⁴ Babcock and Krey, trans., *A History of Deeds*, 1, p. 4; Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 18.

¹³⁵ Edbury and Rowe, *William of Tyre*, p. 26.

¹³⁶ In 1841, von Sybel argued that the miraculous was “foreign to his [i.e. William’s] sober and well-regulated mind.” H. von Sybel, *The History and Literature of the First Crusade*, trans. Lady Duff Gordon (London, 1861), p. 304. This was continued by August Krey who commented that the *Historia* was “less credulous than... most contemporary chronicles.” A. C. Krey, ‘William of Tyre: The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages’, *Speculum* 16.2 (1941), pp. 149-66, p. 163. More recently, Tuomas Lehtonen has more sensitively suggested that William’s “attitude toward the crusading ideology was more or less ‘disenchanted’, that is, the holy cause had lost at least part of its original spell.” Lehtonen, ‘By the Help of God’, p. 78

¹³⁷ In particular the anonymous Monte Cassino chronicle, also known as the *Historia Belli Sacri*, will not feature in the following analysis. On this text, see especially L. Russo, ‘The Monte Cassino Tradition of the First Crusade: From the *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis* to the *Hystoria de Via et Recuperatione Antichiae atque Ierusalymarum*, in *Writing the Early Crusades*, pp. 53-62. For a Latin edition, see *Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochiae atque Ierusalymarum (olim Tudebodis imitatus et*

2. Sources for the Second Crusade (1147-1149), c. 1147-c. 1208

The Holy Land expedition of the Second Crusade can boast only one dedicated treatment of the type represented by many of the narrative histories of the First Crusade. Odo of Deuil's (d. 1162) *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, written in the form of a letter addressed to Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, represents the most detailed source for this expedition and has therefore been described as "without question the most important single work on this campaign".¹³⁸ Odo, monk and later abbot of Saint-Denis near Paris, was the chaplain of King Louis VII of France during the Second Crusade between 1147 and 1149; his work may therefore be privileged as one written by a participant. The account ends at the point at which the remains of Louis' army reached Antioch in early 1148, and therefore before it is able to recount the army's subsequent efforts in the East, most notably the failed siege of Damascus in July 1148. While Virginia Berry argued that Odo began working on the text while *en route* and before the siege of Damascus, Henry Mayr-Harting has convincingly argued for a composition date in early 1150.¹³⁹ Odo's letter was intended to provide his abbot with information which might be used to inform a history of the French king, an intention which is manifest in what Mayr-Harting has called a "hagiographical streak".¹⁴⁰ Saint-Denis had established ties with the Capetian dynasty; Nicholas Paul has described Odo's predecessor as

continuatus): *Normanni d'Italia alla prima Crociata in una cronaca cassinese*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Florence, 2009).

¹³⁸ Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948); Constable, 'The Second Crusade', p. 232; also J. Phillips, 'Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* as a Source for the Second Crusade', in *The Experience of Crusading*, 1, pp. 80-95, p. 80. An alternative interpretation of *De profectione* can be found in B. Schuste, 'The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory and Historiography*, ed. G. Althoff, J. Fried and P. J. Geary (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 253-78.

¹³⁹ Berry has argued that Odo's reference to how "the flowers of France withered before they could bear fruit at Damascus" could indicate that he was writing between the defeat on the Cadmos Mountain in June 1148 and the end of the siege of Damascus the following month. See Berry trans., *De profectione*, p. xxiii; Mayr-Harting, "Odo of Deuil," pp. 230-31.

¹⁴⁰ H. Mayr-Harting, 'Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade, and the Monastery of Saint-Denis', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Memory of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. M. A. Meyer (London, 1993), pp. 225-41, esp. p. 226, reprinted in his *Religion and Society in the Medieval West, 600-1200: Selected Papers* (Aldershot, 2010), 16, pp. 225-41.

abbot, Suger, as the “apologist-in-chief for the Capetians”.¹⁴¹ Odo’s laudatory intentions are often underpinned by a passionate dislike of the Greeks, and particularly of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, who is held responsible for the crusade’s foundering in Asia Minor.¹⁴² Giles Constable has also suggested that Odo may have sought to provide a guide for future crusaders to the East.¹⁴³ Odo is believed to have taken a history of the First Crusade with him on the Second Crusade.¹⁴⁴ The implications of this, and of other issues surrounding Odo’s familiarity with sources for the First Crusade, will be explored below.¹⁴⁵

The other main source for the expedition to the East is Otto of Freising’s *Gesta Frederici* (1157-1158), a work which was continued upon Otto’s death in 1158 by Rahewin.¹⁴⁶ In contrast to the relatively obscure Odo, Otto was the son of Margrave Leopold III of Austria and of Agnes, daughter of Emperor Henry IV. Otto was therefore the half-brother of King Conrad III and the uncle of Frederick Barbarossa, for whom this work was written as a panegyric. Initially educated by the Augustinian canons of Klosterneuburg, Otto joined the Cistercian Order in 1132 before becoming abbot of Morimond and bishop of Freising in 1138.¹⁴⁷ While Otto was also a participant on the crusade, the events in the East only comprise a small part of the *Gesta*, and an even smaller proportion of his *Historia duabus civitatibus* (1143-1147), extant only in a later (1157) recension dedicated to Frederick

¹⁴¹ Phillips, ‘Odo of Deuil’s *De profectioe*’, p. 82; N. Paul, ‘A Warlord’s Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade’, *Speculum* 85.3 (2010), pp. 534-66, p. 563.

¹⁴² S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1951-4), 2, p. 274, n. 2; T. Reuter, ‘The ‘non-crusade’ of 1149-50’, in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, pp. 150-63, p. 151; Phillips, ‘Odo of Deuil’s *De profectioe*’, p. 85; Mayr-Harting, ‘Odo of Deuil’; J. Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 2nd ed. (London, 2014), pp. 106-9.

¹⁴³ Constable, ‘The Second Crusade’, p. 233.

¹⁴⁴ Phillips, ‘Odo of Deuil’s *De profectioe*’, p. 83 and *The Second Crusade*, p. 185; J. Rubenstein, ‘Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context’ *Viator* 35 (2004), pp. 131-68, p. 150.

¹⁴⁵ See Chapter 2, section 4.4. For a detailed exploration, see B. C. Spacey, ‘The Celestial Knight: Evoking the First Crusade in Odo of Deuil’s *De profectioe Ludovici VII in Orientem* and in the Anonymous *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*’, *Essays in Medieval Studies* 31 (2016, forthcoming), pp. 65-82.

¹⁴⁶ Otto of Freising, *Otonis et Rahewini Gesta Frederici I. imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SSRG* 46 (Hannover, 1912).

¹⁴⁷ See E. Mégier, ‘Otto of Freising’, in *Christian–Muslim Relations 600-1500*, as made available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_CMRCOM_23300 (Accessed: 5 July 2016)

Barbarossa.¹⁴⁸ His work is of particular significance to the study of perceptions of the miraculous in this period as he openly situates both the inception and eventual downfall of the Second Crusade within a framework of divine providence and punishment.¹⁴⁹

A useful comparison to the work of Otto and Odo takes the form of a richly descriptive source for crusading efforts in the Iberian peninsula in this period. The conquest of Lisbon on 24 October 1147 has been considered the only Christian success to result from the series of almost concurrent endeavours which came to be known as the Second Crusade.¹⁵⁰ The crusaders who joined the forces of King Afonso Henriques of Portugal in the siege had embarked from Dartmouth in England in May, and were principally Anglo-Norman, Flemish and Rhenish. The *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* is the most helpful of the limited extant sources relating to the event.¹⁵¹ It takes the form of a letter, addressed to Osbert of Bawdsey, a cleric in the employ of the East Anglian Glanvill family. The Glanvill connection is significant; the leader of the Anglo-Norman contingent was one Hervey de Glanvill.¹⁵² The author has been identified as a Norman-French priest, Raol.¹⁵³ He is believed to have completed his account during the winter of 1147-1148,¹⁵⁴ and to have participated in the events he narrates.¹⁵⁵ Raol's work is particularly useful for an investigation of the miraculous in crusade narratives due to its frequent inclusion of instances of the supernatural; even

¹⁴⁸ Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia duabus civitatibus*, ed. W. Lammers and trans. A. Schmidt (Berlin, 1960).

¹⁴⁹ C. C. Mierow, 'Bishop Otto of Freising: Historian and Man', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 80 (1949), pp. 393-402, p. 393.

¹⁵⁰ H. Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author', *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1991), pp. 1-16, p. 1; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 136-67; S. Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry the Crusader in Lisbon', *Portuguese Studies* 24.1 (2008), pp. 7-31, p. 7.

¹⁵¹ *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. C. W. David and ed. J. P. Phillips (New York, 2001). On *De expugnatione*, see especially Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author'; and J. P. Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (*The Conquest of Lisbon*)', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History*, ed. R. N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* 36 (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 123-41.

¹⁵² On the association between Raol and Hervey, and on the Glanvill family more broadly, see C. W. David, 'The Authorship of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*', *Speculum* 7.1 (1932), pp. 50-7.

¹⁵³ H. Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author'.

¹⁵⁴ Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author', p. 16; Constable, 'The Second Crusade', p. 236.

¹⁵⁵ *DeL*, p. 146, n. 3; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 161.

before the fleet had arrived at Portugal, our author describes an event whereby a combination of divine punishment and mercy demonstrates how these events should be understood as having occurred within an atmosphere of God's instrumentality, a theme which continues throughout the work.¹⁵⁶

There are several shorter sources associated with the events in and around Lisbon in the mid-twelfth century which will feature in the following discussion; the first of these is the collection of short, contemporary letters known as the Lisbon Letter or the "Teutonic Source".¹⁵⁷ The original version of the letter was written by a contemporary named Winand, a priest, for Arnold, archbishop of Cologne.¹⁵⁸ Included in the five other extant versions of the Letter are two first-person "customisations", attributed to one Duodechin, also a priest, to Abbot Cuno of Disibodenberg, and Arnulf, who was writing to Milo, bishop of Thérouanne.¹⁵⁹ Winand, Duodechin and Arnulf are all understood to have been participants in the campaign at Lisbon.¹⁶⁰ Corroborative and potentially corrective evidence regarding the events at Lisbon can also be found in the *Indiculum foundationis monasterii S. Vincentii*, written at São Vicente de Fora.¹⁶¹ While the author claims to have completed the work in 1188, this date has been queried.¹⁶² Not only does this source provide valuable insight into the late-twelfth-century Portuguese perceptions of the crusade, but it also provides some comparative and corroborative evidence for material included within the sources contemporary to the conquest of Lisbon.

¹⁵⁶ *DeL*, p. 60.

¹⁵⁷ J. P. Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries, and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48.3 (1997), pp. 485-97; S. B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, pp. 54-70.; Constable, 'The Second Crusade', p. 237-9. For a Latin edition of the letter, see S. B. Edgington in 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research* 69 (1996), pp. 328-39, pp. 336-9; translated in 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', pp. 61-70.

¹⁵⁸ Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', p. 61.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 56.

¹⁶¹ *Indiculum foundationis monasterii S. Vincentii*, in *Portugaliae monumenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintumdecimum. Scriptores* 1 (Liechtenstein, 1967), pp. 90-3.

¹⁶² Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry', p. 19.

Much of the modern scholarship regarding the conquest of Lisbon has concentrated on the extent to which historians can glean whether or not crusader participation in the siege was premeditated or even papally sanctioned.¹⁶³ This debate stems from Constable's seminal article, in which he argues that the conquest of Lisbon "should be regarded as part of the broader crusading effort".¹⁶⁴ The relationship between other peninsular campaigns of 1147-1148 and the Second Crusade have also been subject to scholarly discussion in this regard.¹⁶⁵ The *Ystoria captionis Almerie et Turtuose* of Caffaro di Rustico of Caschifellone, a Genoese diplomat, military leader, and historian, was written shortly after the conquests of Almería and Tortosa in 1147 and 1148 respectively.¹⁶⁶ The work has been used to demonstrate that Caffaro perceived these endeavours within a crusading context.¹⁶⁷ Indeed, while Caffaro does not engage with the miraculous in the *Ystoria*, allusions to divine instrumentality evocative of crusade narrative can be detected.¹⁶⁸

Sources for the northern crusades of this period are somewhat less detailed than those for crusading in Iberia, and even in the East. There are no extant pieces dedicated to the events of the Wendish Crusade of 1147, however reference to the northern expeditions can be found in

¹⁶³ Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author', pp. 1-16; Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux'; Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade'; A. Forey, 'The Siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade', *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004), pp. 1-13.

¹⁶⁴ Constable, 'The Second Crusade', p. 237.

¹⁶⁵ See N. Jaspert, 'Capta est Dertosa, Clavis Christianorum: Tortosa and the Crusades', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, pp. 90-110; Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 170-5.

¹⁶⁶ R. D. Face, 'Secular History on Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa', *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), pp. 169-84. For the dating of the *Ystoria*, see p. 172. For a Latin edition, see 'Cafari ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose ann. 1147 et 1148', in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi Continuatori*, ed. L. T. Belgrano, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 11 (Genoa, 1890), pp. 77-91.

¹⁶⁷ See M. Hall and J. P. Phillips, trans., *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 1-48.

¹⁶⁸ Allusions to divine instrumentality in the *Ystoria* generally take the form of formulaic reference to God's aid. However, clearer echoes of crusade narrative can be found in his description of the origins of the Almería campaign. Namely, the description of the Genoese as called upon by God through the papacy, and of how the Holy Spirit caused the cessation of feuding in Genoa in preparation for the campaign. See 'Cafari ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose', pp. 79-80. Regarding Caffaro's lack of allusion to crusade spirituality in his versions of the conquests of Almería and Tortosa, William Purkis has suggested that: "Perhaps it is simply the case that Caffaro, as a historian who did not have a clerical background, expressed Genoese crusade piety in different terminology to that used by other writers." Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality*, pp. 174-5.

chronicles written a generation or two after the events themselves, such as the northern German *Annales Magdeburgenses* and *Annales Palidenses*.¹⁶⁹

The Saxon chronicler Helmold of Bosau (d. c. 1177) is believed to have written his *Chronica Slavorum* between c. 1167 and 1171 in Schleswig-Holstein.¹⁷⁰ His chronicle traces the Christianisation of the Polabian Slavs from the ninth century until his own time, drawing heavily on the work of Adam of Bremen for information about the period before his own lifetime. Despite writing his account of the Wendish Crusade of 1147 around two decades after the events took place, Helmold's work offers an invaluable insight, not only into northern crusading activity, but also into how these events were perceived in relation to crusading efforts in the Holy Land and Iberia.¹⁷¹ While the crusades themselves occupy relatively brief sections of Helmold's *Chronica*, the miraculous and the marvellous punctuate the entirety of the text at regular intervals. References to the miraculous occur most frequently during Helmold's treatment of the life and deeds of Vicelin (d. 1154), bishop of Oldenberg, known as the 'apostle of Holstein' on account of missionary activity amongst the Wagrian and Abodrite Slavs in the 1120s, which will be considered in detail below.

A further source for crusading in the North in this period is Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*, a compendious history of the Danish people until the death of King Canute VI of Denmark in 1202.¹⁷² Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* is considered one of the most significant works from and concerning Scandinavia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, therefore providing

¹⁶⁹ 'Annales Magdeburgenses', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 16 (Hanover, 1858), pp. 105-96, p. 188; 'Annales Palidenses', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 16 (Hanover, 1858), pp. 48-98, p. 82.

¹⁷⁰ Constable, 'The Second Crusade', p. 239; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. 228. For a Latin edition, see Helmold of Bosau, *Slavenchronik*, ed. B. Schmeidler, *MGH SSRG* 32 (Hanover, 1937).

¹⁷¹ On Helmold's understanding of crusading in Iberia, the Baltic and the Holy Land as linked, see especially Constable, 'The Second Crusade', p. 239.

¹⁷² Saxo Grammaticus, 'Ex Saxonis Gestis Danorum', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 29 (Hanover, 1892), pp. 37-161.

a consideration of themes pertinent to this study from a distinct perspective.¹⁷³ Twelfth-century crusading endeavours are discussed in the fourteenth book. The work is believed to have been written between 1190 and 1208, and therefore represents a perspective on the Wendish Crusade later even than that of Helmold.

3. Sources for the Third Crusade (1189-1192), c. 1191-c. 1222

As with many of the texts upon which one must rely for the study of the Second Crusade, many of the sources considered in this thesis discuss only disparate elements of the Third Crusade. For example, a work might treat both the German expedition of Frederick Barbarossa and the later Anglo-Norman campaign of Richard I of England in relation to one another, or explore one series of events in isolation, or incompletely. One is similarly reliant upon texts in which the Third Crusade comprises only a small portion of a whole which covers a much broader temporal and geographical span.

The first set of texts considered in this research can be roughly grouped together on account of their ties to Angevin crusading interests, and intention to document either Richard's participation in the Third Crusade or his father Henry II's failure to act upon his crusade vow.¹⁷⁴ A key source for the Third Crusade is in fact a compilation, edited by William Stubbs in the nineteenth century as the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*.¹⁷⁵ It has been argued more recently that Book One, called *IPI* by Hans Eberhard Mayer (a nomenclature continued by Nicholson in her translation), circulated independently.¹⁷⁶ The writer of *IPI* is thought to have been a compiler, present on the crusade, who put together the

¹⁷³ L. Hermanson, 'Friendship and Politics in Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 83.2 (2005), pp. 261-84, p. 261.

¹⁷⁴ On contemporary attitudes towards Henry II's failure to take the cross, see Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 207-50.

¹⁷⁵ W. Stubbs, ed., *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, 1: Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi, auctore, ut videtur, Ricardo canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londoniensi* (London, 1864).

¹⁷⁶ H. E. Mayer, ed., *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: Eine Zeitgenössische Englische Chronik zum Dritten Kreuzzug in Ursprünglicher Gestalt* (Stuttgart, 1962); H. J. Nicholson, trans., *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Farnham, 1997).

account of the years 1187-1189 between 1 August 1191 and 2 September 1192 from oral information and reports. He then added to it using information from a written account of the German crusade, before then adding a section on the siege of Acre. It is unclear to what extent he was the original author of this latter section.¹⁷⁷ A later compiler then added the *IP1* to sections from – among others – Ralph of Diceto and Roger of Howden, as well as a Latin translation of Ambroise’s *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*. This version of the text is called *IP2*, and it is generally attributed to Richard de Templo, the Augustinian prior of Holy Trinity in London between 1248 and c. 1250.¹⁷⁸ *IP2* is believed to have been completed before 1222, therefore representing the perspectives of the next generation as opposed to contemporaries of the Third Crusade. Nicholson suggests that one of the key intentions of the work was that it function as a reinforcement of the English monarchy through the positive portrayal of Richard I.¹⁷⁹

There are further extant sources written by individuals who are known to have taken part in the Third Crusade. John Gillingham has argued that “there can be little doubt” that Roger of Howden (d. 1201), clerk to Henry II of England (1174-1189), went on crusade in the entourage of Richard I of England.¹⁸⁰ He remained only briefly in the Holy Land, leaving Acre for Europe in the company of the French king Philip Augustus in August 1191, having spent thirteen months with the army.¹⁸¹ Gillingham states that the crusade-related sections of the *Gesta Henrici II*, a chronicle which details the reign of both Henry II and his son Richard I, represent a record of the events Roger experienced and heard of during his time on crusade,

¹⁷⁷ Book One can be separated using Stubbs’ chapter numbers (which are followed by Mayer and Nicholson), as comprising chapters 1-17, 18-24, and chapters 25 to the end. Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 10.

¹⁷⁸ Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; For a reconsideration of Richard I’s contribution to the Third Crusade, with reference to the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, see Markowski, ‘Richard Lionheart’.

¹⁸⁰ J. Gillingham, ‘Roger of Howden on Crusade’, in *Richard Cœur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1994), pp. 141-53, p. 142; see also D. M. Stenton, ‘Roger of Howden and Benedict’, *The English Historical Review* 68.269 (1953), pp. 574-82.

¹⁸¹ Gillingham, ‘Roger of Howden on Crusade’, pp. 148-9.

and that his *Chronica* (which is a treatment of English history from 732 to 1201) should be viewed as a revised version of this, written in hindsight upon his return.¹⁸² The *Gesta* only records events which occurred before the spring of 1192, and should be considered as having been written before Roger received knowledge of the crusade's failure to recapture Jerusalem. This has resulted in the recognition of an "optimism" in the earlier work, which was later expunged by Roger in the *Chronica* through the alteration and omission of certain passages which had been present in the *Gesta*.¹⁸³

Gerald of Wales (d. 1223) produced several prose works for ecclesiastic and court audiences during his lifetime, most of which engaged to some extent with themes relating to crusading. Like Roger of Howden, Gerald did not belong to a monastic order. He had studied at Paris for several years before entering the service of King Henry II of England, and much that is discernible about Gerald's perspectives on the miraculous and the natural should be viewed as a response to this scholastic educational milieu.¹⁸⁴ While Gerald was not a participant on the crusade, he was involved in the preaching of the expedition: he was appointed to accompany Baldwin of Ford, archbishop of Canterbury (1184-1190), on his preaching tour of Wales in 1188.¹⁸⁵ His account of this preaching tour, entitled the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, was completed by the end of 1191.¹⁸⁶ The *Itinerarium Kambriae* has been described as "a true

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 146; L. M. Ruch, 'Roger of Howden', *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy, 2014, as made available at http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/roger-of-howden-SIM_02208 (Accessed: 29 August 2014). For a Latin edition of the *Gesta*, see *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II, and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192; Known Commonly Under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 49.1 and 2 (London, 1867). For a Latin edition of the *Chronica*, see Roger of Howden, *Chronica: Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 51.2 and 3 (London, 1869 and 1870).

¹⁸³ J. Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade', p. 149.

¹⁸⁴ R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2006), pp. 12-3.

¹⁸⁵ P. W. Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, eds. A. Haverkamp and H. Volrath (Oxford, 1996), pp. 221-33.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 221.

forerunner of the modern genre of travel books”.¹⁸⁷ The work is largely comprised of anecdotes relating to the areas of Wales through which the party travelled in order to preach the crusade. These stories frequently touch upon themes relating to the marvellous and miraculous, and on occasion place these within a crusading context. A second work of Gerald’s which deals particularly with themes surrounding the Third Crusade is *De Principis Instructione*, which he was in the prolonged process of composing from around 1190 until 1217.¹⁸⁸ It was in this latter work that Gerald was able to fully express his long-standing opinion that the misfortune experienced by Henry II in his later years – depicted by Gerald as the downward turn of Fortune’s wheel – was the direct result of his failure to adequately prepare for and embark upon crusade.

Richard of Devizes, who wrote his *Chronicon* in the early 1190s, has been cast by his modern editor and translator as “a mocking, irreverent, witty and rather cynical writer”.¹⁸⁹ The work itself is relatively small, and discusses only the first three years of Richard I’s reign. It is comprised of a description of affairs in England during those three years, interspersed with anecdotes relating to the Third Crusade. Richard was a monk of St Swithun’s in Winchester, who did not participate in the crusade.¹⁹⁰ The most recent editor and translator of Richard’s work suggests that the chronicle was written within a year of Richard I’s departure from the Holy Land in October 1192, the point at which the chronicle ends.¹⁹¹ Emphasis is placed upon the chronicle’s value as a work produced by a disinterested party, meaning that Richard was not writing a panegyric piece as part of the royal entourage; he was “no clerk of the royal

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. For a Latin edition of the *Itinerarium Cambriae*, see Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, Vol. VI: *Itinerarium Cambriae et Descriptio Cambriae*, ed. J. F. Dimock (London, 1868).

¹⁸⁸ Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 62. For a Latin edition of *De Principis*, see Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, Vol. VIII: *De Principis Instructione Liber*, ed. G. F. Warner (London, 1891).

¹⁸⁹ J. T. Appleby, ed., and trans., *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First* (London, 1963), p. xi.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. xi.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. xviii.

chapel whose fortunes depended upon the king's good-will".¹⁹² There are only two extant copies of Richard's work, which leads Appleby to conclude that the work was privately produced and only circulated within a limited circle of Richard's friends.¹⁹³ It is thought that the author probably relied on around three separate sources of information – probably crusaders – for his consideration of the Third Crusade.¹⁹⁴ Notably, the work does not draw upon the broader literary corpus of the time relating to its topic, and no others which remain extant make use of it. Further, it should be noted that Richard of Devizes should not be considered a typical author of his time:

In Richard of Devizes, we find a monk who sounds sometimes petty and angry, allows personal hurt feelings to show, makes jokes in bad taste, adopts irony as his favorite stylistic tone, hardly mentions religion or morality at all and then in confusing ways, and ridicules another stricter religious order.¹⁹⁵

This characterisation of the author, combined with the *Chronicon's* "sketchy and distorted"¹⁹⁶ treatment of the Third Crusade, has led to the suggestion that the work is not a reliable source for the Third Crusade's details. There are entire periods of time in which Richard I's army was engaged in the Holy Land of which no mention is made. These factors do not negate the source's value in an investigation of the marvellous and miraculous. Rather, the work provides a more unusual, individual insight into the use of these themes by Richard.

Aside from the Anglo-centric texts described above, there is also a small corpus of texts relating specifically to the campaign of Frederick Barbarossa, Holy Roman Emperor and crusade veteran. Frederick's crusader army departed from Regensburg on 11 May 1189, and

¹⁹² Ibid., p. xvi.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. xiv.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. xvii.

¹⁹⁵ N. Partner, 'Richard of Devizes: The Monk Who Forgot to be Medieval', in *The Middle Ages in Text and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. J. Glenn (Toronto, ON, 2011), pp. 231-44, p. 234.

¹⁹⁶ Appleby, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*, p. xvii.

progressed effectively through Asia Minor. Following Frederick's death while attempting to cross the river Göksu (also known as the Saleph) on 10 June 1190, the German crusade forces underwent a protracted dispersal and ultimately failed to provide the vital reinforcement required by those besieging Acre.¹⁹⁷ The "longest, richest and most important" of the three main sources for Frederick's role in the Third Crusade is the *Historia de expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*.¹⁹⁸ A contemporary text, the *HeFI* is believed to have been completed by c. 1200. It is also considered to be a composite text. The majority of the text concerning the crusaders' passage across Asia Minor appears to have been written by a participant. It also closely resembles (and particularly during the section concerning the 16 May to the 9 June 1190, the eve of Frederick's death) a source written by a Bavarian cleric named Tageno, who was the dean of the cathedral of Passau and died in Tripoli later in 1190.¹⁹⁹

A further source concerning the crusade expedition of Frederick Barbarossa, the *Historia Peregrinorum*, is extant in only one manuscript from the early thirteenth century.²⁰⁰ Although it is only half the length of the *HeFI*, Graham Loud has suggested that it too is a composite text.²⁰¹ While this is thought to be an early text, Loud concludes that the *HP* is not an eyewitness account, in part because of its extensive use of the *HeFI*.²⁰² Because of the similarities between the two texts, Loud chose to translate only the introduction, which comprises the only entirely original section of the *HP*. The *HP*'s use of the *HeFI* is rarely verbatim, however, and often builds upon or negates the latter's account. Therefore, a consideration of how the miraculous themes from the *HeFI* have been incorporated, or not,

¹⁹⁷ Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, pp. 138-41.

¹⁹⁸ G. A. Loud, trans. *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Farnham, 2010), p. 1. For a Latin edition of the *Historia de Expeditione*, see *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SSRG 5* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 1-115.

¹⁹⁹ Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*, pp. 3-5, especially for details of the relationship between the two texts.

²⁰⁰ For a Latin edition of *Historia Peregrinorum*, see *MGH SSRG 5*, pp. 116-30.

²⁰¹ Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 7.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

into the *HP* may contribute to an understanding of how such issues were understood and utilised differently by our authors.

The final source to be discussed in relation to the Third Crusade is Arnold of Lübeck's *Chronica Slavorum*.²⁰³ Arnold was abbot of the Benedictine abbey of St John's, Lübeck. He is believed to have completed the work, addressed to the bishop and cathedral chapter of Ratzeburg, in 1210, roughly two years before his death.²⁰⁴ The work itself is somewhat misleadingly titled, and should be understood to be a consideration of much broader geographical horizons (including the eastern Mediterranean) than Nordalbingia and the Welf kingdoms. Arnold's *Chronica* contains a lengthy discussion of the German, French and English expeditions of the Third Crusade. It also outlines the pilgrimage of Henry the Lion (Duke of Saxony and Bavaria from 1131 until 1189) to Jerusalem in 1172. While it was originally believed that Arnold accompanied Henry the Lion on this pilgrimage to the Holy Land, this has since been called into question, and is considered unlikely.²⁰⁵ Having been recognised as one of the most important sources for late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century imperial and Baltic Sea history, Arnold's *Chronica* provides a north-German perspective on contemporary events in an area of study largely dominated by the works of Anglo-Norman writers.

²⁰³ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg and G. H. Pertz, *MGH SSRG* 14 (Hanover, 1868).

²⁰⁴ S. Freund, 'Arnold von Lübeck und Seine "Chronik" – Zur Einleitung', in *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck: Neue Wege zu Ihrem Verständnis*, ed. S. Freund and B. Schutte (Oxford, 2008), pp. 1-5, p. 1; V. Scior, 'Zwischen terra nostra und terra sancta. Arnold von Lück als Geschusshreiber', in *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck*, pp. 149-74, p. 150.

²⁰⁵ P. Lock, *The Routledge Companion to The Crusades* (London, 2006), p. 151; Scior, 'Zwischen terra nostra und terra sancta', p. 150.

4. Sources for the Fourth Crusade (1202-1204), 1204-c. 1251

Latin narrative sources for the Fourth Crusade have been described as “overlooked, undervalued, or misunderstood”.²⁰⁶ Yet it is with these sources that the considerations of the Fourth Crusade contained within this thesis are primarily concerned, as they provide a rich corpus of material, largely from a clerical or monastic background, which engages with the miraculous as a means by which to reach their rhetorical ends.

The crusade narrative of the so-called Anonymous of Soissons exists in a single manuscript, kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.²⁰⁷ The author is believed to have been a cleric, perhaps a canon of Soissons cathedral.²⁰⁸ As the text treats its source for the crusade narrative, Nivelon de Chérisy, bishop of Soissons, as still living, it is possible to date the text's production to the period between Nivelon's return to Soissons from Constantinople on 27 June 1205 (at which point Nivelon would have related the information to the Anonymous), and his death in Apulia on 13 September 1207.²⁰⁹ Nivelon was chief prelate of the crusading army, and as such was well-placed to divulge the events of the crusade from a privileged perspective. Whether representative of Nivelon's own perspective of events, or superimposed on the crusade by the Anonymous in the construction of his narrative, the Fourth Crusade is presented as having been a success, insofar as the crusaders were rewarded with the acquisition of relics.

As Andrea has identified, Germans produced three of the more important ‘second-rank sources’, despite only comprising around ten percent of the crusade host.²¹⁰ Most of the German participants in the Fourth Crusade were from the western areas of the Upper and

²⁰⁶ Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 203.

²⁰⁷ Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 223. For a combined Latin edition and English translation of the relevant sections, see Anonymous of Soissons, ‘De terra Iherosolimitana et quomodo ab urbe Constantinopolitana ad hanc ecclesiam allate sunt reliquie’, in Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, pp. 223-38, 338-43.

²⁰⁸ Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 223.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

Middle Rhine. The only notable leader from eastern Germany was Conrad of Krosigk, bishop of Halberstadt in Saxony (r. 1202-1208). He was the highest ranking German cleric on the expedition, and represents both the source of information for, and the main protagonist of, the *Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium*.²¹¹ In its entirety, the text documents the deeds of the bishops of Halberstadt from 780 to 1209. *GeH*'s treatment of the Fourth Crusade has been dated to 1209 and attributed to a single author (probably a cleric associated with the cathedral of Halberstadt), who is believed to have been under the supervision of the retired Conrad himself.²¹² For the author of this particular section of *GeH*, the Fourth Crusade represented a backdrop to his *apologia* for Bishop Conrad, whose tumultuous seven-year pontificate was followed by his retirement to the Cistercian monastery of Sittichenbach, despite it being forbidden by papal legates on two occasions.²¹³ Integral to *GeH*'s depiction of Conrad as a pious and righteous individual is his role as the worthy translator of relics and, importantly for this investigation, his association with the miracles attributed to those relics.

Another German source for the Fourth Crusade is the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*.²¹⁴ The *Devastatio* exists as a single, five-page manuscript, incorporated into a codex alongside Ekkehard of Aura's *Chronicon universale ab orbe condito ad annum 1125*, the *Annales Herbipolenses*, and an account of the Fourth Lateran Council (which is appended to the *Devastatio*).²¹⁵ While we learn nothing directly about the author from the *Devastatio*, Andrea infers that he came from the German Rhineland, and was a secular cleric; probably an ecclesiastical administrator.²¹⁶ A primary contention in this text is that the poorer crusade

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 239; 'Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium', ed. L. Weiland, *MGH SS 23* (Hanover, 1874), pp. 73-123.

²¹² Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 240.

²¹³ Ibid..

²¹⁴ A. J. Andrea, 'The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, a Special Perspective on the Fourth Crusade: An Analysis, New Edition, and Translation', *Historical Reflections* 19.1 (1993), pp. 107-49

²¹⁵ Andrea, 'The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*', pp. 108, 123; Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 206.

²¹⁶ For a discussion of the historiography pertaining to the regional identity of the *Devastatio*'s author, see Andrea, 'The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*', pp. 112-17, and for Andrea's argument, pp. 117-19; Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 205.

participants were unashamedly exploited by the leadership.²¹⁷ The supernatural does not play a role in the *Devastatio*, aside from what might be considered a subtle allusion during a description of Peter Capuano's crusade preaching, which will be discussed below. The relationship between the author's stance regarding the *pauperes Christi* and the lack of the miraculous in the text will be addressed below.

The third German source to be identified by Andrea is the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* of Gunther of Pairis.²¹⁸ Gunther (ca. 1150-1210?) was a Cistercian monk of the abbey of Pairis. Four surviving works are attributed to him.²¹⁹ His treatment of the Fourth Crusade is not his only crusade history; he also composed a reworking of Robert the Monk's history of the First Crusade in Virgilian hexameter, called the *Solimarius* (c. 1186). The *Hystoria* is Gunther's only prosimetric work; a form which had remained popular throughout the twelfth century.²²⁰ Robert the Monk's prosimetric *Historia Iherosolimitana*, with which Gunther is known to have been familiar, has been seen as the influence behind the latter's decision to adopt prosimetry for his own crusade narrative.²²¹ Andrea postulates that Gunther was born into a minor knightly family of Hohenstaufen loyalties in the region around Basel in the upper Rhine valley in the mid-twelfth century. Having been schooled in the Latin classics and acquired a superficial command of Greek, he became a secular cleric (likely a cathedral canon) and eventually came to the attention of the imperial court (though he did not achieve high office), where he served as tutor to Conrad, one of Frederick Barbarossa's sons. It is suggested that he had left court by late 1185.²²² The reason for Gunther's subsequent

²¹⁷ Andrea, 'Essay on Primary Sources', p. 303.

²¹⁸ Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana: Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe*, ed. P. Orth (Hildesheim and Zürich, 1994).

²¹⁹ F. R. Swietek, 'Gunther of Pairis and the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*', *Speculum* 53.1 (1978), pp. 49-79, p. 49.

²²⁰ Swietek, 'Gunther of Pairis', pp. 59-62.

²²¹ Andrea, trans., *The Capture of Constantinople, The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis* (Philadelphia, PA, 1997), p. 36. Andrea has also identified a complex structure to Gunther's *Hystoria*. See see Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, pp. 46-54.

²²² Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, pp. 4-7.

monastic conversion is unknown, however it was following his assumption of the monastic life at Pairis that he wrote his *Hystoria*, which he completed (all apart from the twenty-fifth chapter, which he appended later) before the end of 1205.²²³ Andrea argues that the *Hystoria* should be understood as having been composed “at a point of personal transformation”.²²⁴

A smaller-scale narrative is attributed to an anonymous priest of Langres. At the end of the work, entitled *Historia translationum reliquiarum S. Mamantis*, the author notes that it was written in 1209.²²⁵ In its most recent edition by Riant, originally published in 1877, it is noted that the editor was forced to rely on the version of the text as preserved in the *Bibliotheca Floriacensis* of Jean du Bois, as the manuscript which du Bois used, allegedly from the monastery of Celestine de Ternes, is no longer extant.²²⁶ This text is similar to the other *translatio*-type texts in that it is the bearer of the relic from Constantinople to the West who is the key protagonist of the narrative. The account concerns itself with several relics of St Mammes of Caesarea which find their way to Langres, but it is only the final relic, the head of the saint, which is acquired as a result of the crusader sack of Constantinople in 1204.

Chronicle evidence represents a substantial proportion of the available primary material for contemporary perceptions of the Fourth Crusade. Ralph of Coggeshall, author of the *Chronicon Anglicanum*, was abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall in Essex, England, from 1206 until his retirement due to ill health in 1218.²²⁷ Another chronicle, the *Chronica*

²²³ Ibid., p. 3.

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

²²⁵ Anonymous of Langres, ‘Historia translationum reliquiarum S. Mamantis’, in *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 1, ed. P. Riant (Geneva, 1877-88), reprinted (Paris, 2004), pp. 22-34, p. 34.

²²⁶ Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 1, p. lxiii. Riant notes that he relied on du Bois’ version despite the existence of the then more recent edition in the *Acta Sanctorum*, J. B. Sollerio, J. Pinio, G. Cupero and P. Boschio, eds., ‘De Sancto Mamante vel Mammete, martyre, Caesareae in Cappadocia’, *Acta Sanctorum* 37 (Paris, 1867), pp. 440-6.

²²⁷ Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 265. Elizabeth Freeman has shown how a series of six stories in the *Chronicon* can be seen to reveal anxieties surrounding the perceived threat of heresy to Christendom, expressed through bodily metaphors. See E. Freeman, ‘Wonders, Prodigies and Marvels: Unusual Bodies and the Fear of Heresy in Ralph of Coggeshall’s *Chronicon Anglicanum*’, *Journal of Medieval History* 26.2 (2000), pp. 127-43.

Albrici monachi trium fontium, was written between 1227 and 1251 by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, a brother at the Cistercian monastery of Trois-Fontaines at Chalôns-sur-Marne in Champagne.²²⁸ Ralph and Alberic both wrote from smaller monastic institutions which, while at a remove from the events of the crusade (they are not known to have benefitted from the translation of relics from Constantinople to the West, nor are they known to have been writing in defence of a particular crusade participant), were near enough to inform a reasonable – though by no means full – appreciation of the expedition.²²⁹ Andrea refers to a “general Cistercian milieu” which influenced the work of Ralph and Alberic, and in which should also be considered the crusade narratives of Gunther of Pairis and the Anonymous of Halberstadt.²³⁰ Any partisanship they may have had, Andrea suggests, was derived from that of the Cistercian Order as a whole, and the greater community represented by western Christendom.²³¹

Until recent decades, vernacular prose narratives have dominated modern scholarship on the Fourth Crusade; most notably, that of Geoffrey of Villehardouin, marshal of Champagne and participant of both the Third and Fourth Crusades.²³² The dominance of Villehardouin’s text, written in Old French, has been attributed to the relatively early date of its first modern edition, which appeared in 1870.²³³ Also key to the prevailing influence of Villehardouin’s work in modern scholarship on the Fourth Crusade is the prominent role held by Villehardouin during his life; he was one of six envoys sent to negotiate with Venice on

²²⁸ Ibid. For Latin editions, see Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, ‘Chronica Albrici monachi trium fontium’, ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS 23* (Hanover, 1874), pp. 631-950.; and Ralph of Coggeshall, ‘Chronicon Anglicanum’, ed. J. Stephenson, in *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 66 (London, 1875), pp. 1-208.

²²⁹ Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 267.

²³⁰ Ibid., p. 265.

²³¹ Ibid., p. 275.

²³² The most recent recent Old French edition of Villehardouin’s Fourth Crusade history is Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, 2 vols., (Paris, 1938).

²³³ Earlier editions of the text were also produced from the late sixteenth century. See Noble, ‘The Importance of Old French Chronicles’, p. 401.

behalf of the counts of Flanders, Champagne, and Blois in 1201.²³⁴ His standing increased during the Fourth Crusade, particularly following the army's arrival in Greece, and as such he took a key role in much of the decision making which took place throughout the process. Any additional value attributed to his source as a result of his privileged position is tempered by an awareness of his role as an apologist for the crusade and its leaders.²³⁵ Further, it has been demonstrated how several stylistic characteristics normally associated with oral narrative inform the way that the text of *De la Conquête de Constantinople* ought to be approached by scholars.²³⁶ Villehardouin's work survives in six manuscripts, and is believed to have been written from 1208 at the earliest.²³⁷

Robert of Clari's *La Conquête de Constantinople* is also a vernacular prose account of the Fourth Crusade, written by a participant.²³⁸ It survives in only one manuscript.²³⁹ In comparison to Villehardouin, Robert is believed to have been a poor knight in possession of a small fief in Picardy, who participated in the crusade in the retinue of his overlord Peter of Amiens.²⁴⁰ Understood thus to have been a member of the crusade's rank and file, Robert, and therefore his work, has received unflattering reviews from modern scholars; from the more generous "naïve curiosity" attributed to him by Peter Noble, to his work's damning dismissal by Archambault as "...wrapped in a shroud of insuperable ignorance".²⁴¹ Recent scholarship has defended the work's status as a sophisticated exercise in the writing of history, thus correcting the previously prevalent view that the value of Robert's work lay only

²³⁴ Queller and Madden, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 9-20.

²³⁵ A. J. Andrea, 'Essay on Primary Sources', in D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, PA, 1997), pp. 299-313, pp. 300-1; Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 11.

²³⁶ J. M. A. Beer, 'Villehardouin and the Oral Narrative', *Studies in Philology* 67.3 (1970), pp. 267-77. For a broader survey of Villehardouin's literary style, see J. M. A. Beer, *Villehardouin: Epic Historian* (Geneva, 1968).

²³⁷ Noble, 'Importance of Old French Chronicles', 403 and n. 27.

²³⁸ Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. P. Noble (Edinburgh, 2005).

²³⁹ Noble, 'The Importance of Old French Chronicles', p. 402.

²⁴⁰ Noble, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, p. xxiii.

²⁴¹ Noble, 'The Importance of Old French chronicles', p. 410; P. Archambault, *Seven French Chroniclers: Witnesses to History* (Syracuse, NY, 1974), p. 27.

in its reflection of the perspective of the “common man”.²⁴² As is shown below, some of Robert’s alleged digressions provide valuable insights not only into how the conquest of Constantinople was rationalised by contemporaries, but more specifically how Robert utilised techniques pertaining to the miraculous which were also being used in Latin accounts of relic translations.

Finally, where they are available, correspondence between Pope Innocent III and certain crusade leaders provides valuable corroborative and comparative evidence regarding perceptions of the crusader conquest of Constantinople.²⁴³ Aside from offering important context, these letters provide further examples first of how the outcome of the Fourth Crusade was interpreted and represented in relation to the miraculous, and second in response to the changing understanding of the conquest of 1204 in western Europe.

²⁴² S. Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, PA, 2006), pp. 139-75.

²⁴³ Latin editions of these letters can be found in *Die Register Innocenz’ III, 7. Band, 7. Pontifikatsjahr, 1204-1205, Texte und Indices*, ed. O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, H. Weigl, C. Egger and R. Muraier (Wien, 1997) and in *Die Register Innocenz’ III, 8. Band, 8. Pontifikatsjahr, 1205-1206, Texte und Indices*, ed. O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, H. Weigl, C. Egger and R. Muraier (Wien, 2001).

Chapter 2: Miracles and Marvels

This chapter examines the use and function of miracles and the marvellous as they appear in histories of the crusades of 1095 to 1204. By demonstrating how classical and patristic authorities can be seen to have influenced twelfth-century understandings of the miraculous, it is argued that the terminology employed in its representation should be approached with greater sensitivity to lexical nuance. Such an approach reveals much of value concerning how authors conceptualised and constructed not only the miraculous but their roles as the writers of history. Further, this chapter demonstrates how the miraculous of crusade narratives can be seen to respond to, and thereby reflect, contemporary attitudes towards the crusading movement. These contentions are presented as a chronological investigation by numbered crusade which explores the patterns of usage and functionality discernible across the period studied. This chronological analysis is preceded by a consideration of the broader intellectual framework of twelfth-century understandings of the miraculous.

Certain narrative ‘moments’ in crusade histories have a greater likelihood of containing reference to miracles. This commonality can be attributed to the marked similarities between the narrative arcs of many crusade histories; the majority will begin with an account of a stimulus to crusade, and be punctuated with the description of battles, for example. These provide opportunities for the miraculous to achieve the optimum rhetorical impact, usually in terms of divine association. Examples can often be found during descriptions of the formative stages of an expedition, particularly during accounts of popular enthusiasm for the crusade message, and with specific reference to a crusade preacher.²⁴⁴ Other crucibles of miraculous sentiment include battles – or more specifically, crusader victories against allegedly unconquerable odds – and the deaths of notable individuals. Beyond specific events, the

²⁴⁴ On responses to crusade preaching as medieval collective enthusiasm, see G. Dickson, ‘Revivalism as a Medieval Religious Genre’, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51.3 (2000), pp. 473-96.

introductory and concluding sections, either of a crusade history or of relevant sections within a larger chronicle, may include general reference to an entire endeavour as a miracle, or as marvellous.

Close study of the lexis employed in the western European narrativisation of the crusades of 1095 to 1204 shows that while specific terminology relating to the miraculous is used sparingly, a clear conceptual distinction between miracles and marvels can be detected in works from the later twelfth century. If specific terminology is employed at all during the telling of a story of the miraculous, it is either to identify that occurrence as a miracle, or as marvellous. As a general rule, it is the adjectival *mirabilis* (marvellous) which is used, as opposed to the nominal form *mirabile* (marvel). Marvellousness is therefore largely qualitative, whereas the use of the adjectival form for miracle, miraculous (*miraculose*), is uncommon in comparison to its nominal form, *miraculum*.²⁴⁵ It could be argued, in support of terminological interchangeability, that the distinction between miracle and marvel was in fact of secondary importance – if it was recognised at all – to the literary norm of using one term for a noun and the other as an adjective. So, when a noun was required for the description of a supernatural event, *miraculum* was chosen, and when an adjective was required, *mirabile* was used. This conclusion is insufficient, and does not credit medieval authors with the intellectual subtlety and literary ability so frequently demonstrated. Certainly, some works such as the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Baldric of Bourgueil reveal a proclivity towards the poetic.²⁴⁶ Caution is employed in instances where alliteration, assonance, or other poetic mechanisms play a discernible role in lexis. Yet such instances do not negate the valuable conclusions to be drawn from investigation of lexical usage more broadly. It will be shown in what follows that a nuanced understanding of terminological choice is necessary, in which it

²⁴⁵ Notable exceptions to this rule can be found in *IP1* and *IP2*, in which the adjectival *miraculose* is repeatedly used. See Chapter 2, section 5.1.

²⁴⁶ See BB, pp. xxx-xl.

should be anticipated that the lexis employed *is* derived from a conceptual differentiation between the two terms, and an understanding of the subtle theological distinctions they imply. Within this framework of terminological sensitivity, the nominal versus adjectival forms are simply the generally accepted forms that they take, and sentence structure could be constructed to suit. Important and interesting exceptions to this rule can be found in the passages which, incidentally, most clearly demonstrate terminological distinction on the part of an author; those in which the terms are juxtaposed. Further, the examination of the use of these words reveals much about how the authors of crusade histories understood their responsibility as narrators and interpreters of events.

Instances of the use of these terms are considered throughout this chapter in order to test the above theory about their usage, and to generate a picture of the part played by miracles and the marvellous in Latin crusade narratives over the course of the period under consideration. The corresponding texts for each crusade reveal that the weight of interpretative responsibility is often reflected in a reluctance to employ specific terminology in instances of increased accountability. It is therefore more common to find the specific terminology used in a general sense, such as in relation to an entire crusade or the popular response to its preaching. An important element of this picture is the greater confidence in the identification of the miraculous demonstrated by those who are believed to have been crusade participants. This is probably the result of greater interpretative confidence derived from proximity to events, and of a (generally speaking) lower, non-monastic level of critical engagement with theological debates surrounding the miraculous. This is of course a problematic observation further complicated by the fact that participant narratives are often products of the immediate aftermath of an event, while later treatments may reflect changing attitudes towards a particular crusade over time.

Miracles and marvels function in crusade narratives in similar ways as in other contemporary genres. In particular, the miracle, as an event which requires the direct intervention of God's power, was an effective means of lending legitimacy. As a collection of miracle stories associated with a particular shrine or cult might function as proof of the sanctity and spiritual potency of a saint and his or her relics, so the stories of the miraculous in crusade narratives often function as proof as an indication of a crusade expedition, participant or group of participants as divinely sanctioned. Whether an event, concept, individual person or a group of people, an associated miracle assumes divine approbation. In instances where the miracle is punitive in nature, divine intervention is still demonstrated, but functions in a negative sense. The ability for positive divine association to function as sanction had an established intellectual history, and was employed elsewhere during the twelfth century to subtly different ends. The *Decretum*, a seminal work of canon law produced in the twelfth century in at least two stages, invokes divine authority as the ultimate legitimacy of cause.²⁴⁷ Therefore miracles, as manifestations of divine authority, represented an invaluable epistemological tool when it came to ascertaining legitimacy and, by extension, representing the legitimate.

In order to discern the intended function of a story of the miraculous, familiarity with the rest of the text and its narrative tenor is necessary. A text's intention is invariably revealed as a thread of intentionality running throughout the narrative, if not explicitly revealed, usually in a moment of narratorial immediacy prefacing the work. In narrative histories of the crusades, the miraculous and marvellous rarely function as isolated statements; they represent one part of a greater rhetorical battery. It is possible to inform one's understanding of a text by

²⁴⁷ F. H. Russell, *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 72-3; S. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance* (Farnham, 2011), p. 17. See Gratian, 'Decretum', in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. A. L. Richter, 2nd edn. (Graz, 1959), 1, cols. 894-95. On the identification of more than one recension of the work previously attributed to Gratian, see A. Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge, 2000). For a discussion of these themes in a crusade context, see Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, pp. 9-26.

looking to the author, particularly where there is corroborative evidence concerning the historical individual, though this should be done with some caution as it may lead to a reciprocal process in which one might overread the text in light of information about an author, and likewise seek to over-construct that author based on that which is implied in the narrative.

It is also necessary to appreciate contemporary responses to the crusades themselves. The assumption of divine approbation in instances of benevolent intervention functions logically when the narrative vehicle for that process (i.e. a crusade) is thought to have been a success or, better, a miracle in its own right. The First and Fourth Crusades are commonly presented in their respective narrative sources as a series of miracles which occur within the greater miracle that was the crusade itself. The miraculous nature of these constituent parts contributed to the significance of the symbolic climax of the undertaking; the conquest of Jerusalem in July 1099, or of Constantinople in April 1204. As lived experience, these occurrences galvanised the belief that the crusade participants were fulfilling God's will, and that by extension they were the privileged recipients of divine munificence. As will be discussed below, the miracles of these crusade narratives might lend legitimacy to individuals or groups of participants at their narrowest, or to the just nature of the undertaking as a whole at their broadest. This logic is challenged in the absence of emblematic proof of victory; divine approbation resulting in failure is dialectically jarring. For an author to utilise the narrative of a 'failed' crusade in order to eulogise a crusade leader, for example, through the implications of divine association, they must circumnavigate the obstacle to functionality posed by that failure. In narratives which treat the Second Crusade, it is common to see the miraculous functioning instead on a smaller scale and in support of individuals. Divine intervention also becomes much more punitive in nature. The sensitivity of the utility of the

miraculous to perceptions of divine sanction means that the miraculous in turn represents a gauge by which to assess attitudes towards the crusades.

1. Intellectual Inheritance of the Twelfth Century and Terminological Distinctions

The Latin terms *miracula* and *mirabilia* – miracles and marvels – stem etymologically from the same root, one which indicates the sense of wonder inspired by such instances.²⁴⁸ These terms appear to have been used interchangeably until a more widespread appreciation of the subtle differences between the two concepts developed in the twelfth century.²⁴⁹ Such was the distinction by the end of that century that William of Tyre, writing his *Chronicon* in the Latin East between around 1170 and 1184, was able to comment of the crusader conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 that several demonstrations of divine favour were manifested in the city at that time, “miraculously, rather than marvellously” (*miraculose magis quam mirabiliter*).²⁵⁰ This is echoed in *IP1*, in which the notable stories which occurred during the siege of Acre in 1191 are introduced as “no less miraculous than marvellous” (*non minus miraculosi quam mirandi*).²⁵¹ While these instances may represent usages of a popular phrase in the late twelfth century, its logic nonetheless requires an understanding of the miraculous as superior to the marvellous in terms of divine implication.

The twelfth-century reassessment of the theology of the miraculous occurred in response to several factors, ranging from the rejection of the cult of saints by those identified as heretical

²⁴⁸ Schmitt, *Ghosts*, p. 79;

²⁴⁹ Le Goff, ‘The Marvelous’, p. 30; Bynum, ‘Wonder’, p. 8; Ward, *Miracles*, pp. 3-19; Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, pp. 26-7.

²⁵⁰ WT1, 8.22, p. 415: “His igitur et huiusmodi per superhabundantem celestem gratiam prebi dei in civitate sancta miraculose magis quam mirabiliter exhibitis...”

²⁵¹ *IP1*, 1.47, p. 337: “Interea iuxta varios, sicut dicitur, eventus belli, nunc hiis nunc illis vicem pro vice reddentibus, casus contingebant multiplices non minus miraculosi quam mirandi, quos ad noticiam posteriorum visum est non indignum recitari.”

in this period, to the impact of increased access to Greco-Arabic learning.²⁵² The period in which a distinction between the miraculous and the marvellous began to crystallise in the western European intellect was also the period which saw the development of the crusade movement; namely the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries. Certainly, and as outlined above, the twelfth century is remarkable as a period of time in which the intellectual landscape of western Europe experienced developments of such magnitude that it has been called – though not without challenge – a ‘renaissance’.²⁵³ On account of the chronological overlap, crusade texts represent an excellent source for considering whether and in what ways the development of a terminological distinction between miracle and marvel is reflected in contemporary textual output. It is important to note that these works do not provide a clear reflection; the nature of crusading, and by extension the nature of crusade texts, changed over the period in question. Therefore, this chapter will approach the issue of how the miraculous and the marvellous feature in crusade narratives by tracing how these themes respond to the contexts in which they were produced. The original features must be outlined before any reflection can be observed.

As with so many comparable intellectual distillations of the twelfth century, it is to the work of Augustine of Hippo that one must turn for the most influential early theoretical treatise on the miraculous. Indeed, little direct examination of the concept of miracle exists from the period between the deliberations of Augustine in the fourth century and those of Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) in the thirteenth, and so it is the works of Augustine which are so often reflected in the theoretical considerations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, p. 15.

²⁵³ Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*.

²⁵⁴ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 1.

In his *De utilitate credendi* (c. 391-392), Augustine comments, “I call a miracle that which is difficult or unusual above the hope or power of those who wonder”.²⁵⁵ A miracle exceeds comprehension, thus inspiring wonder. The ‘aboveness’ of the miraculous was important; theologians such as Augustine were careful to portray the miraculous as above rather than against the natural order. A definition of miracle as *contra naturam* sets God’s works at odds with his own creation. Indeed, the concept of *contra naturam* itself occurs in both the Old and New Testaments in a strictly negative sense.²⁵⁶ Augustine clarified in his *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (397-399) that where he uses *contra naturam* he in fact means contrary to human experience of the course of nature, or as Bernhard Bron abbreviates, “gegen die uns bekannte Natur”²⁵⁷:

But God, the Author and Creator of all natures, does nothing contrary to nature...

For we give the name nature to *the usual common course of nature*; and whatever

God does contrary to this, we call mighty deeds or marvels.²⁵⁸

By extension all miracles were natural. Further, as the fruit of the only true miracle, Creation, all of nature was miraculous.²⁵⁹ God had instilled *seminales rationes* in all of his creation, within which miraculous capabilities (what Bartlett calls the “innate propensities of matter”²⁶⁰) were activated as it were in the event of a miracle. These activations are only against nature insofar as they challenge humankind’s limited understanding of it. A miracle

²⁵⁵ Augustine of Hippo, ‘De utilitate credendi ad Honoratum Liber Unus’, *PL* 42, 16.34, col. 90: “Miraculum voco, quidquid arduum aut insolitum supra spem vel facultatem mirantis apparet.”

²⁵⁶ Cf. Judges 19.24, and Romans 1.26, 2.24.

²⁵⁷ I translate “gegen die uns bekannte Natur” as “against what we know as nature.” See B. Bron, *Das Wunder: Das theologische Wunderverständnis im Horizont des neuzeitlichen Natur- und Geschichtsbegriffs* (Göttingen, 1975), p. 14.

²⁵⁸ Augustine of Hippo, ‘Contra Faustum Manichaeum Libri XXXIII’, *PL* 42, 26.3, cols. 480-1: “Deus autem creator et conditor omnium naturarum, nihil contra naturam facit... Hanc enim etiam appellamus naturam, cognitum nobis cursum solitumque naturae, contra quem Deus cum aliquid facit, magnalia vel mirabilia nominantur.” English translation is adapted from Augustine of Hippo, *NPNF* 26.3, pp. 321-2; Cf. Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia, Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford, 2002), 3.preface, p. 559.

²⁵⁹ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 1.

²⁶⁰ Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, p. 97.

was thus a drawing out of the hidden proclivities of nature, often an acceleration, occasioned usually by the intervention of the saints on God's behalf.

The twelfth century witnessed the emergence of an ontological distinction between miracles and marvels.²⁶¹ Interest in natural sciences had gained momentum following the introduction of Latin translations of the works of Aristotle into western Europe from the twelfth century. The impact of the rise of natural philosophy on the boundaries of known nature necessitated a reconsideration of how the miraculous ought to be defined. The Augustinian sacramental view of the world as miraculous creation began to give way to a perspective which enabled the scientific study of nature.²⁶² These innovations limited that which could be considered truly miraculous.²⁶³ It was no longer enough for the event to exceed understanding, the status of miracle required divine instrumentality.

Gerald of Wales' grasp of the miraculous was demonstrably derived from that of Augustine. Yet it also incorporated an appetite for the study of natural causation likely derived from exposure to 'New Platonisms' during his schooling in Paris.²⁶⁴ In his consideration of the Cambro-Norman archdeacon, Bartlett discusses Gerald's echoing of the Augustinian position that nothing occurs beyond the natural capacities instilled at the Creation. While the miraculous required God's intervention, this did not violate the intrinsic proclivities – the *seminalis rationes* – of nature. To Gerald, the daily rising and setting of the sun was deserving of wonder, but the solar eclipse, born of the same natural impetus, stimulated wonder because of its rarity.²⁶⁵ In distinction from these rare and wonderful occurrences

²⁶¹ Bynum, 'Wonder', pp. 4-5, 8.

²⁶² See L. Daston and K. Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York, NY, 1998), pp. 109-26.

²⁶³ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 6.

²⁶⁴ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, pp. 27-33. On twelfth-century Neoplatonisms see especially W. Wetherbee, *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton, NJ, 1972); P. Dronke, ed., *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988); and Chenu, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 49-98.

(marvels), miracles are identified as God's direct intervention by means unknown to humankind, but still within the bounds of natural capacity. God's instrumentality separated miracle from marvel. Bartlett notes that "Gerald did not have a theory of nature and miracle in the sense that the scholastic thinkers did, but he did have a set of related concepts by which he categorized the events he encountered".²⁶⁶ Watkins has also explored Gerald's departures from Augustinian theory, noting that while Gerald frequently reiterated his authority's arguments he would often deviate from them when he came to write.²⁶⁷

Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia imperialia* (1210-1214) clearly reflects a contradistinction between miracle and marvel. Gervase comments that while both miracles and marvels appear to be beyond the usual capacity of things, the former achieves this through divine power, while the latter does so due to the immaturity of natural science:

From these causes arise two things, miracles and marvels, though they both result in wonderment. Now we generally call those things miracles which, being preternatural, we ascribe to divine power, as when a virgin gives birth, when Lazarus is raised from the dead, or when diseased limbs are made whole again; while we call those things marvels which are beyond our comprehension, even though they are natural: in fact the inability to explain why a thing is so constitutes a marvel.²⁶⁸

The later thirteenth century saw theorists such as Thomas Aquinas develop the concepts of the miraculous and marvellous which were to become dominant until the early fifteenth

²⁶⁶ Ibid..

²⁶⁷ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, p. 30.

²⁶⁸ Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia*, 3.preface, p. 559: "Ex his, duo proueniunt: miracula et mirabilia, cum utrorumque finis sit admiratio. Porro miracula dicimus usitatius que preter naturam diuine uirtuti ascribimus, ut cum uirgo parit, cum dicimus que nostre cognicioni non subiacent, etiam cum sunt naturalia; sed et mirabilia constituit ignorantia reddende rationis quare sic sit." On Gervase's catalogue of marvels in relation to thirteenth-century understandings of wonder see Daston and Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature*, pp. 21-5.

century.²⁶⁹ The works consulted in the preparation of this thesis were all written before these theoretical advances. While being careful not to impose a linear progression towards Aquinas' dichotomy upon the centuries before the production of *De potentia*, it is useful to bear in mind that the perspectives considered in this thesis are the products of a period of intellectual negotiation and problematisation of the miraculous.²⁷⁰

2. The State of the Art: Witnessing, Recording, and Interpreting the

Miraculous

The identification of the source represented an important aspect in the narrativisation of stories of the miraculous.²⁷¹ This was presumably on account of an anticipated audience response; functionality was dependant upon believability. A related factor, which also has a bearing on a miracle's believability, is the placement of the interpretative agency which judged that particular event as miraculous. The source of the story need not be the authority reported as declaring it a miracle, and there can be numerous stages of removal between the individual who recorded the incident and the miracle's origin or interpretation. Conversely, an event may ostensibly bear all the hallmarks of the miraculous, and yet no explicit identification is made by the author, nor is the source of the anecdote provided.

Medieval understandings of the significance of the eyewitness meant that the most authoritative source for an event was often an individual who had themselves been present

²⁶⁹ Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*, p. 19. Aquinas dedicates one of the ten 'questions' discussed in his *Quaestiones disputatae de potentia Dei* to miracles, and explores various facets of the miraculous in relation to the natural in detail. See Thomas Aquinas, *The Power of God*, trans. R. J. Regan (Oxford, 2012), 6, pp. 161-92.

²⁷⁰ The Aquinian definition spans pages of text, but a useful summary can be found in Article 2: "And the cause most hidden and most remote from our senses is the divine cause, which acts most secretly in natural things. And so we can properly say that the things that only divine power causes in things that have a natural order for the contrary effect, or the contrary way of causing, are miracles. But we can only call things caused by nature but hidden to all or even one of us, or things that God causes but are of such a nature as to be produced only by God, wonderful or marvelous, not that they are miracles." Aquinas, *The Power of God*, 6.2, pp. 165-6.

²⁷¹ On Guibert of Nogent's use of credibility conventions when discussing the origins of miracle stories, see Fuchs, *Zeichen und Wunder*, pp. 95-160.

and witnessed it. The relationship between the miraculous and the act of eyewitnessing has received detailed treatment in recent scholarship.²⁷² Lapina, in her analysis of the importance of eyewitness testimony for the miraculous of First Crusade chronicles, has demonstrated that eyewitnessing was not considered infallible; the senses were unreliable, and there is evidence that an eyewitness could not necessarily be relied upon to accurately interpret what they had seen.²⁷³ Lapina also identifies that the authority of eyewitnessing is derived from areas of conceptual overlap between theology and history. She argues that: “While most modern scholars view the problem of eyewitness in medieval chronicles as purely historiographical, it is intimately related to the concept of “witness” in theology.”²⁷⁴ Those who came after the apostles in following Christ’s teaching were not at a spiritual disadvantage for being unable to see Jesus during his lifetime; truth was revealed by the Holy Spirit. The influence of the theological understanding of ‘witness’ is evidenced particularly, as one might expect, in the more theologically grounded monastic crusade histories. In these, Lapina has shown, is the reluctance to privilege empirical experience, and the desire to situate this within a broader spiritual and providential context.²⁷⁵

The following short survey reveals the most common ways in which crusade narratives discuss the sources for and interpretative agency of their miraculous anecdotes. It will then be shown that an examination of the terminology employed in the discussion of the miraculous in these sources supports Lapina’s conclusion that the interpretation of theological

²⁷² Yuval Noah Harari has problematised the common conflation of narratives written by an eyewitness with eyewitness narratives, and argues that identification of the latter is dependant upon the purpose. Not all texts written by eyewitnesses should be called eyewitness narratives. See Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing’.

²⁷³ E. Lapina, “‘Nec signis nec testibus creditor...’: The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade”, *Viator* 38.1 (2007), pp. 117-39.

²⁷⁴ Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*, p. 17.

²⁷⁵ Lapina, “‘Nec signis’”, esp. p. 139.

significance was often as important, if not more so, than the accurate recording of the event itself.²⁷⁶

Odo of Deuil, monk and later abbot of Saint-Denis, accompanied Louis VII of France on crusade as his chaplain between 1147 and 1149. His *De profectione* contains an example of how an author, aside from playing an interpretative role, might also profess to have witnessed the miracles reported in his text. Bishop Alvisus of Arras, an important diplomat who had travelled ahead of the main body of the army as an envoy to Constantinople, died after a period of illness in Philippopolis on 6 September 1147.²⁷⁷ According to Odo, Alvisus had predicted his own death, apparently a common feat among saints in the Middle Ages,²⁷⁸ by asking the monks and clerks present to perform for him the entire service of the Festival of the Virgin, as he would not live to see it performed on the feast day itself.²⁷⁹ While Alvisus was never formally canonised, Odo describes the events surrounding his death in terms evocative of the posthumous miracles performed by the saints. He asserts that, “I must tell you that I myself really saw sufferers from fever sleeping first beneath the bier and then, after his burial, above the grave and later thanking God and the deceased bishop for their cure”.²⁸⁰ It is not stated that Odo himself saw the cures take effect, only that he saw the before and after. Should this narrative reflect the author’s empirical experience, then Odo saw people who were ill resting either at Alvisus’s bier before and above the grave after his inhumation, and also these same people having been cured attributing this to the bishop and to God. Presumably Odo was able to witness these things in his capacity as chaplain to Louis, who

²⁷⁶ Lapina’s exploration of these issues focuses on the discovery of the Holy Lance of Antioch, and of the appearance of celestial knights at the Battle of Antioch, both in 1098. I have therefore avoided discussing these particular examples here. See Lapina, “‘Nec signis’”, *passim* and *Warfare and the Miraculous*, pp. 15-36.

²⁷⁷ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, p. xlix.

²⁷⁸ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, pp. 529-35.

²⁷⁹ OD, 3, pp. 44-7.

²⁸⁰ OD, 3, pp. 46-7: “Sciendum est quod nos pro certo vidimus febricitantes prius subtus feretrum, deinde supra tumulum, obdormire, postmodum de sua sanitate Deo et defuncto episcopo gratias agere.”

visited Alvisus's body shortly afterwards to have the service repeated. This section of the narrative ends abruptly without offering any explicit interpretation. Yet the use of motifs frequently found in hagiographical texts implies that these events should be interpreted as miraculous. The ability for such motifs to function as communicative of meaning was dependent upon their cultural value. This section of the text is therefore able to contribute to the overarching positive portrayal of Louis VII by associating his expedition with the 'saintly' figure of Bishop Alvisus.²⁸¹

Other authors explicitly indicate instances where they have chosen not to interpret miracles. A common motif in these instances is the evocation of the unknowable nature of God's works; a deferential way of identifying a phenomenon as marvellous. Fulcher of Chartres, having provided a description of the Red Sea and the Euphrates in his *Historia Hierosolymitana*, reveals the process by which a diligent interpreter might be expected to reach his or her conclusions:

“Let him who wishes inquire the reason for this; let him who is able learn the reason, for I have very often sought to learn it by inquiry from many persons but have not been able to find anyone who could explain it to me. I leave the explanation to Him who miraculously causes the water to be in the clouds, the streams to arise in the mountains, hills, and valleys and to run swiftly through the crevices of hidden channels and at last, wonderful to tell, to find the sea and be swallowed up in it.”²⁸²

²⁸¹ That Odo sought to achieve this in writing *De profectioe Ludovici VII* is discussed below, see Chapter 2, section 4.4.

²⁸² FC, 2.59, p. 600: “Quaerat qui vult, discat qui valet, nam hoc discere a quampluribus persaepe inquirendo studui; sed qui hoc mihi insinaret, nequaquam invenire potui. Committo autem hoc illi unucleari, qui super caelos etiam aquas mirifice inesse statuit; quique eas in montibus et collibus convallibusque oriri facit et per occultos meatus cursibus vividis vias multifidas eis praebuit et in mare denique mirabiliter inducit et reducit.” English translation is from Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem, 1095-1127*, trans. F. R. Ryan (Knoxville, TN, 1969), 2.59, p. 217.

Such authorial immediacy is a common characteristic of appeals to interpretative sensitivity. For example, at the beginning of the seventh book of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, it is noted that, "Down to this point the matters discussed have been those that I have either discovered from reading the books of the ancients or learned from common report. Now, however, the matters to be studied are those that I have either seen for myself or heard about from those who did see them".²⁸³ The motif of the earnest and diligent researcher-author appears to be a further component in the representation of trustworthy narrative.

Claims to the significance of an event similarly appeal to the interpretative agency of the author. An example of this can be found in the *Gesta Danorum* (1190-1208) of Saxo Grammaticus, in which miracles and marvels feature with some frequency. In the fourteenth book, incidentally the book which contains the majority of the work's crusade-related content, it is described how a heavily-armoured knight named Eskillus was able to flee across dangerous marshland without sinking into the mud. Rather than attribute this to the knight's agility, the passage continues that this feat should be seen as a manifestation of God's grace: "we should ascribe it to a heavenly miracle rather than to manly courage."²⁸⁴ Any prior interpretative processes are hidden, neither witnesses nor sources are discussed. The interpretation of the event as a miracle is that of the author communicated by the narrative voice. In this particular case, the miracle also serves to edify; that faith should be put not in human skill but in divine grace. This is a contention which becomes increasingly popular

²⁸³ HH, 7.1, pp. 412-3: "Hactenus de his, que uel in libris ueterum legend repperimus, uel fama uulgante percepimus, tractatum est. Nunc autem de his, que uel ipsi uidimus, uel ab his qui uiderant audiimus, pertractandum est."

²⁸⁴ SG, 14, p. 118: "Itaque Sclavis partim solido, partim aquoso itinere delabentibus, Eskillus, animi et generis nobilissimus eques, militaribus armis pregravis, unum ex eis inermem per palustria loca citato cursu fugientem pedibus insecutus, illius vestigiis limi mollicie subsidentibus, nec voraginum illuue nec armorum onere depressus, facilem currendi eventum habuit. Quin etiam occupatum barbarum capite spoliavit. Ac tunc demum, ne plantis quidem ceno infectis, solidam humum repetiit. Quod factum religiosa ammiratione predignum, non pedum agilitate, sed divino beneficio editum, potius caelesti miraculo quam humanae virtuti imputare debemus." English translation is from Saxo Grammaticus, *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia*, trans. Christiansen, 14.32, p. 480.

throughout the twelfth century, as subsequent crusade expeditions failed to match the perceived successes of the First Crusade.

Also evident in the sources are examples where the interpretative agency is discernible, but at a remove from the author. Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, a brother at the Cistercian monastery of Trois-Fontaines at Châlons-sur-Marne in Champagne, wrote his *Chronica Albrici monachi trium fontium* between 1227 and 1251.²⁸⁵ The *Chronica* documents the events of the Fourth Crusade and includes an account of posthumous miracles performed by the deceased Baldwin I of Constantinople (formerly Baldwin count of Flanders and Hainaut). According to the *Chronica*, the abandoned body of the murdered crusade leader was seen illuminated in light by a passing Burgundian woman.²⁸⁶ Having had the body buried, certain “miracles” (*miracula*) occurred in that place.²⁸⁷ The means by which the author obtained this information are related in the text; Alberic was told by a Flemish priest, who had happened to stay at the woman’s house in Tirnovo whilst *en route* home from Constantinople, where he in turn had been informed about the events.²⁸⁸ The provision of this chain of events bolsters its plausibility. It is not stated at which point(s) in the sequence the ascription of the miraculous occurred. Whether a reiteration or original statement of interpretation, the legitimacy of the anecdote appears to rest in the narratorial appeal to its provenance as established by the author.

Investigation into the source of both an anecdote itself and the origins of its interpretation as miracle is further confused by an awareness of the role of *topoi* in the narrativisation of stories of the miraculous. Anxiety regarding the authenticity of miracles manifested itself in

²⁸⁵ Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 265.

²⁸⁶ ATF, p. 885: “...addidit supradictus presbiter Flandrensis, quod quedam mulier de Burgundia manens in Terno vidit de nocte quadam micare luminaria ad corpus occisi, et illud in quantum voluit honeste tradidit sepulture.”

²⁸⁷ Ibid.: “Ubi quedam fuisse miracula facta dictus presbiter, qui in eiusdem mulieris hospitio pernoctavit, sicut ab illa audierat, retulit, et maritum ipsius mulieris ibi sanatum fuisse a dolore dentium et febrium.”

²⁸⁸ Ibid.: “Unde de morte huius Balduini non affirmando, sed simpliciter refero quod a quodam prebitero Flandrensi dicitur. Qui per civitatem Ternoam de Constantinopoli repatriando iter habuit, hec retulit...”

the utilisation of formulaic language in literary renderings. Particularly common among accounts of the miraculous as they occur in crusade histories, is the inclusion of a phrase referring to witnesses.²⁸⁹ The following consideration does not seek to securely locate the sources of anecdotal evidence and interpretation, but to explore how this might be represented. The examples considered below reveal a particular tentativeness regarding claims to interpretative agency, which may manifest itself in appeals to the analytical rigour of the author.

3. The First Crusade

3.1. The Use of *Miraculum* and *Mirabile* in First Crusade Sources

Analysis of narrative sources for the First Crusade reveals that it is in fact the participant narratives which employ the explicit identificatory terminology (*miraculum* and *mirabile*) the most readily, and that the theologically refined texts are more tentative in their usage. This suggests that the monastic authors had a heightened awareness, or clearer understanding, of the intellectual distinctions and intricacies of these terms, and therefore chose to employ them only in defensible instances. This relates to the idea that theological refinement actually entailed an increased burden of interpretative responsibility, as interpretation represented an act of greater significance than merely witnessing or recording. While this exploration is not exhaustive, it is representative of broad patterns revealed through close reading of the texts. Further, instances of the use of specific terminology have not been counted for empirical comparison as this would be methodologically insufficient on numerous counts, including an inability to reflect various subtleties of usage.

As identified above, certain narrative moments lend themselves to the inclusion of accounts of miracles. Victory in battle, particularly when won against unfavourable odds or in difficult

²⁸⁹ See Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*, p. 26.

circumstances, often suited – or indeed appeared to require – miraculous intervention as an explanatory factor. Both Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers – also both participants – used *miraculum* in relation to the crusader victory at the battle of Dorylaeum on 1 July 1097, which is discussed in greater detail below.²⁹⁰ Fulcher stated in his history that the three-day rout of the Turks following their defeat “was a great miracle of God” (*grande... miraculum Dei*).²⁹¹ Raymond similarly commented that the appearance of two unidentified horsemen carrying glittering arms during the battle was a “notable miracle” (*insigne miraculum*).²⁹² Fulcher also identified the appearance of *stigmata* on the bodies of crusaders who had drowned off the coast of Brindisi in March 1097 as a miracle (*miraculo*).²⁹³

Non-participant narratives do not appear to employ explicit terminology for miracles with the same confidence. Indeed, it would appear that incorrect or false interpretation was considered contemptible. This may go some way to explaining the apparent reluctance of authors to use *miraculum*, and for the proliferation of more general, theologically-forgiving terminology. Peter Tudebode’s participant account of the battle of Ascalon describes the movement of vast herds of animals in formation alongside the crusader army as a “miracle of God” (*Dei... miraculum*).²⁹⁴ In contrast, Albert of Aachen, a non-participant who wrote his history of the First Crusade and the Latin East independently from the *Gesta Francorum* and its related

²⁹⁰ See Chapter 2, section 3.4.

²⁹¹ FC, 12.4, p. 198: “Grande autem miraculum Dei fuit, quod die crastino et tertio non cessaverunt fugere, quamvis eos nullus, nisi Deus, amplius fugaret.”

²⁹² RA, 5, pp. 45-6: “Fertur quoddam insigne miraculum, sed nos non vidimus quod duo equites armis coruscis et mirabili facie exercitum nostrum precedentes, sic hostibus imminabant ut nullo modo facultatem pugnandi eis concederent. At vero cum Turci referire eos lanceis vellent, insauciabiles eis apparebant.”

²⁹³ FC, 8.3, pp.169-70: “Nam cum corpora iam mortua qui circumstabant pro posse collegissent, repertae sunt in carnibus quorundam super spatulas scilicet cruces insignitae. nam quod in pannis suis vivi gestauerant, competebat, Domino volente, in ipsis servitio suo sic praeoccupatis idem signum victoriosum sub pignore fidei permanere; simul etiam tali miraculo patefieri considerantibus merito dignum erat, ipsos defunctos sub misericordia Dei iam quietem vitae perennis adeptos fuisse, ut verissimum pateret id comperi quod scriptum est: *iustus qua morte praeoccupatus fuerit, in refrigio erit.*” On the stigmata miracles of First Crusade narratives, see W. J. Purkis, ‘Stigmata on the First Crusade’, in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles*, pp. 99-108. See also Chapter 2, section 3.2.

²⁹⁴ PT, p. 146: “Et iuxta eos in dextera parte et in sinistra Omnia animalia sine ductore pregebant, videlicet cameli et cetera, quod maximum Dei erat miraculorum.” Cf. *GF*, p. 94, which mentions only that many animals and goods were seized from the area around Ascalon before the battle.

texts, appears to have been privy to a more mundane interpretation of the same event. The flocks were simply amazed by the brilliant armour, and fascinated by the clamour of so large an army.²⁹⁵ Albert is understood to have received the majority of his information from oral testimony, gained from crusaders once they had returned to Europe. These two different interpretations of the same event exemplify the potential for the coexistence of extremes of comprehension. It could be suggested that Albert was in receipt of an oral tradition separate from that of Peter Tudebode based on their respective vernacular communities. This is also based upon the assumption that Albert was relating the testimonies of crusade participants verbatim, without the application of his own judgement. This is unlikely given the lengths that some crusade authors, Albert included, would go to in order to style themselves as rigorous curators of their sources, as will be discussed in greater detail below.²⁹⁶ Whether Albert's practical version of animal behaviour at Ascalon is derived directly from the interpretation of participants, or from the application of his own judgement to their accounts, it nonetheless reveals a different narrative rendering of events than that provided by Peter Tudebode.

Raymond of Aguilers offers an account of the same event which is aligned with the interpretation offered by Peter Tudebode, but without explicitly identifying the event as a miracle. According to Raymond's text, "God multiplied his army" (*multiplicavit Deus exercitum suum*) in the eyes of the enemy through the presence of these herds.²⁹⁷ Here, the apparent multiplication of the crusader army is the result of divine power, but this is not extended to its explicit identification as a *miraculum*. This exemplifies the breadth of the interpretative spectrum, while also raising the issue of events described as possessing the characteristics of the miraculous, but not explicitly identified as such. Rather than being

²⁹⁵ AA, 6.44, p. 462: "...splendore armorum, galearum, clipeorum stupescunt, ac uehementi strepitu ac clamore exercitus greges attoniti admirantur."

²⁹⁶ See Chapter 2, section 3.3.

²⁹⁷ RA, p. 158: "Multiplicavit Deus exercitum suum adeo, ut inferiores numero hostibus non videbatur."

indicative of a conscious choice to avoid the term in this instance, Raymond's somewhat non-committal invocation of God's intervention at Ascalon may in fact represent a broader pattern of portraying comparable events along similar lines. During his account at the battle of Antioch, for example, it is also described how God made six units of knights, numbering barely seven hundred men, appear to grow to more than two thousand.²⁹⁸ This was an example of God's mercy.²⁹⁹

Indeed, the only use of the term *miraculum* in Raymond's history is in association with the battle at Dorylaeum. More common is his use of the adjective *mirabile*. For example, this term is similarly used during his account of events at Dorylaeum, as well as in association with the "divine rain" (*imbrem divinum*) seen to refresh the horses before the battle of Antioch no less marvellously than it did the crusader army.³⁰⁰ Baldric of Bourgueil includes a more poetic version of this episode in his *Historia Ierosolimitana*, identifying the phenomenon as God's blessing, which was also taken up (albeit in an abbreviated form) by Orderic Vitalis.³⁰¹ Raymond and Baldric appear to represent separate traditions for this anecdote; Baldric is not known to have read Raymond's history, and the marvellous rainfall does not feature in the *Gesta Francorum*. Raymond also uses *mirabile* to describe the star

²⁹⁸ RA, pp. 56-7.

²⁹⁹ RA, pp. 56: "Audiant igitur audiant obsecro qui aliquando exercitum ledere conati sunt, ut cum magnificare Deum suam misericordiam in nobis cognoverint per penitentiae lamenta ipsi satisfacere contendunt."

³⁰⁰ RA, p. 82: "Non minus hoc idem mirabile equis nostris etiam contigit."

³⁰¹ BB, 3, pp. 79-80: "Nec illud silencio supprimendum arbitror quod, dum exirent de civitate, pluuiola, tanquam roscida stilla, cecidit, que, quasi ros matutinus, irroratus equos et equites ita letificauit, ut equi, tanquam exhilarati, hinnire ceperint, equitum animi dulcorati uegitiores et alacriores fuerint, et omnes seipsos promptiores et expeditiores senserint. Fuit tamen pluuiua illa tam subtilis et modica, ut uix pluuiam fuisse dixerint, sed quedam guttulas rorantes plus senserint quam uiderint. Hoc enim nobis a multis relatum est probabilibus personis. Quis autem hoc diuini muneris largitatem dubitauerit? Quis hanc nubecularum irrorantiam Dei suos uisitantis benedictionem nescierit?" Cf. OV 5, 9.10, p. 110: "Pluuiola tanquam roscida stilla diuinitus cecidit..."

which was seen to appear over the city of Antioch before it split into three and fell into the Turkish camps.³⁰²

Fulcher mirrors Raymond in using *mirabile* with relative frequency. Divine grace “marvellously” (*mirabiliter*) led to the surprise crusader victory at Dorylaeum,³⁰³ and a “marvellous redness” (*ruborem mirabilem*) was seen in the sky over Antioch during the protracted crusader siege of the city.³⁰⁴ A related term, the adjective *mirus*, is used on occasion to denote the quality of inspiring wonder; “wonderful”. To Raymond, the survival of a Provençal stigmatic was “wonderful” (*mirum*).³⁰⁵ Similarly, the torrential rainfall which hindered the Turkish attack of a crusader fortification during the siege of Antioch is described by Raymond as “wonderful” (*mirum*).³⁰⁶ Orderic also employs the term during his introductory consideration of the First Crusade; people flocked to take part in the divinely inspired expedition in a “wonderful way” (*miro modo*).³⁰⁷ Orderic, in a departure from Baldric, uses *mirabilis* in his consideration of the call to crusade,³⁰⁸ and evokes the “ancient miracles” (*antiqua... miracula*) of the God of Abraham, before drawing a parallel between the exodus of the Jews from Egypt in the Old Testament and the movement of Christians out of western Europe at the beginning of the First Crusade.³⁰⁹ Robert the Monk uses this term in its adjectival form during his account of a conversation between Bohemond and Firuz, in

³⁰² RA, p. 74: “Eo tempore contigerunt nobis plurime revelationes, per fratres nostros, et signum in cęlo mirabile vidimus. Nam stella quędam maxima per noctem super civitatem stetit, quę post paulum in tres partes divisa est, atque in Turcorum castris cecidit.” See also Chapter 4, section 2.2.

³⁰³ FC, 12.2, pp. 197-8: “Sed tunc paulatim nobis animatis et de sociis nostris concretis, adfuit mirabiliter divina gratia ; et quasi momento subitaneo, Turci omnes visibus nostris dorsa fugitivi dederunt.”

³⁰⁴ FC, 15.16, p. 224. “Tunc temporis vidimus in caelo unum ruborem mirabilem, insuper sensimus terrae motum magnum, qui nos pavidos reddidit omnes.”

³⁰⁵ RA, p. 102: “...et mirum certe in homine illo vidimus.”

³⁰⁶ RA, p.62: “...atque quo magnis mirum sit, preteritis diebus imber immoderatus terram recentem humefactam vallum novi castelli complevit. Sicque hostes nulla invia sed sola virtus Dei retardabat.”

³⁰⁷ OV 5, 9.1, p. 4: “En Ierosolimitanum iter diuinitus initur: a multis occidentalium populis unus grex miro modo congeritur, et contra ethnicos in Eoas partes unus exercitus conducitur.”

³⁰⁸ OV 5, 9.2, p. 16: “Diuitibus itaque et pauperibus, uiris et mulieribus: monachis et clericis, urbanis et rusticis, in Ierusalem eundi aut euntes adiuuandi inerat uoluntas mirabilis.”

³⁰⁹ OV 5, 9.1, pp. 4-6: “Antiqua nempe miracula Deus Abraham nuper iteravit, dum solo ardore uisendi speulchrum Messię occiduos fideles illexit, et sine rege secularique exactione per Urbanum papam commonuit, de finibus terrae et insulis maris uelut Hæbreos de Ægipto per Moisen extrahit.”

which the latter describes the horses of the celestial army as being “of wonderful speed” (*mirae celeritatis*).³¹⁰ While the participant narratives reveal a relative confidence in the use of the specific terminology of the miraculous, this is not so clearly evidenced in non-participant histories.

Of the First Crusade texts identified by Riley-Smith as theologically refined histories, Guibert of Nogent’s *Dei gesta per Francos* reveals the greatest confidence in the use of specific terminology relating to miracles.³¹¹ *Miraculum* is used on several occasions, but often in a general sense, meaning that rather than providing examples of specific miracles, reference is made to broader concepts or sequences of events as miracles, such as the response of the populace to the preaching of the crusade,³¹² and the expedition as a whole. For example, towards the end of his narrative, Guibert depicts the expedition as unprecedented, particularly in terms of the scale of God’s involvement, by declaring that the events of the First Crusade were more marvellous than the miracles of “the sons of Israel”.³¹³ Guibert also notes that miracles occurred after the death of Pope Urban II, though again he does not provide specific examples.³¹⁴ As will be demonstrated, Guibert was assertive in challenging what was in his opinion the inaccurate identification of certain events as miracles.³¹⁵ The general sense in which he employs the explicit terminology associated with miracles and marvels, and his frequent engagement with the interpretative process, should be viewed in relation to his intention to compose a more theologically sensitive account of the First Crusade.

³¹⁰ RM, 5, p. 51: “Omnes habent equos albos, mirae celeritatis, et vestimenta, et scute, et vexilla ejusdem coloris.”

³¹¹ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 135-52.

³¹² GN, 2.6, p. 119: “Erat itaque ibi videre miraculum, caro omnes emere et vili vendere, caro quidem quae ad usum deferrentur itineris...”

³¹³ GN, 7.22, p. 308: “Diximus non semel sed forte multotiens, nec repetere piget, tale quid nusquam gentium a seculo factum. Si filii Israel miraculis quae ante eos egerit dominus michi inferuntur obiectis, his ego multo mirabilius astruam mare confortissimae gentilitatis apertum.”

³¹⁴ GN, 2.1, p. 107: “Attestatur statui mentis finis eius splendens miraculis.”

³¹⁵ See Chapter 2, section 3.3.

The term *miraculum* is used twice by Baldric; during his version of the speech attributed to Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont, in which reference is made to the miracle of the Holy Fire at the Holy Sepulchre.³¹⁶ Two other uses of the term can be found as unique additions in other manuscript versions of the *Historia*. First, inserted into the speech given by Peter the Hermit when acting as envoy to Kerbogha before the battle of Antioch in *Bibliothèque du Mans, no. 412* (siglum D). It is a general reference to the apostle Peter during his preamble.³¹⁷ Second, in *Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Latin 5513* (siglum G), it is used in reference to a letter which had warned the crusaders of approaching enemies, and encouraged them not to linger during the reformation of the crusader army in May 1099.³¹⁸ Robert the Monk does not engage with explicit terminology and appears sensitive to the theological implications of its misappropriation, as revealed through his discussion of the theoretical conversation between Bohemond and Pirrus. While it could be argued that the lack of specific terminology in Robert and Baldric is a reflection of its relative absence in the *Gesta Francorum*, it should be seen rather as a considered avoidance, not of the miraculous, but of interpretative onus. Even Guibert, who appears confident in his interpretative ability, employs the terminology only in a general sense.

The miraculous as it occurs in Ralph of Caen's narrative of the First Crusade is steeped in classical imagery, while simultaneously situated within a Catholic theological interpretative framework. For example, Ralph's version of divine intervention during the battle of Antioch is enacted not by celestial knights but by a personification of the north-west wind (*Chorus*), which is sent by God to counteract the south-east wind (*Eurus*). The winds are identified

³¹⁶ BB, 1, p. 7: "Neque ibi siquidem Deus adhuc annum pretermittit facere miraculum: cum in diebus passionis sue, extinctis omnibus et in sepulcro et in ecclesia circum circa luminibus, iubare diuino lampades extincte reaccenduntur. Cuius pectus silicinum, fratres, tantum miraculum non emmolliat?"

³¹⁷ See BB, 3, p. 78, n. m.

³¹⁸ See BB, 4, p. 101, n. t.

using Roman names of the Greek Anemoi, or wind gods.³¹⁹ Eurus had been raging against the crusader army and had swept the smoke from the fires lit by the Turkish army towards them, decreasing visibility and hindering their efforts.³²⁰ Having overpowered Eurus, Chorus entered battle not with “arms and men” (*arma uirosque*)³²¹ but as a force which frightened horses and tore away tents.³²² In describing the winds as subject to God’s will, Ralph was participating in the same twelfth-century theoretical tradition which saw the proliferation of wind diagrams, and other cosmological imagery, surmounted by God as the divine power.³²³

Mirabile is used during an account of how both halves of a candle, cut in half in a single blow by Bohemond, spontaneously ignited.³²⁴ A single use of *miraculum* is also noteworthy; Tancred’s discovery in a cave of much-needed wood for the construction of engines during the siege of Jerusalem is described as “a species of miracle” (*miraculi species est*).³²⁵ It is unclear why Ralph chose to problematise his assertion in this way. It is possible that it was the reason for Tancred’s exploration of the cave – namely that he was suffering from dysentery – which made the qualification appear necessary. The assertion that whoever considers the event will not deny that the discovery was an “act from heaven” (*actum celitus*), also appears to betray certain anxieties about its interpretation. Whatever the reason, this phrase betrays a flexibility in the way that *miraculum* could be employed. This enabled the *Gesta Tancredi* to eulogise its hero through association with the divine, however tentatively.

³¹⁹ On the personification of winds in medieval wind diagrams, see B. Obrist, ‘Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology’, *Speculum* 72.1 (1997), pp. 33-84.

³²⁰ RC, 281, p. 78: “Sic dum clamatur, Deus afflictos miseratur thesaurosque suos aperit, producit et inde Chorum propitium, qui flando reuerberet Eurum inque suas cogat uictum reuolare cauernas, fumo Turcorum qui lumina turbet eorum.”

³²¹ Ibid.: “Iamque in bella uenit, ueniens non arma uirosque.”

³²² Ibid.: “Tantum pulsat, equos terret, tentoria uellit.”

³²³ Obrist, ‘Wind Diagrams’, p. 75.

³²⁴ RC, 239, p. 66: “Fit itaque cereus unus duo, quod dictum est mirabile, ardens, ardentis: ardet, quae ardens deciderat, pars superior; ardet inferior, quae fixa astabat, neminis manu admoto igne, per se accensa.” Note the poetic repetition of *ardens*; See Chapter 4, section 2.1.

³²⁵ RC, 355, p. 100: “Laborantibus frustra ceteris, Tancredus a desiderio suo non est fraudatus: miraculi species est, quod narrabo, neque tu, quisquis rem bene consideras, actum celitus negabis.”

While it could be argued that the theologically refined texts reveal a reluctance to discuss the miraculous in specific terms on account of the *Gesta Francorum*'s limited usage, the use of the terminology in monastic crusade histories separate to the *Gesta* tradition renders this thesis insufficient. Although Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymita* engages with signs in considerable detail, nothing is identified as a miracle or as miraculous. *Mirabile* and *mira* are employed on occasion: for example, as part of the stock phrase "wonderful to relate" (*mirabile dictum*);³²⁶ when describing the size of a sword which appeared in the sky (*mirae longitudinis*); in reference to the popularity of the crusade message (*mira autem et inaestimabili divinitatis dispensatione*);³²⁷ and twice in the treatment of the battle of Ascalon.³²⁸ It should be noted that the latter example is quoted verbatim from a letter of Daimbert archbishop of Pisa and the leaders of the First Crusade to Pope Paschal II, and that the use of *mirabile* and *mira* in these instances represent a different type of authorial decision.³²⁹ Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* reveals an even stricter aversion to the specific terminology of the miraculous. Peter the Hermit's vision is described as a "revelation wondrous and worthy of God" (*miram et dignam Deo reuelationem*),³³⁰ and Baldwin I of Jerusalem's penance after the annulment of his marriage involved "wonderful abstinence" (*mira abstinentia*).³³¹

Of the First Crusade narrative histories considered in this thesis, it can be concluded that the participant narratives reveal less anxiety in the ascription of specific terminology to events.

³²⁶ EA, p. 25.

³²⁷ EA, p. 18.

³²⁸ EA, pp. 24-5: "Nec mora, clamantibus ad se Deus affuit, atque tantas audaciæ vires ministravi, ut qui eos in hostem currere viderent, fontem aquæ vivæ sitientem cervum segnem adjudicaret. Miro videlicet modo, cum in exercitu christano non pusquam quinque millia equitum, quindecim millia peditum fuissent, et in exercitu hostium c millia equitum ac quatuor c millia peditum esse potuissent, tunc mirabilis in servis suis Deus apparuit, cum, antequam confligerent, pro solo impetu eorum hanc multitudinem in fugam convertit, et omnia eorum arma diripuit: ita ut, si deinceps istis repugnare vellent, non haberent arma in quibus sperarent." Cf. H. Hagenmeyer, ed., *Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes* (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 172.

³²⁹ See Hagenmeyer, *Epistulae et Chartae*, pp. 167-74.

³³⁰ AA, 1.5, p. 6.

³³¹ AA, 12.24, p. 862

This confidence may be derived from a combination of perceived authority as witnesses, though this is problematic, and from imprecise, non-monastic understandings of the theology surrounding the miraculous. The interpretation of an event's significance involved the greatest authorial responsibility, and on account of this the miraculous of non-participant monastic narratives often imply the miraculous or restrict their narratives to the identification of marvellous qualities.

3.2. The Origins of the First Crusade

While many participant narratives situate the miraculous during the early stages of the First Crusade expedition itself, later narratives also incorporated miracles in their versions of crusade preaching, and specifically with the figures of Pope Urban II and Peter the Hermit.³³² Thus, not only is divine sanction of the participants communicated, but the entire endeavour, through the support of its preachers, is placed within a framework of divine instrumentality.

The *Gesta Francorum* describes how Bohemond of Taranto heard about the expedition while taking part in the siege of Amalfi (1096). According to the crusade history of this anonymous cleric, who travelled to the Holy Land in Bohemond's retinue, his leader was inspired – or more literally “moved” – by the Holy Spirit (*commotus Spiritu*) to cut a valuable cloak into crosses to be worn by those who chose to join the crusade.³³³ This anecdote serves to portray Bohemond as a conduit of divine will, through which God was able to inspire the southern Italian Normans to take crusade vows. Implicit within this is a statement about Bohemond's character; namely that he was worthy to be utilised by the Holy Spirit for the communication of the crusade. Through this, Bohemond is also elevated to a position of prominence in the

³³² On crusade preaching, see especially Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*. On the vision of Peter the Hermit, see Chapter 3, section 2.2.

³³³ *GF*, 1.4, p.7: “Mox Sancto commotus Spiritu, iussit preciosissimum pallium quod apud se habebat incidi, totumque statim in cruces expendit.”

narrative from the outset. More broadly, the status of the Norman contingents as integral to God's vision of the expedition is also implied.

Another participant narrative achieves a similar effect by incorporating stories of the miraculous into its description of the early stages of the expedition. Fulcher of Chartres records how, in March 1097, a ship recently departed from Brindisi broke up and floundered near the shore, killing four hundred pilgrims. Those who recovered the bodies discovered crosses imprinted in the flesh of some of the dead. This miracle, Fulcher explains, was thought to be a sign that those individuals marked with the "symbol of victory" (*signum victoriosum*) had obtained eternal life.³³⁴ Purkis has discussed this and other episodes of stigmata miracles in First Crusade narratives in terms of lived experience.³³⁵ As part of a crusade narrative, the stigmata miracle also offered another opportunity for an author to harness the epistemological utility of the miraculous in order to communicate righteousness of cause. This is also the function performed by the stigmata miracles which can be found in the crusade narratives of Raymond of Aguilers, Guibert of Nogent and Baldric of Bourgueil.³³⁶

It is notable that none of the participant narratives situate miracles during the preaching of the First Crusade, only during the expedition itself. The same is also true of Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*. The so-called theologically refined works, however, incorporate stories of the miraculous into their narratives at a much earlier point. In the prologue to Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos*, it is made explicit that the events about to be narrated were

³³⁴ FC, 8.3, pp. 169-70: "Nam cum corpora iam mortua qui circumstabant pro posse collegissent, repertae sunt in carnibus quorundam super spatulas scilicet cruces insignitae. nam quod in pannis suis vivi gestauerant, competebat, Domino volente, in ipsis servitio suo sic praeoccupatis idem signum victoriosum sub pignore fidei permanere; simul etiam tali miraculo patefieri considerantibus merito dignum erat, ipsos defunctos sub misericordia Dei iam quietem vitae perennis adeptos fuisse, ut verissimum pateret id comperi quod scriptum est: *iustus qua morte praeoccupatus fuerit, in refrigio erit.*"

³³⁵ Purkis, 'Stigmata on the First Crusade'.

³³⁶ RA, p. 102; GN, 7.32, pp. 329-30; and BB, p. 12.

inspired and accomplished by the will of God alone.³³⁷ Such was the enthusiasm that gripped those who had vowed to go on the expedition that possessions were sold at what would usually have been considered low prices in order that they might depart sooner. This is identified as a miracle in itself.³³⁸

Urban II, as the initiator of this miraculous event in the majority of First Crusade narrative histories, receives hagiographical treatment from Guibert; Urban's death was "distinguished by miracles".³³⁹ Further, "many signs" (*plurima signa*) were witnessed after Urban had been buried. One example given by Guibert is that of a young man who, standing by Urban's tomb, swore by loss of limb that no sign had ever been or would ever be given by the merits of Urban. The man was struck with paralysis in that very place and died the following day.³⁴⁰ Such retributive miracles, in punishment of disrespect and performed at the burial place of a saint, were common in *vitae* and *miracula* of the Middle Ages.³⁴¹ Thus, Guibert drew upon ostensibly hagiographical themes when demonstrating the sanctity of Urban (and by extension, of the crusade) in his history. God's instrumentality in the crusade was of central importance in the tellingly titled *Dei gesta*; it was a sacred history concerning times in which God made "miracles greater than any he has ever performed".³⁴²

³³⁷ GN, praefatio, p. 79: "Ad presentis opusculi executionem multum michi prebuit ausum non scientiae litteralis, cuius apud me constat forma pertenuis, ulla securitas, sed historiae spiritualis auctoritas: quam enim certum semper tenui solo dei numine et per quos voluit consummatam, eam non dubium habui per quos etiam rudes ipse voluerit conscribendam."

³³⁸ GN, 2.6, p. 119: "Erat itaque ibi videre miraculum, caro omnes emere et vili vendere, caro quidem quae ad usum deferrentur itineris..."

³³⁹ GN, 2.1, p. 107: "Attestatur statui mentis finis eius splendens miraculis."

³⁴⁰ Ibid.: "...cum plurima signa iam fierent, astitit quidam sepulchro illius iuvenis et membrorum dampnum sibi imprecatus est, si per Urbani merita, qui Odo diceretur, signum umquam factum fuerit aut fieret. Necdum a loco pedem extulerat, cum, officio sermonis amisso et altero laterum paralisi intercurrente correpto, post tridie Urbani virtutum testimonia mortuus ipse perhibuit."

³⁴¹ See P.-A. Sigal, 'Un aspect du culte des saints: le chatiment divin aux XIe-XIIIe siècles d'après la littérature hagiographique du Midi de la France', in *La religion populaire en Languedoc du XIIIe siècle à la moitié du XIVe siècle*, ed. E. Privat, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 11 (Toulouse, 1976), pp. 39-59; and Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things*, pp. 401-09.

³⁴² GN, praefatio, pp. 80-1: "Videram his deum diebus quam fecerit a seculo mirabilia gessisse gemmamque huiusmodi extreme diversari in pulvere, tantique contemptus impatiens curavi quibus potui

Other theologically refined texts also contain an increased emphasis on the role of Urban as a preacher of a divine message. Baldric's *Historia Ierosolimitana* plays upon the theme of Urban as an intermediary by representing him as a conduit of the divine; he spread the "word of God" (*uerbum Dei*) – that is, the call to crusade – throughout "Gaul" (*Gallias*).³⁴³ On a second occasion, Urban is again described as having sown the Word of God.³⁴⁴ Orderic Vitalis extended Baldric's imagery of Urban as a mouthpiece for God's message by directly comparing the departure of the crusaders from western Europe under the influence of Urban's message to the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt under Moses.³⁴⁵ This firm declaration of belief in the righteousness of Urban's preaching demonstrates how those who reimagined the narrative of the First Crusade in subsequent decades placed increased emphasis upon the origins of the crusade. This served to demonstrate God's orchestration of the event in its entirety, within predestined sacred history, and to avoid giving the impression that it was only once the crusader army had met with certain successes that events of a miraculous nature began to be associated with it. In other words, the miraculous represents an element of the ongoing memorialisation of the origins of the First Crusade.

3.3. "Vulgar Fables" and Authorial Self-Fashioning

A characteristic of several narrative histories of the First Crusade is the provision of stories detailing popular misidentification of the mundane in order that they might be explicitly discredited. The authors who engaged in such ambivalent representations of imprudent interpretation, aside from contributing to the shaping of expectations regarding the

eloquiis." English translation is from Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, Preface, p. 25.

³⁴³ BB, 1, p. 6: "Aliqui condolebamus egenis, id ipsum siquidem per nostros, si quando reuertebantur, audiebamus peregrinos. Publice predicationis causa, papa Romanus, Urbanus nomine, uenit in Gallias, et prout erat disertus seiniuerbius, uerbum Dei passim seminabat."

³⁴⁴ BB, 1, p. 11: "Verbum Dei seminabatur, et cotidie numerus Ierosolimitanorum augebatur, uerecundabantur qui remanebant, etiam coram gloriabantur qui peregrinaturi disponebant."

³⁴⁵ OV 5, 9.1, pp. 4-6: "Antiqua nempe miracula Deus Abraham nuper iterauit, dum solo ardore uisendi speulchrum Messiae occiduos fideles illexit, et sine rege secularique exactione per Urbanum papam commonuit, de finibus terrae et insulis maris uelut Hæbreos de Ægipto per Moisen extrahit..."

appropriate expression of popular crusading enthusiasm, were also presenting these stories in order to portray themselves as trustworthy writers of history. In Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana*, a woman and her followers are scorned for believing that a goose – and in another instance a she-goat – had been inspired by the Holy Spirit to undertake the pilgrimage for the liberation of the Holy Land. The language is indisputably negative, describing these people as “foolish” (*stulti*), guilty of “frenzied levity” (*uesane leuitatis*), and privy to “abominable wickedness” (*scelus detestabile*).³⁴⁶ Albert dedicates this entire section to a monologue warning against such things: God forbid that such dull and senseless animals be permitted to visit the tomb of Christ's most holy body.³⁴⁷ Such beliefs are equated to idolatry.³⁴⁸ While providing a fascinating insight into how popular enthusiasm for the call to crusade might be represented in historical narrative, this passage also raises questions about why an author might seek to include the story at all. The act of rendering this story in text would presumably perpetuate at least an awareness of the tradition, which indeed it has done.

Guibert of Nogent, whose proclivity towards the ambivalent representation of popular devotion has been identified by Yarrow,³⁴⁹ also discusses a “laughable” (*ridiculum*) rumour of a goose that was considered to be destined to help redeem Jerusalem. The passage concludes by noting that the episode was incorporated in order to warn against the trivialising nature of the common peoples' “vulgar fables” (*vulgi fabulis*).³⁵⁰ Ekkehard of Aura's *Hierosolymita* also briefly mentions the story of the woman and the goose.³⁵¹ It continues by stating that such “deceivers” (*seductores*) should be “pointed out” (*denotati*), “searched for

³⁴⁶ AA, 1.30, p. 58.

³⁴⁷ AA, 1.30, p. 58: “Quod absit a fidelium cordibus ut Dominus Iesus a brutis et insensatis animalibus sepulchrum sui sanctissimi corporis uisitari uelit.”

³⁴⁸ AA, 1.30, p. 30: “...et hec fieri duces Christianorum animarum quas precioso sanguine suo ab idolorum spurciciis reuocatas redimere dignatus est...”

³⁴⁹ Yarrow, ‘Miracles, Belief and Christian Materiality’, pp. 42-9.

³⁵⁰ GN, 7.32, p. 331: “Quod totum ob hoc a nobis Historiae veraci attexitur, ut se noverint quique commonitos quatinus nequaquam, fide vulgi fabulis attributa, christiana gravitas leuigetur.”

³⁵¹ EA, p. 19.

everywhere” (*perquirantur*), and be “forced to do penance” (*paenitentiam agere cogantur*).³⁵²

It would therefore appear that the inclusion of such anecdotes engaged with concepts of authorial responsibility and didacticism; inclusion for the purpose of repudiation, resulting in clear condemnation for posterity, was more valuable than omission. Henry of Huntingdon (d. c. 1157) comments in the ninth book of his *Historia Anglorum*, dedicated to stories of the miraculous, that truth itself is God, and therefore acts against truth are acts against God.³⁵³

Those who are too eager to believe something to be miraculous, either through their own lack of discernment or for financial enrichment, are then criticised. This is a comparable sense of authorial responsibility to that which is expressed in the narratives of Ekkehard and Guibert.

In addition, there is the possibility that the explicit condemnation of such misinformed enthusiasm represented an aspect of authorial self-fashioning. Setting out such stories in order to discredit them represents a means by which an author might actively cultivate an image of themselves as a discerning compiler, presumably lending legitimacy to the narrative as a whole. This facet to the utility of marvellous stories is particularly clear in the case of William of Tyre. William’s accounts of miracles (and, interwoven with this, visions and prophecy) frequently serve to reinforce a particular conception of his role as curator of historical truths. William recounts a story in which the mother of Godfrey of Bouillon, Ida of Lorraine, predicts the roles which her three infant sons (Godfrey, Baldwin and Eustace) would have later in their lives. She is described as a holy and religious woman, who made this prediction under the influence of the “divine spirit” (*spiritu... divino*) as if it had been foretold by an oracle.³⁵⁴ Retrospective proof is applied in this instance, as William goes on to note that the prophecy was indeed verified by later fulfilment thanks to the benevolent

³⁵² EA, p. 19.

³⁵³ HH, 9.1, p. 622: “Qui enim de ueritate non uere loquitur, ipsi ueritati – que Deus est – ingratus et infidus apparet.”

³⁵⁴ WT1, 9.6, p. 427: “Horum tantorum principum mater, sancta, religiosa et deo placens femina, dum adhuc essent in etate tenera, spiritu plena divino futuras preuidit conditions et statum qui preparabatur adultis quasi quidam predixit oraculo.”

dispensation of divine clemency.³⁵⁵ The story is presented as one which communicates a truth which was later proven by an affirmative outcome, presided over by divine providence. In stark contrast is the passage immediately following on from the story of Ida's prophetic spirit, in which William's active role in the vetting of his source material is made explicit. It is stated that the decision was made to omit a piece of information; a certain story about a swan would not be included.³⁵⁶ It is implied that this story was judged by comparison to fall short on grounds of believability. The allusion made here is to the tradition of the Swan Knight, which Simon John has recently argued only firmly took root in the early thirteenth century.³⁵⁷ The story, whose central protagonist is a mysterious knight, and whose initial arrival was made on a boat drawn by a swan, became associated with the brothers' maternal dynasty in the middle of the twelfth century.³⁵⁸ It has been postulated that the tradition originated as "a generic folk tale".³⁵⁹ In a similar way to Albert, Guibert and Ekkehard, William demonstrated his ability to vet material for authenticity by discrediting a culturally ubiquitous story in order to emphasise the critical processes behind their narrative histories.

3.4. Divine Intervention in Battle on the First Crusade

Descriptions of military engagements were excellent opportunities for the discussion of miracles. Divine intervention in battle has its greatest impact when it occurs at a point of seemingly inevitable defeat. Such circumstances function as proof; a reversal could not have occurred except by divine intervention. The crusader victory against a numerically superior Seljuk ambush at Dorylaeum is an example of this, and examination of its representation in

³⁵⁵ WT1, 9.6, p. 427: "Quod postmodum benigna dispensatione divina implevit clementia et verum predixisse matrem rerum eventus subsequens declaravit."

³⁵⁶ WT1, 9.6, p. 427: "Preterimus denique studiose, licet id verum fuisse plurimorum astruat narratio, cigni fabulam, unde vulgo dicitur sementivam eis fuisse originem, eo quod a vero videatur deficere talis assertio."

³⁵⁷ S. John, 'Godfrey of Bouillon and the Swan Knight', in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. S. John and N. Morton (Surrey, 2014), pp. 129-42.

³⁵⁸ John, 'Godfrey of Bouillon', p. 130.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

crusade narratives reveals how the functionality of divine intervention in battle could be harnessed. It was only after a protracted engagement that the Christian forces, pushed back against their own camp, were reinforced by the arrival of the rest of the crusade army, which had been travelling separately. The reunited force routed the Turks, taking victory on 1 July 1097. Despite the scope provided by this encounter for the role of the miraculous in the reversal of Christian fortunes, few of the narratives of the battle at Dorylaeum explicitly associates it with the miraculous. In a reflection of the above discussion regarding the interpretative burden of miraculous terminology, two of the three accounts which do so were written by crusade participants.

According to Fulcher of Chartres, at the point at which defeat seemed certain, Adhémar of Le Puy, accompanied by various bishops and priests and clothed in white vestments (*albis induti vestimentis*), besought God for help against the enemy.³⁶⁰ This is portrayed as a turning point in the fortunes of the crusaders.³⁶¹ It was on account of divine grace that the Christian forces rallied in the face of defeat.³⁶² So complete was the Christian victory, concludes Fulcher, that the Turks fled continuously for days after the initial rout. This in itself is interpreted as “a great miracle of God” (*grande... miraculum Dei*).³⁶³ Raymond of Aguilers records that, although unseen by him, some of the participants in the battle had witnessed a “wonderful

³⁶⁰ FC, 11.9, p. 196. Cf. *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem Expugnantium*, in *RHC Oc.* 3, pp. 491-543, p. 496: “Relatum est ergo postea a quibusdam quia duo equites in albis vestibus, super equos albos sedentes Turcos per triduum persequerentur, dicentes unum fuisse Georgium, alterum vero Demetrium, martyres gloriosos.” A recent study of this text can be found in S. B. Edgington, “The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* of “Bartolf of Nangis””, in *Crusades* 13 (2014), pp. 21-35.

³⁶¹ FC, 11.9, pp. 196-7.

³⁶² FC, 12.2, pp. 197-8: “Sed tunc paulatim nobis animatis et de sociis nostris concretis, adfuit mirabiliter divina gratia; et quasi momento subitaneo, Turci omnes visibus nostris dorsa fugitivi dederunt.”

³⁶³ FC, 12.4, p. 198: “Grande autem miraculum Dei fuit, quod die crastino et tertio non cessaverunt fugere, quamvis eos nullus, nisi Deus, amplius fugaret.”

miracle” (*insigne miraculum*). Two horsemen bearing “glittering arms” (*armis coruscis*) threatened the Turkish forces, rendering them unable to fight.³⁶⁴

The reputation of the battle of Dorylaeum as a site for miraculous intervention on the First Crusade has been dwarfed by that of the battle of Antioch on 28 June 1098. Indeed, it is undoubtedly the case that the majority of miracles and marvels contained in First Crusade narratives are situated during considerations of that encounter. At a point of crisis and changing fortunes, when Kerbogha’s forces threatened to outflank the already stretched crusader squadrons, a celestial army is described as having descended from the mountains to aid the Christians and reverse the fortunes of battle.³⁶⁵ These heavenly forces are described as riding white horses and brandishing white standards. Initial confusion gave way to the realisation that this was divine aid, and the leaders of the heavenly host are identified as Saints George, Mercurius and Demetrius. This is the version contained in the *Gesta Francorum*, which closes its description of this event with an assertion of veracity; these words should be believed, because many of the men saw it.³⁶⁶ The celestial horseman, as it is represented in the *Gesta Francorum*, became a dominant motif for divine intervention in battle on crusade, probably on account of the enthusiasm with which it was adapted by those who sought to augment the *Gesta Francorum* in their own narratives.³⁶⁷ The versions of

³⁶⁴ RA, 5, pp. 45-6: “Fertur quoddam insigne miraculum, sed nos non vidimus quod duo equites armis coruscis et mirabili facie exercitum nostrum precedentes, sic hostibus imminebant ut nullo modo facultatem pugnandi eis concederent. At vero cum Turci referire eos lanceis vellent, insauciabiles eis apparebant.”

³⁶⁵ On the significance of this the celestial intervention at Antioch in relation to concepts of martyrdom, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, ‘Martyrdom and the First Crusade,’ in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 46-56, p. 52. On the significance of the motif in the century following the First Crusade see Spacey, ‘The Celestial Knight’.

³⁶⁶ GF, 9.28, p. 69: “Exibant quoque de montaneis innumerabiles exercitus, habentes equos albos, quorum uexilla omnia erant alba. Videntes itaque nostri hunc exercitum, ignorabant penitus quid hoc esset et qui essent; donec cognouerunt esse adiutorium Christi, cuius ductores fuerunt sancti, Georgius, Mercurius et Demetrius. Hec uerba credenda sunt, quia plures ex nostris uiderunt.” Cf. PT, pp. 111-2.

³⁶⁷ BB, 3, p. 81; GN, 6.9, p. 240; RM, 7, pp. 76-7. See also, Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996), 7.15, p. 438; OV 5, 9.10, pp.

Baldric and Guibert feature few changes or adaptations.³⁶⁸ Both are also careful to note that many witnesses to the event had testified to its truthfulness.³⁶⁹ Robert's *Historia Iherosolimitana* features the name of an additional saint; George, Demetrius, and Mercurius are in this instance joined by St Maurice.³⁷⁰ Robert's development of the celestial knight theme, however, is not limited to the introduction of an additional saint. He engages at length with ideas surrounding how this intervention had been interpreted by Muslim eyewitnesses.³⁷¹

Divine intervention during the narrativisation of First Crusade battles also takes other forms, though these still function to underpin the nature of the undertaking as divinely sanctioned. The battlefield miracles of Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* all occur during his version of the battle of Antioch (though it should be noted that this does not include a version of the celestial knight motif): God is responsible for making the bowstrings of the enemy unusable through rainfall;³⁷² God sends a strong wind on the night of Antioch's betrayal in order to mask the noise of Bohemond's men scaling the wall;³⁷³ and a knight is rescued from death by "the finger of God" (*digitum Dei*).³⁷⁴ Raymond of Aguilers also records miraculous

112-4 and 9.14, pp. 154-6; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum, The History of the English Kings, Vol. 1*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1998), 4, p. 637.

³⁶⁸ BB, 3, p. 81: "Ecce, Deo gratias, ab ipsis montanis exire uisus est exercitus innumerabilis, equis albis insidentes, et in manibus uexilla candida preferentes. Hoc multi uiderunt Christianorum, et sicut putant gentilium; et hesitantes mirabantur quidnam esset. Tandem utrique cognouerunt signum de celo factum. Cognouerunt enim duces illius agminis, Sanctum Georgium et Sanctum Mercurium et Sanctum Demetrium, sua signa ferentes, precedere."; GN, 6.9, p. 240: "Et ecce copiae innumerabiles ceperunt de montanis emergere, quorum et equi et signa multo candore nitebant, nostris autem maximus ad eorum contuitum stupor increuit... Quorum specialiter fuisse duces opinati sunt gloriosos post militiam martires Georgium, Mercurium atque Demetrium."

³⁶⁹ BB, 3, p. 81: "Hoc qui affuerunt multi contigisse testati sunt."; GN, 6.9, p. 240: "Haec a nostrorum plurimis visa, et cum aliis quae uiderant retulissent, plena, ut par erat, fide sunt credita."

³⁷⁰ RM, p. 76: "Dum sic certatur, et tam longi certaminis prolixitas poterat tediare, nec numerus illorum uidebatur decrescere, albatorum militum innumerabilis exercitus uisus est de montibus descendere, quorum signiferi et duces esse dicuntur Georgius, Mauricius, Mercurius et Demetrius."

³⁷¹ On the conversation between Bohemond and Pirrus about the celestial knights, see Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*, pp. 27-8; and Rubenstein, 'Miracles and the Crusading Mind', pp. 200-2. Cf. *HeFI*, p. 82.

³⁷² AA, 3.62, p. 236: "Dei etiam auxilio et misericordia nerui arcuum eorum pre pluuia molliti ac defecti nil poterant, quod illis magno fuit impedimento, et fidelibus in triumpho augmento."

³⁷³ AA, 4.20, p. 278: "Dominus Deus uentum ualide spirantem hac suscitauit nocte."

³⁷⁴ AA, 4.42, p. 314: "In cuius liberatione manifeste digitum Dei affuisse experti sunt."

rainfall during the battle of Antioch, which refreshed the men and horses.³⁷⁵ Orderic Vitalis incorporated this example of divine intervention into his own narrative of the First Crusade, itself couched within his magisterial *Historia Ecclesiastica*. In this instance a qualifying statement is appended highlighting the fact that this anecdote had been reported by many witnesses.³⁷⁶

Victory in battle against ostensibly insuperable odds provides the ideal narrative conditions for transcendental miracles such as that of the celestial knights. While Dorylaeum represents that narrative moment in Raymond's narrative, in the account of the *Gesta Francorum*, and by extension many other First Crusade narratives, it is Antioch which plays host to this and many other miracles. As part of the narrative of the First Crusade, the battle of Antioch does appear to represent a more symbolic moment; it is the culmination of a protracted siege and bitter counter-siege, and what Asbridge has called "a dramatic microcosm of the crusading experience".³⁷⁷ Even those who wrote outside of the *Gesta Francorum's* sphere of influence situated miraculous or marvellous episodes at Antioch; Ralph of Caen utilised the victory at Antioch to incorporate anecdotes relating to Bohemond of Taranto and Arnulf of Chocques.³⁷⁸ It is notable that even the siege of Jerusalem cannot boast a comparable amount of stories of the miraculous.

The narrative of the First Crusade presented ideal conditions for employing the miraculous as a rhetorical device for divine association. Simultaneously a miracle in its own right and a sequence of constituent miracles, the status of the First Crusade as divinely stimulated and sanctioned is both reinforced by and provides the functionality for stories of the miraculous

³⁷⁵ RA, 8, p.82: "Non minus hoc idem mirabile equis nostris etiam contigit."

³⁷⁶ OV 5, 9.10, p. 110: "Hoc nempe a multis probabilibus uiris qui interfuerunt relatum est."

³⁷⁷ T. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 16.

³⁷⁸ See Chapter 4, sections 2.1., and 2.2.

and marvellous. Narrating the experience of the Second Crusade appears to have been altogether more challenging, however.

4. The Second Crusade

4.1. Negotiating Failure

Unlike the First Crusade, the Holy Land expedition of 1145-1149 was not heralded a miracle in its own right; far from it.³⁷⁹ While there is a dramatic reduction in the number of stories of the miraculous in Second Crusade narratives in comparison to those of the First Crusade, the potential for the inclusion of miracles was not entirely undermined. Integral to the scope of the Second Crusade to function as a vehicle for divine association was the rationalisation of its failure by contemporaries. Otto of Freising reveals how he himself interpreted its outcome in a brief passage contained within his *Gesta Frederici I Imperatoris*. Having narrated the events of the Second Crusade, Otto assesses its achievements from a spiritual perspective, as opposed to a temporal one. He begins by outlining the origin and form of the criticism which he is responding to: “Now because some of the little brethren of the Church being offended marvel, and marveling are offended [Cf. Matthew 18.6, Luke 17.2, Mark 9.42] at the effort of our aforesaid expedition, inasmuch as starting out from so lofty and good a beginning it came to so pitiful a conclusion – not a good one – it seems that they must be answered as follows.”³⁸⁰ What follows is a theoretical consideration of how best to define *bonus*, a word which, according to Otto, requires interpretation in relation to understanding the will of God. Otto concludes by stating that when he describes the Second Crusade as “good” (*bona*), he

³⁷⁹ On contemporary responses to the failure of the Second Crusade, and in particular to the failed siege of Damascus, see Constable, ‘The Second Crusade’, pp. 281-92.

³⁸⁰ OFGF, 1.65, p. 91: “Porro, quia nonnulli ex pusillis aecclesiae fratribus scandalizati mirantur, mirando scandalizantur de pretaxatae nostrae expeditionis labore, quod tam arduo et bono inchoata principio tam humilem et non bonum exitum acceperit, ipsis hoc modo respondendum videtur.” English translation is from Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, trans. C. C. Mierow (Toronto, 1994), 1.65, pp. 103-4.

means this in a restricted sense, which equates more literally to the term “useful” (*utili*), so: “Although it [i.e. the Second Crusade] was not good for the enlargement of boundaries or for the advantage of bodies, yet it was good for the salvation of many souls, on condition however, that you interpret the word ‘good’ not as an endowment of nature but always in the sense of ‘useful’.”³⁸¹ The Second Crusade was defensible, therefore, if understood as facilitating the entry of many souls into heaven. Otto concludes that Bernard of Clairvaux was indeed inspired by God in his preaching of the expedition, and that the crusaders themselves brought about its downfall due to their pride, lawlessness and failure to observe the commandments.³⁸²

Bernard responded to criticism in the wake of the Second Crusade in a similar way in his *De consideratione*, an *apologia* addressed to Pope Eugenius III.³⁸³ Within this work, the Cistercian abbot defends his role as preacher of the Second Crusade by emphasising the unknowable nature of God’s will: “How, then, does human rashness dare reprove what it can scarcely understand?”³⁸⁴ Equally harmful, according to Bernard, is judgement based upon incomplete knowledge of temporal matters. Having thus undermined those who criticised him on account of their incomplete knowledge, Bernard moves on to problematise the ascription of success and failure according to incorrect criteria; namely that a cause should not necessarily be judged by its outcome. So, “these few things have been said by way of apology, so that your conscience may have something from me, whereby you can hold

³⁸¹ OFGF, 1.65, p. 93: “Etsi non fuit bona pro dilatatione terminorum vel commoditate corporum, bona tamen fuit ad multarum salutem animarum, sic tamen, ut bonum non pro dato naturae, sed pro utili semper accipias.” English translation is from Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 1.65, pp. 105-6.

³⁸² *Ibid.*: “Quamvis, si dicamus sanctum illum abbatem spiritu Dei ad excitandos nos afflatum fuisse, sed nos ob superbiam lasciviamque nostram salubria mandata non observantes merito rerum personarumve dispendium reportasse, non sit a rationibus vel antiquis exemplis dissonum.”

³⁸³ See Constable, ‘The Second Crusade’, p. 283.

³⁸⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘*De consideratione libri quinque*’, *PL* 182, 2.1, col. 743: “Et quomodo tamen humana temeritas audet reprehendere, quod minime comprehendere valet?” English translation is from J. Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary Survey* (Milwaukee, WI, 1962), pp. 115-21, as made available at <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/bernard-apol.asp> (Accessed: 16 July 2016).

yourself and me excused, *if not in the eyes of those who judge causes from their results*, then at least in your own eyes”.³⁸⁵ By separating cause from result, Bernard is able to disassociate his preaching from the failure of the Second Crusade.

The following consideration explores the tensions surrounding the inclusion of the miraculous in the narrativisation of ‘failed’ crusades. First, the ways in which the terminology of the miraculous was employed, particularly in relation to different areas of crusading endeavour, is outlined. This is followed by an exploration of how stories of the miraculous are incorporated into narrative histories of the Second Crusade.

4.2. The Use of *Miraculum* and *Mirabile* in Second Crusade Sources

As in the narrative histories of the First Crusade, the explicit terminology for miracles and the marvellous is used sparingly in Second Crusade sources. The most notable spikes in their usage surround descriptions of crusading endeavours in the Iberian peninsula, namely the conquest of Lisbon in October 1147, and in relation to individuals, usually those to whom a text is dedicated.

Odo of Deuil appears to have been selective in his use of the terms *miraculum* and *mirabile*. As has been discussed above, Odo avoids the use of any specific terminology pertaining to the miraculous in his account of the death of Bishop Alvisus.³⁸⁶ *Miracula* is used in relation to Bernard of Clairvaux, but is not elaborated upon as it would represent too great a diversion from the original purpose of the text.³⁸⁷ The unseasonably clement weather during the French army’s ill-advised passage from Constantinople to Ephesus is interpreted as a “miracle”

³⁸⁵ J. Brundage, *The Crusades*, pp. 115-21, [emphasis is mine]; Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘*De consideratione*’, 2.1, cols. 744-5: “Haec pauca vice apologiae dicta sint, ut ipsa qualiacumque habeat conscientia tua ex me, unde habeat me excusatum, et te pariter, etsi non apud eos qui facta ex eventibus aestimant, certe apud te ipsum.”

³⁸⁶ See Chapter 2, section 2.

³⁸⁷ OD, 1, pp. 8-10: “Supersedeo scribere miracula quae tunc ibidem acciderunt.”

(*miraculo*).³⁸⁸ The term is also used in a more poetic sense where Odo relates how crowds of people flocked to Saint-Denis in June 1147 to see “both parts of the miracle” (*utriusque miraculo*); namely King Louis VII of France and Pope Eugenius III “as pilgrims” (*peregrinis*).³⁸⁹

In his *Gesta Friderici*, Otto of Freising restricts his use of *miraculum* to general instances. For example, he notes that Bernard of Clairvaux was renowned for “signs and miracles” (*signis et miraculis*)³⁹⁰, and that he performed “many miracles” (*plurima... miracula*).³⁹¹ No specific examples are provided by Otto, however. Otto does not include a narrative of the Second Crusade in his *Chronica*, a text which covers a greater chronological span than his *Gesta Friderici*, despite outlining the events surrounding the fall of Edessa in 1144, and briefly mentioning that he had learnt of the miracles of Theodosia during the expedition (which is the only direct reference in the *Chronica* to the Second Crusade and Otto’s participation in it).³⁹²

While the *Chronica* does not engage with the crusades at any length it does contain a wealth of material relating to the miraculous, thereby highlighting the conspicuous absence of the miraculous in Otto’s narrative of the Second Crusade; the miraculous did represent part of Otto’s narrative repertoire. Examples of the use of *miraculum* in the *Chronica* include a

³⁸⁸ OD, 6, pp. 106-7: “Unde habebatur pro miraculo contra solitum nobis imbres et heimem pepercisse.”

³⁸⁹ OD, 1, pp. 14-6: “Post haec, ne aliquid deesset benedictionis aut gratiae, Romanus pontifex Eugenius venit et pascha Domini in ecclesia beati Dionysii honore quo decuit celebravit. Affluunt multi multarum partium utriusque miraculo, videlicet regi et apostolico peregrinis.”

³⁹⁰ OFGF, 1.35, p. 54: “Erat illo in tempore in Gallia cenobii Clarevallensis abbas quidam Bernardus dictus, vita et moribus venerabilis, religionis ordine conspicuus, sapientia litterarumque scientia peditus, signis et miraculis clarus.”

³⁹¹ OFGF, 1.40, p. 59: “Quo veniens predictus abbas principi cum Friderico fratris sui filio aliisque principibus et viris illustribus crucem accipere persuasit, plurima in publico vel [etiam] occulto faciendo miracula.”

³⁹² OFC, 7.30, pp. 550-2.

consideration of the interpretative gift granted upon Elijah and Elisha by God.³⁹³ This passage emphasises Otto's awareness of the responsibility inherent in the interpretation of the divine, and it is interesting that Otto's use of the explicit terminology is largely restricted to the discussion of scripture, where the interpretative responsibility is not his.³⁹⁴ The anxiety surrounding the terminology of the miraculous evidenced in narratives of expeditions to the East is not reflected in those concerning peninsular expeditions, however.

There is a twofold explanation for the relative frequency with which specific terminology was employed in relation to crusading in Iberia at the time of the Second Crusade. First, many of the crusaders' peninsular endeavours were successful from a military perspective. This was in stark contrast to the series of misfortunes which befell those crusading in the East. The association between divine intervention and victory naturally lent itself to an increased number of references in relation to crusading in Iberia. Second, certain of the sources reveal a need to demonstrate the spiritual legitimacy of crusading efforts in Iberia. Those who chose to write accounts of peninsular crusading, and who sought to emphasise the legitimacy of those undertakings, employed the miraculous in order to lend divine association and therefore justification. A more detailed consideration of the function of the miraculous in these texts follows later in this chapter. For now, the frequency of these references will be explored.

Of the contemporary sources for the siege and conquest of Lisbon in 1147, the most detailed account is found in Raol's *DeL*. Phillips has argued that *DeL* represents an effort to justify and legitimate the crusader conquest of Lisbon in 1147 in response to discomfort surrounding

³⁹³ OFC, 1.29, p. 100: "Inter quos in regno Israel Helyas et Helyseus floruerunt, qui eximiis vitae meritis caelum claudere ac rursus aperire, mortuos suscitare, regibus imperare ac innumera prodigiorum ac signorum miracula facere a Domino meruerunt."

³⁹⁴ See also Otto's discussion of Simon Magus, who was refused the ability to perform real miracles. OFC, 3.14, pp. 238-40: "Iste dudum a Philippo in Samaria baptizatus, dum gratiam miraculorum ab apostolis oblata pecunia et non impetraret, conversus retro post Satanam apostatavit seque ex multis demonum prestigiis miracula faciendo deum esse non erubuit..."

the diversion of crusaders avowed to aiding the Holy Land, and the use of the miraculous in this text certainly supports this.³⁹⁵ As with many of the First Crusade narratives written by participants, Raol's account of the Second Crusade contains several explicit uses of *miraculum*. Raol comments that the "divine miracles" (*divina miracula*) experienced by those who were saved from a storm at sea were so numerous as to be tedious to relate.³⁹⁶ More specific use of the terminology is also in evidence in *DeL*. The successful capture of the city's suburbs by a crusader force of inferior numbers was achieved by a "clear miracle" (*evidenti miraculo*).³⁹⁷ This phrase is repeated when Raol notes that it was by a "clear miracle" that thus far during the capture of the suburbs, no crusade blood had been shed.³⁹⁸ Finally, the sudden restoration of the city's food stores to an edible state upon their capture by the crusaders is described as a "miracle of great wonder" (*magne admirationis miraculum*).³⁹⁹ The term *mirabile* is also used by Raol, during direct speech which is attributed to none other than the author himself. In this, he refers to God as performing his "marvellous works" (*mirabiliorum*) through the crusaders.⁴⁰⁰

The rich miraculous content of Helmold of Bosau's *Chronica Slavorum* is largely associated with the life and afterlife of Bishop Vicelin, acquaintance of Helmold and notable missionary. By comparison, the Second Crusade (Helmold refers to crusading on several frontiers in his text) occupies relatively brief sections of Helmold's *Chronica*, and the miraculous is only associated with the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux. Of the campaign against the Slavs and the investment of Dobin, Helmold concludes that little benefit came of

³⁹⁵ Phillips, 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War', pp. 123-41.

³⁹⁶ *DeL*, p. 60: "Idque adeo actum ut dispensatio divina nullum preteriret, imo etiam celestis beneficii singulare privilegium se accepisse unusquisque gratularetur, ut longum sit enumerare per singula quantis visionum imaginibus divina miracula patuerint."

³⁹⁷ *DeL*, p. 128: "Sed nox interim conflictum dirimit, capto suburbio non sine evidenti miraculo, quod quasi tria armatorum milia, XV. Milia familiarum villam tot difficultatibus septem obtinerent."

³⁹⁸ *DeL*, p. 154: "...quomodo non sine evidenti miraculo captum est fere absque nostrorum sanguine."

³⁹⁹ *DeL*, p. 178: "Compertum est deinceps magne admirationis miraculum, quod ante urbis captionem per dies quindecim hostium cibaria fetore intolerabili ingustabilia sibi facta que postmodum nobis et ipsis grata acceptaque gustavimus."

⁴⁰⁰ *DeL*, p. 154: "Mementote mirabilium Domini que operatus est in vobis..."

so great an expedition.⁴⁰¹ Vicelin's efforts to convert the 'pagan' Slavs met with greater approval in the *Chronica* than does crusading against them. As with Otto's *Chronica*, this serves to demonstrate that the miraculous certainly was part of Helmold's repertoire, but that he did not choose to associate this with the crusades.

While Saxo Grammaticus does not incorporate the miraculous into his consideration of the Wendish Crusade of the late 1140s, stories of miracles and marvels are common in the section of his narrative dedicated to later twelfth-century campaigns against the Wends, particularly those involving King Valdemar I and Absalon, bishop of Roskilde and archbishop of Lund, in the 1160s. For example, Saxo's account of Valdemar's attack on Arkona in Rügen in 1168 is littered with contrasts between the divinely supported Danes and the superstitious Slavs, a contrast which the miraculous is used to highlight.⁴⁰² As with Helmold, the absence of the miraculous in relation to the Second Crusade is conspicuous. In sum, the interpretative caution evidenced by the lexis of monastic First Crusade texts continues in most Second Crusade narratives, and appears exacerbated by the perceived failure of that expedition.

4.3. Preaching the Second Crusade

It has been shown that Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1154), the high-profile preacher of the Second Crusade, is attributed with many miracles in narrative histories of that endeavour.⁴⁰³ Bernard's association with the preaching of the expedition stems from his symbolic involvement in the meeting at Vézelay at Easter 1146, where he began his preaching tour of France before moving on to the Low Countries and the German Empire.⁴⁰⁴ Bernard's involvement in the formative stages of the crusade meant that, while he was an abbot and not

⁴⁰¹ HB, 65, p. 123: "Taliter illa grandis expeditio cum modico emolumento soluta est."

⁴⁰² SG, 14, pp. 123-9.

⁴⁰³ On Bernard's crusade preaching, and the preaching of the Second Crusade more broadly, see especially Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 37-61.

⁴⁰⁴ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 61-98.

a pope, he assumed the role of the primary crusade instigator in much of the literature, in ways comparable to portrayals of Urban in sources for the First Crusade.

As discussed above, Otto of Freising rationalised the failure of the Second Crusade's Holy Land campaign by emphasising the importance of spiritual accomplishment. In his description of the occasion on which King Conrad III of Germany and his own nephew, the young future emperor Frederick, took the cross at Speyer in 1146, Otto notes that Bernard performed "many miracles" (*plurima... miracula*) both publicly and privately.⁴⁰⁵ On another occasion, Bernard is described as having been renowned for "signs and miracles" (*signis et miraculis*), yet no further detail is provided.⁴⁰⁶

Odo of Deuil's *De profectioe*, approaches the issue of failure by retraining the focus of blame upon specific players (in this instance, namely the Greeks), and away from others, such as Bernard. In one passage it is described how the abbot, accompanied by Louis VII, stood upon a platform in order to exhort the crowd. Bernard's intercessory role between the divine and the mundane is made explicit; he is described as a "heavenly instrument" (*caeleste organum*), and his communication of the "Word of God" (*divini verbi*) caused crowds of people to take the cross.⁴⁰⁷ In his portrayal of Bernard as communicator of the Word of God, Odo is evoking the portrayal of Urban II in the First Crusade narratives of, for example, Baldric of Bourgueil.⁴⁰⁸ This is unsurprising given that Odo is known to have been familiar

⁴⁰⁵ OFGF, 1.40, p. 59: "Quo veniens predictus abbas principi cum Friderico fratris sui filio aliisque principibus et viris illustribus crucem accipere persuasit, plurima in publico vel [etiam] occulto faciendo miracula."

⁴⁰⁶ OFGF, 1.35, p. 54: "Erat illo in tempore in Gallia cenobii Clarevallensis abbas quidam Bernhardus dictus, vita et moribus venerabilis, religionis ordine conspicuus, sapientia litterarumque scientia preditus, signis et miraculis clarus."

⁴⁰⁷ OD, 1, pp. 8-10: "Hanc ascendit cum rege cruce ornato; cumque caeleste organum more suo divini verbi rorem fudisset, coeperunt undique conclamando cruces expetere..."

⁴⁰⁸ See Chapter 2, section 3.2.

with certain narratives of the First Crusade, and that *De profectioe* contains other important evocations of that earlier campaign.⁴⁰⁹

Both Odo and Otto appear reluctant to provide any further detail regarding the alleged miracles performed by Bernard as he preached the expedition; there are no episodes comparable to the healing miracles associated with Urban's preaching, for example. Odo argues that a consideration of these events would draw him too far from the original theme of his work.⁴¹⁰ The employment of this phrase causes an audience to anticipate the existence of a volume of miracles indicative of Bernard's sanctity. Odo does note, however, that these miracles were understood to demonstrate God's approval of the undertaking.⁴¹¹ Therefore Bernard and the crusade's origins are associated with the divine without the diversion of the narrative from its focus, Louis VII. Indeed, much of the miraculous and marvellous found in this narrative, as is discussed below, occurs in association with the French king.

Helmold's *Chronica* represents a nuanced treatment of Bernard's preaching miracles, in which an example of a miracle is provided. Bernard is described as having been made famous by rumours of signs and wonders worked through him.⁴¹² Helmold provides an account of a miracle performed by Bernard during the diet at Frankfurt on 13 March 1147 (which he appears to conflate with an earlier diet at the same location).⁴¹³ It is described how a certain Count Adolph, apparently desiring to witness proof of Bernard's sanctity, watched closely as a lame and blind boy was presented to the abbot. As though he had been instructed by God of the count's incredulity, Bernard promptly healed the boy.⁴¹⁴ This is followed by a description

⁴⁰⁹ See Chapter 2, section 4.4. See also Phillips, 'Odo of Deuil's *De profectioe*', p. 139.

⁴¹⁰ OD, 1, p. 10: "Supersedeo scribere miracula quae tunc ibidem acciderunt..."

⁴¹¹ OD, 1, p. 10: "...quibus visum est id placuisse Domino, ne, si pauca scripsero, non credantur plura fuisse vel, si multa, materiam videar omisisse."

⁴¹² HB, 1.59, p. 114: "Cuius fama tanta signorum fuit opinione celebris, ut de toto orbe conflueret ad eum populorum frequentia cupientium videre quae per eum fiebant mirabilia."

⁴¹³ See F. J. Tschann, trans., *The Chronicle of the Slavs* (New York, NY, 1966), p. 171, n. 2.

⁴¹⁴ HB, 1.59, p. 114: "Cuius incredulitati veluti divinitus edoctus vir Dei remedium providens puerum preter morem [iussit] sibi applicari -, ceteros enim verbo tantum consignavit, hunc vero exhibitum manibus

of Bernard's preaching and the many who were signed with the cross as a result. As with the punitive miracle which Guibert attributes to the bodily remains of Urban, here a miracle is used to undermine potential critics of a crusade preacher. Rather than commit a punitive miracle against Adolph, however, Bernard is divinely instructed to address the count's scepticism through a benevolent miracle. As a result of this proof, an army of bishops, princes and common people "exceeding estimation in number" was roused.⁴¹⁵

It is striking, given the tone of *De consideratione*, that the narratives of Otto, Odo and Helmold portray Bernard of Clairvaux in terms comparable to earlier representations of Urban II. Implicit within representations of Bernard as a divine instrument is the message that the crusade was itself divinely sanctioned at its outset. By placing the blame elsewhere, or by redefining the crusade's failure, these authors are able to employ divine association in favour of their narrative's 'heroes'.

4.4. Divine Assistance, Divine Punishment

While concepts surrounding the divine punishment of crusaders are evidenced in First Crusade narratives, for example the punishment by famine of crusaders during the siege of Antioch, it is in the narrative histories of the Second Crusade that punitive miracles against crusaders become a major theme.⁴¹⁶ Indeed, the negative outcome of the expedition as a whole becomes a punishment. Despite this, divine assistance still functions as a laudatory device, though usually in relation to an individual or specific group of people. The following will explore the forms that divine association through the miraculous might take in Second Crusade narratives, before considering the rise of crusader punishment.

exceptit oculisque morosa contrectacione visum restituit, deinde genua contracta corrigens iussit eum currere ad gradus, manifesta dans indicia recuperati tam visus quam gressus."

⁴¹⁵ HB, 1.59, p. 115: "Episcopis et principibus, milicia nobilium et ignobilium vulgarumque numero estimacionem excedente."

⁴¹⁶ See FC, 15.13-5, pp. 222-4. On this episode see also J. Brundage, 'Prostitution, Miscegenation and Sexual Purity in the First Crusade', in *Crusade and Settlement*, pp. 57-65.

Otto of Freising utilises themes concerning the divine and miraculous sparingly in his *Gesta*, and the majority of his portion of the work (the latter two books were completed by Rahewin after Otto's death in 1158) concentrates on issues exterior to the events of the Second Crusade. In his consideration of the career of Frederick, Otto most commonly utilises themes of the miraculous as a medium through which to associate Frederick with divine favour. For example, in the first book, Frederick avoids violent traitors by entrusting himself to the aid of "divine grace" (*divinae...gratiae*), which reveals to him a secret passageway through which he then escapes.⁴¹⁷ This theme is continued by Rahewin, who in the fourth book of the *Gesta* records how Frederick survived an assassination attempt thanks to "divine mercy" (*divina miseratio*).⁴¹⁸ Such anecdotes represent the extent of the miraculous in Otto's *Gesta*; it functions only as a device for eulogising Frederick, and only exterior to the treatment of the Second Crusade.

By contrast, Odo's portrayal of Louis as the worthy recipient of divine assistance is necessarily couched within the narrative of the Second Crusade on account of the scope of the work. As with several of the narrative histories of the First Crusade, the crusade itself represents the narrative vessel for Odo's eulogy of Louis. Louis is presented as the divinely sanctioned and well-meaning crusader king thwarted by the machinations of the Greek emperor. For example, it is described how Louis took the shore route from Constantinople to Ephesus on the advice of the Greek emperor and became lost. Despite managing to find the way, the French army were forced to proceed through difficult terrain unaided by the Greek inhabitants. Odo alludes to divine support of Louis's army during these tribulations by describing how they had managed to cross three rivers which, immediately after their

⁴¹⁷ OFGF, 1.20, p. 33: "Dolum itaque cognoscens ad divinae tantum gratiae se vertit adiutorium. Qua opitulante per abdita quedam cubiculi penetralia tunc sibi primo quasi caelitus ostensa aecclesiam introivit, turrim, quae aecclesiae contigua erat, ascendit."

⁴¹⁸ OFGF, 4.43, p. 283: "...potitusque esset forsitan nefario proposito, nisi divina miseratio ad defensionem divi principis manum extendisset."

crossing, were flooded with heavy rain, much to the amazement of the natives (*stupentibus indigenis*).⁴¹⁹ The passage concludes: “therefore it was considered miraculous that, contrary to the ordinary course of events, the rains and the winter had spared us.”⁴²⁰ It is this inherent unnaturalness that constitutes its interpretation as a miracle. Thus Odo’s *De profectione* reflects an understanding of the miraculous as against the natural capacity of things. This episode also serves to highlight Odo’s consistent portrayal of the Greeks as the inhibitors of the divinely sanctioned French crusaders.

A particularly striking example of eulogy through miracle in *De profectione* also represents an evocation of First Crusade through the motif of the celestial knight. When describing a battle between the French army and a Turkish force by the Maeander River in Asia Minor in 1147, Odo relates how some had witnessed a mysterious white knight aiding the crusaders in battle:

Actually there were people who said that they had seen ahead of us at the ford a certain white-clad knight, whom they had not seen before or since, and that he struck the first blows in the battle. As to this, I should not wish to deceive anyone or to be deceived; but I do know that in such straits such an easy and brilliant victory would not have occurred except by the power of God.⁴²¹

Louis’s contingents were the sole beneficiaries of this divine intervention; Conrad’s army was not present. In this instance, Odo’s use of the miraculous in order to associate Louis with the divine had an added layer of meaning: association with the First Crusade. Conceptual links between the First Crusade and expectations of Louis on the Second are evidenced

⁴¹⁹ OD, 6, p. 106: “Ne praetereundum nos in hac via, stupentibus indigenis, contra morem tres fluvios facile transvadasse, et unumquemque post nostrum transitum ilico pluviis inundasse.”

⁴²⁰ OD, 6, p. 107: “Unde habebatur pro miraculo contra solitum nobis imbres et heimem pepercisse.”

⁴²¹ OD, 6, pp. 112-3: “Certe fueruntqui dicerent album quendam militem ante nostros ad transitum fluminis, quem non viderunt prius vel postea, se vidisse et primos ictus in proelio percussisse. In hoc ego nec fallere vellem nec falli; scio tamen quod in tali districto tam facilis et tam celebris victoria, non nisi divine virtute, fuisset.”

elsewhere. In 1137 crusade veteran William Grassegals presented Louis with a volume containing the histories of Walter the Chancellor, Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers.⁴²² Significantly, two of these texts contain versions of the celestial knight motif. The dedicatory letter urged Louis to emulate certain of the First Crusade leaders. Elsewhere in his crusade narrative, Odo had Louis refer to the earlier crusade in a speech.⁴²³ By placing the causation for the crusade's failure with the Greeks, Odo is able to employ the Second Crusade narrative to eulogise his patron. This is achieved through use of miraculous motifs which not only imply divine aid but evoke an earlier, successful expedition.⁴²⁴

Punishment is still a form of divine instrumentality; it is simply negative in form. While the expedition might be represented as divinely willed, the participants themselves are ultimately responsible for the endeavour's outcome. Failure, rather than subverting God's omnipotence, represented divine castigation for crusader sinfulness. According to First Crusade narratives, the sins of greed, pride and lust represented the greatest pitfalls for crusaders.⁴²⁵

Otto of Freising's *Gesti Frederici* is unique among the sources for the Second Crusade for its distinct tone of self-effacement on behalf of the crusader army. Otto leaves little doubt that the result of the Second Crusade was a form of divine punishment: "But since the outcome of that expedition, because of our sins, is known to all, we, who have purposed this time to write not a tragedy but a joyous history, leave this to be related by others elsewhere."⁴²⁶

Crusader sinfulness had undermined Bernard's, and by extension God's, message:

⁴²² On *Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 14378* see Rubenstein, 'Putting History to Use', pp. 131-68. For a Latin edition, see FC, p. 827. For a discussion of the letter in relation to concepts of crusading obligation, see Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 47-8.

⁴²³ See OD, 7, pp. 130-1.

⁴²⁴ I have presented this argument in greater detail in an article. See Spacey, 'The Celestial Knight'.

⁴²⁵ See for example FC, 2.16, p. 166 and 15.13-5, pp. 222-4; *GF*, 9.24, p. 58; RA, pp. 54, 73; RM, 7, p. 67.

⁴²⁶ OFGF, 1.47, p. 65: "Verum quia peccatis nostris exigentibus, quem finem predicta expeditio sortita fuerit, omnibus notum est, nos, qui non hac vice tragediam, sed iocundam scribere proposuimus hystoriam, aliis vel alias hoc dicendum relinquimus." English translation is from Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 1.47, p. 79.

If we should say that the holy abbot [Bernard of Clairvaux] was inspired by the spirit of God to arouse us; but that we, by reason of our pride and arrogance not observing the salutary commandments, have deservedly suffered loss of property and persons, it would not be at variance with logical processes or with ancient examples.⁴²⁷

The *Gesta* describes how the German army, deciding to camp in an ostensibly pleasant valley near Choïrobacchoi to the west of Constantinople, was devastated by a great and sudden flood.⁴²⁸ Wind and rain decimated the army's tents and caused the nearby stream to burst its banks, inundating the camp. It remained uncertain whether or not the stream had flooded on account of the nearby sea, or as a result of "a cloudburst betokening the vengeance of the Majesty on high".⁴²⁹ It is noted that those present, including Otto, considered the storm to be a "divine punishment" (*divinam... animadversionem*).⁴³⁰ As Sverre Bagge has shown in an article on the author of the *Gesta Frederici*, this episode emphasises two key points: first, that Frederick was spared the storm indicates that Otto wished to portray him as in receipt of divine assistance; secondly, that the fortune of the crusaders was dependent upon divine disposition.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ OFGF, 1.65, p. 93: "Quamvis, si dicamus sanctum illum abbatem spiritu Dei ad excitandos nos afflatum fuisse, sed nos ob superbiam lasciviamque nostram salubria mandata non observantes merito rerum personarumve dispendium reportasse, non sit a rationibus vel antiquis exemplis dissonum." English translation is from Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 1.65(60), p. 106.

⁴²⁸ Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, pp. 172-3. For two Greek interpretations of the flood see John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C. M. Brand (New York, NY, 1976), p. 63; and Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit, MI, 1984), pp. 37-8.

⁴²⁹ OFGF, 1.47, p. 66.: "Amniculus enim - an ex reflexione proximi maris ymbriumve multitudine an ex cataractis ruptis in caelo ex supernae maiestatis ultione, incertum - tantum intumuerat ex tumoreque preter morem inundaverat, ut totum cooperiret exercitum." English translation is from Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 1.(45), p. 81.

⁴³⁰ OFGF, 1.47, p. 66.

⁴³¹ S. Bagge, 'Ideas and narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*', *Journal of Medieval History* 22.4 (1996), pp. 345-77.

Helmold of Bosau also discusses the flood in his *Chronica*. In his discussion of the “first” (*primus*)⁴³² army, namely the army belonging to Conrad, Helmold notes how “many portents” (*multa... portenta*) were witnessed by participants.⁴³³ The principal of these, Helmold explains, occurred one night when a thick fog covered the camp. When the fog withdrew, the tents appeared to be sprinkled with blood, as though the cloud had rained blood upon the camp.⁴³⁴ Helmold asserts that the misfortune that this portent was interpreted as heralding for the army became clear when, having decided to make camp one evening in a pleasant valley, a great storm caused the stream to swell and flood the plain. So, the miraculous could serve as epistemological proof of divine disapproval in the same way that it could demonstrate divine support.

4.5. Success Amidst Failure, I: The Conquest of Lisbon

DeL contains the most detailed and varied examples of the miraculous from the narrative histories of the Second Crusade considered in this thesis. Apart from heavenly and earthly signs, Raol discusses various accounts of the miraculous in his work.⁴³⁵ As has been outlined above, Raol’s text can be interpreted as a defence of the army’s decision to aid Afonso in the conquest of Lisbon in Portugal, which had resulted in the expenditure of time, provisions and manpower before their eventual arrival at their original destination, the Holy Land.⁴³⁶ The miraculous represents one of the methods utilised in this narrative to demonstrate that the Lisbon campaign should be considered not only a legitimate diversion, but an endeavour of comparable spiritual significance. Given the positive outcome of the Lisbon campaign in

⁴³² HB, 1.60, p. 115.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p. 116: “Multa vero portenta visa sunt in exercitu illis diebus, futurae cladis demonstrativa.”

⁴³⁴ Quorum vel precipuum fuit, quod vespere quodam nebula densissima cooperuit castra, qua recedente universa papilionum tegmina vel quae sub divo fuerant adeo sanguine respersa comparuerunt, ac si nimbus ille sanguinem compluerit.”

⁴³⁵ See Chapter 4, section 3.2.

⁴³⁶ See Phillips, ‘Ideas of Crusade and Holy War’, *passim*.

terms of military success, the miraculous is employed to demonstrate that the undertaking as a whole was divinely sanctioned.

Many of the references to the miraculous in this text feature in notable stories associated with the places the fleet visited or sailed near. For example, one anecdote concerns the miraculous healing qualities of the sands of the Douro's shores near to the city of Oporto. Those who sought to be healed would cover themselves with the sand, until the rising tide would wash the sand off, leaving them healed.⁴³⁷ Legitimacy is added to this description by the added detail that the bishop there had told them that his predecessor had been relieved by those sands of mysterious bruising in his skin similar in appearance to leprosy.⁴³⁸ Sands of this nature, Raol continues, are known to exist in *Hyspania*, as it is noted "in the histories of the Romans".⁴³⁹ A series of these anecdotes serves to create an atmosphere of divine agency, against which the Lisbon campaign is constructed. By presenting Portugal in this way, Raol is highlighting its special importance as part of Christendom; it is worthy of defending.

DeL also details that the church of São Vicente de Fora was built by the German and Flemish armies upon the spot where two individuals who had been mute since birth had been granted their speech, with God's help.⁴⁴⁰ The same miracle is described in the various versions of the Lisbon Letter, also known as the "Teutonic Source".⁴⁴¹ For example, in the version attributed to the priest and crusade participant Duodechin, it reads:⁴⁴²

⁴³⁷ *DeL*, p. 68: "...in quibus involuntur egroti donec mare superveniens eos abluat ut sic sanentur."

⁴³⁸ *DeL*, p. 68: "Ibidem vero testatus est episcopus predecessorem suum sanatum a livore simili lepre."

⁴³⁹ *DeL*, p. 68: "De huiusmodi harenis, quod sint in Hyspania, in hystoriis Romanorum invenitur."; Charles Wendell David notes that "I have failed to identify this reference in any ancient author." *DeL*, p. 68, n. 4.

⁴⁴⁰ *DeL*, pp. 132-4: "Interea ecclesie duę a Francis construuntur in sepulturam defunctorum, una ab orientali parte Colonensibus et Flandrensibus, abi duo muti a natiuitate, Deo adiuvante, officia lingue susceperunt, altera ab Englis et a Normannis ab occidentali parte."

⁴⁴¹ Phillips, 'St Bernard of Clairvaux', pp. 485-97; Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', pp. 54-70.; Constable, 'The Second Crusade', p. 237-9. A Latin edition of what is believed to have been the original version of the letter is available in Edgington, 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', pp. 328-39.

⁴⁴² A full Latin edition of Duodechin's letter is available as part of the 'Annales Sancti Disibodi', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 17 (Hanover, 1861), pp. 4-30, pp. 27-8.

For in that place where the bodies of our martyrs were buried outside the camp, for many, to whom this divine piety granted it, lamps seemed to glow at night-time. Furthermore, two dumb men, well known in the entire army, one on the feast of St Gereon and his holy company, the other on the festival of All Saints, received the use of speech in that same place. We do not mention this from our own inspiration, but on the contrary we have the assent of many and truthful witnesses, we saw it with our own eyes and felt it with our own hands.⁴⁴³

Duodechin's letter is unique among the sources written during the immediate aftermath of the events at Lisbon in referring to the deceased crusaders at Lisbon as "our martyrs" (*martirum nostrorum*).⁴⁴⁴ He adds legitimacy to his account by personally involving himself in the events. Stephen Lay has argued that the confident representation of the conquest of Lisbon as divinely sanctioned in the Lisbon letters contrasts with the more tentative Raol, whom, he argues, revealed a more ambivalent attitude towards that endeavour. Indeed, the volume of miraculous material emphasising the legitimacy of the Lisbon conquest may reflect Raol's personal doubts about its merit.⁴⁴⁵ However, this anxiety cannot be definitively located with Raol, and should rather be interpreted as external factors reflected in the author's rhetorical strategy, which was to demonstrate the divine sanction of the conquest of Lisbon.⁴⁴⁶

There are further examples to suggest that Raol was deliberately framing the campaign at Lisbon within a context of divine favour. For example, during the lengthy speech which has

⁴⁴³ Duodechin's letter, in *MGH SS 17*, p. 28: "Nam in eo loco, ubi corpora martirum nostrorum extra castra sepulta sunt, multis, quibus haec divina pietas concessit, nocturno tempore lampades lucere visae sunt. Duo praeterea muti in toto exercitu bene cogniti, unus in festo sancti Gereonis et eius sanctae societatis, alius in festivitate omnium sanctorum in eodem loco locutionis usum receperunt. Quod nos de spiritu nostro non proferimus, immo multis et vera cibus asstipulati testibus, oculis nostris vidimus et manibus attractavimus." English translation is from Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', p. 67.

⁴⁴⁴ Duodechin's letter, in *MGH SS 17*, p. 28.

⁴⁴⁵ Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry', pp. 14-8. This issue is also discussed in Chapter 4, section 5.1.

⁴⁴⁶ This is also the position taken in Livermore, 'The "Conquest of Lisbon"', p. 16.

been attributed to none other than the work's author himself, the actions and fortunes of the crusader army at Lisbon are presented as being directly presided over by God. The deeds performed by the crusaders are those of God, worked through them.⁴⁴⁷ This is strongly evocative of the language used in certain accounts of the First Crusade, as exemplified by Guibert of Nogent, who passionately asserted that the achievements of the participants of the First Crusade were directly inspired and accomplished by God.⁴⁴⁸ Raol also refers to the earlier occasion whereby the crusader fleet was brought safely through the storm by God, and how their invasion of Lisbon was inspired "by the impulse of the Holy Spirit" (*impetu Spiritus*).⁴⁴⁹ It was not without an "evident miracle" (*evidenti miraculo*), Raol notes, that thus far the capture of the city's suburbs had been achieved without the shedding of Christian blood.⁴⁵⁰ The desire to present these events within a legitimate, divinely supported context is clear from these examples, and it is the miraculous which provides the medium. The idea that the crusaders at Lisbon were acting as facilitators of God's design is reiterated towards the end of the work: "Not in our own righteousness have we overthrown the enemy, but through the great compassion of God."⁴⁵¹ Again, Raol appears to have chosen to identify the expedition as meritorious and divinely sanctioned.

With the notable exception of Raol's *DeL*, Second Crusade narratives appear curbed by the challenges of failure to the functionality of the miraculous. This is reflected in the diminished

⁴⁴⁷ *DeL*, p. 154: "Mementote mirabilium Domini que operatus est in vobis..."; For a detailed consideration of Henry, see Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry', passim.

⁴⁴⁸ GN, praefatio, p. 79: "Ad presentis opusculi executionem multum michi prebuit ausum non scientiae litteralis, cuius apud me constat forma pertenuis, ulla securitas, sed historiae spiritualis auctoritas: quam enim certum semper tenui solo dei numine et per quos voluit consummatam, eam non dubium habui per quos etiam rudes ipse voluerit conscribendam."

⁴⁴⁹ *DeL*, p. 154: "...cum iam novo penitentie abluti baptisate de terra vestra et de cognatione egrederemini, quomodo per aquam nimiam et tempestatum procellas vos illesos transvexerit, hucque insuper advecti, quo impetu Spiritus ducentis suburbium hoc in quo manemus invasimus..."

⁴⁵⁰ *DeL*, p. 154: "...quomodo non sine evidenti miraculo captum est fere absque nostrorum sanguine."

⁴⁵¹ *DeL*, pp. 182-3: "Non autem in iustificationibus nostris hostes prostravimus, sed in miseratione Dei multa."

focus of the miraculous as a laudatory device, in the efforts taken to reapportion blame, and in the increase in punitive divine instrumentality.

5. The Third Crusade

5.1. The Use of *Miraculum* and *Mirabile* in Third Crusade Sources

The Third Crusade achieved neither the symbolic victory of the First Crusade, nor the devastating failure of the Second Crusade. Key port cities were gained, but it ended with a peace treaty after two abandoned advances on Muslim-held Jerusalem. The pattern of usage of the miraculous in Third Crusade narratives is similar to that evidenced for Second Crusade narratives. Namely, the explicit terminology (*miraculum* and *mirabilis*) is usually used in a non-specific sense, such as in reference to popular responses to crusade preaching. A further similarity is that we are increasingly reliant upon works where the crusade represents only part of the overall narrative. Crusade histories proper, or texts where the entire narrative arc concerns a particular crusade, are few. Considerations of the crusade contained in chronicles are often more cursory, though by no means less valuable. A key difference can be found in the emergence of examples which demonstrate a clear conceptual distinction between the miraculous and marvellous.

Two of the three narratives dedicated to the events of the Third Crusade and written in Latin are actually concerned with the expedition of Frederick Barbarossa. The larger, and earlier, of these is the *HeFI*. Despite containing a good deal of material which might be considered miraculous, specific terminology is scarce.⁴⁵² The one usage of *miraculum* in the text occurs in relation to the crusaders' survival of poisoned wine, which had been deliberately offered to them by Greeks. The ineffectiveness of the wine is described as “no less a miracle” (*non*

⁴⁵² The *HeFI* does contain an example of the celestial knight motif, for example. See Chapter 2, section 5.3.

minori miraculo).⁴⁵³ An example of the author's careful use of terminology relating to the miraculous is given during an account of the crusaders buried beside the road during the army's passage through Bulgaria. The army is advised that these bodies had been exhumed, presumably by looters, and that only the body of the abbot of Admont had remained untouched, on account of the "wonderful power of God" (*mira virtute dei*).⁴⁵⁴ It is therefore indicated that the event might be considered a miracle on account of it being an example of the intervention of God's power. The related text of the *HP* only employs *miraculum* in a general sense; in the prologue, the expedition of Frederick Barbarossa is referred to as a "miracle" (*miraculum*), which was "not of human power but of divine virtue" (*non humane potencie sed divine virtutis*).⁴⁵⁵

The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* also contains a wealth of material pertaining to miracles and the marvellous, but again the specific terminology is used sparingly. It is particularly interesting, however, as it contains several instances of the otherwise rare adjectival and adverbial forms of *miraculum*. In *IPI*'s brief mention of the young Baldwin IV's victory at the Battle of Montgisard in 1177, Baldwin IV's force is described as having "miraculously" (*miraculose*) overcome Saladin's numerically superior forces.⁴⁵⁶ A similar assertion is that the events which occurred during the siege of Acre were "no less miraculous than marvellous" (*non minus miraculosi quam mirandi*),⁴⁵⁷ and that the celestial light which shone on the unburied bodies of crusaders at the battle of Hattin was the "miraculous power of

⁴⁵³ *HeFI*, p. 55: "Nunc etiam non minori miraculo vinum Grecorum veneno infectum et nostris ad exitium procuratum Grecis fuit exitiale, nostris vero poculum salutis."

⁴⁵⁴ *HeFI*, p. 62: "...præter solius venerabilis abbatis Agmundensis virgineum revera corpus, quod mira virtute dei manserat intactum."

⁴⁵⁵ *HP*, pp. 116-7: "Quippe non humane potencie sed divine virtutis miraculum fuit, quod tam modicus dei populus clausuras et fines Grecie triumphaliter ingressus totam fere terram usque..."

⁴⁵⁶ *IPI*, 1.46, p. 336.

⁴⁵⁷ *IPI*, 1.47, p. 337: "Interea iuxta varios, sicut dicitur, eventus belli, nunc hiis nunc illis vicem pro vice reddentibus, casus contingebant multiplices non minus miraculosi quam mirandi, quos ad noticiam posteriorum visum est non indignum recitari."

divine mercy” (*miraculosa divine miserationis potentia*).⁴⁵⁸ The former example clearly reveals a conceptualisation in which miracles were of greater significance than marvels. The only use of the nominal *miraculum* can be found in *IP2*, and occurs in relation to the Holy Fire, which relit three times during Saladin’s visit to the Holy Sepulchre on 4 April 1192. This is described as an “evident miracle” (*evidenti... miraculo*).⁴⁵⁹ Saladin is portrayed as having interpreted this to mean that either he would soon die, or that he would lose Jerusalem. Again, the vision by which Saladin was advised of his impending death is described as “miraculous” (*miraculi*).⁴⁶⁰ The use of these uncommon forms is made even more perplexing given that they occur in sections written both by the original author of *IP1* and by the compiler who added *IP1* to various other materials to create *IP2*. While specific terminology appears infrequently in dedicated narratives, it is even rarer in the crusade narratives of chronicles.

Roger of Howden was present on the Third Crusade from the August of 1190 until the following August, when he departed from Acre to return to Europe in the company of Philip Augustus.⁴⁶¹ Roger includes much eschatological material related to the Third Crusade in his works, but the same cannot be said for the miraculous.⁴⁶² One particular use of *miraculum* occurs in relation to a longer series of events of eschatological significance; a certain lay brother at Worcester fell into a trance for nine days and nights, lying on the ground in the form of a cross before the altar. According to Roger, the “miracle” (*miraculum*) was “marvellous” (*mirabile*) beyond measure.⁴⁶³ More frequently, an event might be described as

⁴⁵⁸ *IP1*, 1.5, p. 260. This episode is also discussed in Chapter 3, section 4.2, and chapter 4, section 5.1.

⁴⁵⁹ *IP2*, 5.16, p. 328.

⁴⁶⁰ *IP2*, 5.16, pp. 328-9: “Super hujus visione miraculi, et fide et devotione Christicolorum admirans Soldanus et acriter commotus, spiritu prophetico constanter asseruit, dicens, ‘Proculdubio vel in proximo hac vita decedo, vel hanc civitatem possidendam amitto.’ Sed nec ipsum fefellit augurium, quoniam in proxima sequenti Quadragesima mortuus est Salahadinus.”

⁴⁶¹ Gillingham, ‘Roger of Howden’, p. 148.

⁴⁶² See Chapter 4, section 4.1., and 4.3.

⁴⁶³ *Chronica 2*, p. 294; and *GRI*, p. 325: “...miraculum supra modum est mirabile, quod in domo nostra contigit pridie kalendas Novembris... quod quidam fratrum nostrorum ex toto laicus, cum in mentis

marvellous (*mirabilis*) or wonderful (*mirus*). The crucifix which was seen in the sky over Dunstable in 1188 is described as “marvellous” (*mirabile*) and “of wonderful size” (*mirae magnitudinis*).⁴⁶⁴ Neither of these examples formed part of Roger’s crusade narrative, however.

As discussed above, Gerald can be shown to have perceived a distinction between miracles and marvels. The majority of the miracles in the works of Gerald of Wales are anecdotal, and feature as interesting tales relevant to the geographical location of the narrative at that point. A typical example of these is a punitive miracle described as having occurred at Bury St Edmunds, where a woman was punished for trying to steal the offerings from the shrine.⁴⁶⁵ The same observation can be made of the *Chronicon* of Richard of Devizes, in which the only use of *miraculum* is made in reference to a vengeance miracle; during his description of the various punishments inflicted upon an unnamed man who had attempted to supplant Jocelin as prior of Montacute, Richard declares: “Behold the miracle!” (*videte miraculum*). There are no stories of the miraculous related to the events of the Third Crusade in the *Chronicon*.

Naturally, the crusade-related miracles of the *Itinerarium Kambriae* of Gerald of Wales occur in relation to the preaching tour of which that work was an account. Yet in these instances the terminology, while in evidence, appears problematic. First, it was “wonderful” (*mirando*) but only “as if by a miracle” (*quasi pro miraculo*) that so many flocked to take the cross, even though the preaching was not in their vernacular. The use of *quasi* relegates the comparison to simile and Schmitt has argued that its use in descriptions of visions is indicative of

excessu laborasset novem diebus et novem noctibus, velut exanimis ante quoddam altare prostratus in modum cruces jacuit...”

⁴⁶⁴ *Chronica* 2, p. 354; *GR2*, pp. 47: “Eodem anno quoddam mirabile dictu, sed gloriosum visu, contigit in Anglia, in vigilia Beati Laurentii martyris, feria secunda, apud Dunestable...videlicet quod circa horam diei nonam aperti sunt coeli, et multis videntibus, tam clericis quam laicis, apparuit crux quaedam, longe valde et mirae magnitudinis, et Jesus Christus in ea clavis confixus.”

⁴⁶⁵ *Itinerarium Kambriae*, 1.2, p. 24: “Miraculum autem haud longe dissimile his nostris diebus accidit apud Sanctum Edmundum.”

doubt.⁴⁶⁶ Given the interpretative responsibility inherent in the identification of a miracle, it is possible that Gerald used the adverb in this case as a caveat to his assertion. Events bearing all the characteristics of miracles are not identified as such by Gerald. For example, no interpretation follows his account of a blind elderly woman who has her sight restored through the application of earth taken from where the preacher had stood.⁴⁶⁷ Indeed, Gerald's preaching itinerary is littered with such notable anecdotes, though the specific terminology is rarely employed. This suggests that Gerald, who has already been shown to have had a developed understanding of the theory of miracles, exercised caution in his application of specific terminology.

5.2. Preaching the Third Crusade

The abovementioned itinerary attributed to Gerald of Wales, the *Itinerarium Kambriae*, is the only text examined in this thesis to contain examples in which Third Crusade preaching is discussed in miraculous terms.⁴⁶⁸ It is likely that the stalled nature of the preaching for that crusade resulted in this dearth. Having issued *Audita tremendi* (1187), Pope Gregory VIII charged Henry, cardinal bishop of Albano, with the preaching of a crusade. When Henry died in January 1189 the crusade's departure remained far from realisation. King Henry II of England had taken the crusade vow in January 1188, and while he himself received criticism for his tardiness, and ultimately failure, in fulfilling the vow, he did organise the preaching tour of Wales, conducted by Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, which Gerald documents in the *Itinerarium Kambriae*.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ Schmitt, *Ghosts*, pp. 25-6. See also Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*, p. 27.

⁴⁶⁷ *Itinerarium Kambriae*, 1.11, p. 83: "Ipsa vero munus oblatum cum gaudio magno suscipiens, et in orientem cum orationum instantia genua ponens, ori et oculis cespitem apposuit; et statim luminis laetitiam, quam penitus amiserat, tam viri sancti meritis, quam fide propria et devotione recuperavit."

⁴⁶⁸ See Edbury, 'Preaching the Crusade'.

⁴⁶⁹ Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, pp. 71-9.

In the eleventh chapter of Book One, Gerald describes some of the miracles associated with the preaching tour. According to Gerald, many took the cross. As discussed above, it seemed “wonderful” and “as if by a miracle” that so many should flock to take the cross when the preaching was performed in Latin and French, neither of which would have been understood by the majority in the audience.⁴⁷⁰ The text goes on to provide an example of a miracle associated directly with this crusade preaching. An elderly woman who had been blind for three years sent her son to where the preaching was to take place, that he might acquire some means of healing her, perhaps through part of the archbishop’s garments. This implies that Baldwin had a reputation for association with the miraculous, perhaps in a similar way to Bernard of Clairvaux in the example from Helmold of Bosau’s *Chronica Slavorum* discussed above. The young man was only able to acquire some of the earth on which the preacher had stood. Upon applying the turf to her mouth and eyes the woman had her sight restored to her through the merits of the holy man.⁴⁷¹ The earth appears to function in the same way as a contact relic; it has itself become charged with divine potentiality through contact with Baldwin, who is by extension represented in saint-like terms. As discussed above, thaumaturgy in the context of crusade preaching serves to demonstrate the sanctity of the message. Given Gerald’s frustration with Henry II for stalling in acting on his crusade vows, it is not surprising to find that he chose to emphasise the perceived legitimacy of that undertaking.

⁴⁷⁰ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 1.11, p. 83: “Ubi et pro mirando, et quasi pro miraculo ducebatur a multis, quod ad verbum Domini ab archidiacono prolatum, cum tamen lingua Latina et Gallica loqueretur, non minus illi qui neutram linguam noverunt, quam alii, tam ad lacrimarum affluentiam moti fuerunt, quam etiam ad crucis signaculum catervatim accurrerunt.”

⁴⁷¹ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 1.11, p. 83: “Ipsa vero munus oblatum cum gaudio magno suscipiens, et in orientem cum orationum instantia genua ponens, ori et oculis cespitem apposuit; et statim luminis laetitiam, quam penitus amiserat, tam viri sancti meritis, quam fide propria et devotione recuperavit.”

5.3. A Notable Absence: The Limited Role of the Miraculous in Third Crusade Narratives

Aside from Gerald's efforts to include the miraculous in his preaching account, the image of the miraculous of Third Crusade narratives provided thus far is that of a limited body of material. An important exception, the description of the siege of Acre contained in *IP2*, is treated separately below. Beyond this, there are few examples of miracles, though some conclusions about functionality can be drawn from these.

Of the three main sources for Frederick Barbarossa's second crusade expedition, the Third Crusade, the "longest, richest and most important" is the *HeFI*.⁴⁷² During a description of a battle against a Turkish force on 14 May 1190, the *Historia* employs a familiar motif:

A religious layman called Ludwig saw a man who was riding a white horse and clad in a snow-white tunic coming to assist us, whom he believed to be St George; while others said that he was an angel of God who miraculously struck down the Turkish column with a single lance.⁴⁷³

Given Frederick's death in the river Göksu in the following month, and the protracted dispersal of the remaining force under Frederick's increasingly unwell son who would himself die at Acre the following year, this miraculous intervention appears uncomfortably sanguine. This effect is lessened when the text's consideration of Frederick's death is scrutinised: "We should be confident in the secret judgement of God what was intended by the death of this great man."⁴⁷⁴ This is followed by an assertion that Frederick, as a crusader,

⁴⁷² Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 1.

⁴⁷³ *HeFI*, p. 81: "Cuidam etiam religioso laico Ludovico apparuit quidam in nivea veste albo equo insidens, veniens in auxilium nostrum quem sanctum Georgium credebat, quidam vero angelum dei esse dicebant, qui cum hasta una miro modo verberavit agmina Turcorum." English translation is from Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 106.

⁴⁷⁴ *HeFI*, p. 91: "Occulto dei iudicio commendantes, cui nemo audet dicere: cur ita facis, quid in morte talis ac tanti viri intenderit." English translation is from Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 116.

undoubtedly found salvation.⁴⁷⁵ This means of rationalising what ostensibly appears to be failure as a success in spiritual terms resonates with the treatment of the failure of the Second Crusade in Bernard of Clairvaux's *De consideratione* and Otto of Freising's *Gesta Friderici*, discussed above. According to the *Historia* Frederick's death had not rendered the efforts of that crusade expedition meaningless.

As with the use of the celestial knight miracle by Odo of Deuil, its use in the *Historia* also adds a dimension of crusading 'ancestry' to Frederick's efforts. A copy of Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana* is known to have been produced between 1187 and 1189 for presentation to the emperor.⁴⁷⁶ While neither the influence of First Crusade narratives on the *Historia* nor the societal currency of the motif as oral tradition can be securely identified, it is reasonable to suggest that the celestial knight was incorporated into the *Historia* on account of its potential to evoke the First Crusade. Therefore, its use in the *Historia* functioned, as in Odo's *De profectone*, to eulogise both through divine association and the evocation of the First Crusade.

Unlike the narrative histories of the Second Crusade, those of the Third contain relatively few references to the sins of the crusaders as a whole. This is striking given the tone of *Audita tremendi*, which attributes the loss of the True Cross at the battle of Hattin.⁴⁷⁷ Both *IP1* and *IP2* appear more aligned with the curia's message; these texts often place the blame on the crusaders and the Christian inhabitants of the Holy Land. For example, in *IP1*, the outcome of the battle of Hattin, the loss of Jerusalem and the loss of the relic of the True Cross are all

⁴⁷⁵ *HeFl*, p. 91.

⁴⁷⁶ Kempf and Bull, *The Historia Iherosolimitana*, pp. x, xlii; Kempf, 'Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade', pp. 116-26.

⁴⁷⁷ Gregory VIII, 'Audita tremendi'. On the association between sinfulness and crusading failure, see especially C. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997), pp. 628-57.

attributed to the sins of the Christians.⁴⁷⁸ Similarly, defeat in battle on 4 October 1189 was ascribed to the words of one individual, who commented that the Christian army was so vast and impressive that God could not have offered effective aid to either themselves or the enemy.⁴⁷⁹ This process was understood to have worked in both directions. The chaste behaviour and discipline demonstrated by the Christians besieging Iconium is described as having led to their success through “divine virtue” (*virtus divina*).⁴⁸⁰

The unworthiness of the Christians, and the impact of this upon temporal affairs, is a theme to which *IP2* also occasionally returns. In one passage, it is asked whether the land of Jerusalem was guilty of some sin or crime which might explain her punishment and the failed attempts to aid her. It is concluded that it is more credible to believe that this was due to the “depravity of her defenders” (*nequitiam eam defendentium*), and that divine aid was withheld because “of the wickedness of those who lived there”.⁴⁸¹ Similarly, upon the return of Richard’s army to Acre from Jaffa, it is noted in *IP2* that “without doubt” (*nimirum*) God perceived the crusade army to have been unworthy of divine assistance.⁴⁸²

The *HeFI* is explicit in placing a burden of blame on Richard I of England; his imprisonment was divine retribution for his pride. While in the Holy Land he had “wished to surpass everyone in glory and deserved the anger of all”.⁴⁸³ His capture by Duke Leopold V of Austria in December 1192 is described as the just judgement of God on two occasions, and is

⁴⁷⁸ *IP1*, 1.5, p. 259.

⁴⁷⁹ *IP1*, 1.29, p. 313: “Que potential prevalebit, que multitude resistet? Deus nec nobis nec adversariis adiutor veniat, victoria in nostra virtute consistit.”

⁴⁸⁰ *IP1*, 1.23, p. 299.

⁴⁸¹ *IP2*, 2.29, p. 182: “Quo plectendam aestimamus piaculo, vel feriendam graviori flagello terram illam Jerosolimorum? aut quo ream commisso quod ejus subventioni tot obsistunt adversa, tanta mora prorogatur auxilium? immo in nequitiam eam defendentium potius creditur redundare tantae meriti delationis, quod in tam longum tempus suspenditur redemptio. Multis patenter constat argumentis, divinum fuisse suspensum subsidium illius terrae, a malitia inhabitantium in ea.”

⁴⁸² *IP2*, 6.11, p. 398: “...quos nimirum adhuc pro meritis suis Deus minus dignos reputaverit benigniori gratia donari.”

⁴⁸³ *HeFI*, p. 101: “Qui gloria omnes anteire voluit et omnium indignationem meruit.” English translation is from Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa*, p. 123.

clearly portrayed as divine punishment for pride and greed.⁴⁸⁴ Through the use of themes pertaining to divine punishment, Richard is represented as the antithesis of the magnanimous, divinely supported Frederick Barbarossa of the *Historia*.

Crusaders could be represented not only as the victims of divine punishment, but as the means of punishment itself. The single occasion on which Richard of Devizes' *Chronicon* engages with divine instrumentality in the context of the Third Crusade concerns a representation of Richard I's intervention at Cyprus in May 1191 as a form of divine chastisement of the Cypriots. According to the staunchly pro-Richard text, that "accursed people" (*populus maledictus*) received punishment in the form of Richard's army by God's will.⁴⁸⁵ Richard is therefore represented as an instrument for divine retribution. The significance of this discussion of crusaders as punishment may be derived from contemporary attitudes towards Richard's decision to delay at Cyprus.⁴⁸⁶ While representations of crusader armies as divinely supported implies their role as agents of divine will, this example is explicit in describing them as God's punishment.

5.4. Success Amidst Failure, II: The Siege of Acre (1191)

Divine support is a key component of *IP2*'s representation of the protracted siege of Acre, which lasted from August 1189 until 12 July 1191. The involvement of the Third Crusade in the siege began in late April 1191 with the arrival of Philip Augustus of France. Richard's fleet arrived in June.⁴⁸⁷ An extended section of *IP2* is concerned with notable events which occurred during the siege. These anecdotes occupy chapters 47 to 57, which were inserted

⁴⁸⁴ *HeFI*, p. 101: "Ubi latenter transire volens et terram principis, quem prius graviter et plurimum offenderat, incognitus exire volens iudicio dei tactus laqueum incidit eius, quem prius illaqueare voluit. Dum itaque arrogantiam eius divina equitas diutius non sineret transire inultam, eum manibus et potestati tradidit illorum, quos ipse prius quasi contemptos abiecerat et contumeliose reprobaverat, iusto siquidem dei iudicio..."

⁴⁸⁵ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 36: "Voluit Deus ut populus maledictus malorum meritum per manus non miserentis acciperet."

⁴⁸⁶ On the conquest of Cyprus as a diversion, see Markowski, 'Richard Lionheart', pp. 351-65.

⁴⁸⁷ For a summary of the crusader kings' involvement in the siege of Acre, see Asbridge, *The Crusades*, pp. 428-455.

into Book One by the author/compiler of *IP2*, and appear to represent translations into Latin of sections of Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*.⁴⁸⁸ Ambroise's vernacular verse chronicle of the Third Crusade, the *Estoire*, is believed to have been completed between 1194 and 1199, and written from the perspective of a Norman cleric in the entourage of Richard of England.⁴⁸⁹ The stories are unusual not only on account of their number but also their eclectic contents; they sit quite independently from the rest of the narrative surrounding them. Nicholson describes these chapters as "amazing stories", some of which are religious, some of which are "earthy and sometimes rather distasteful to modern readers; they are amusing".⁴⁹⁰ They are introduced as "no less miraculous than marvellous" (*non minus miraculosi quam mirandi*), and worthy of inclusion in the interests of posterity.⁴⁹¹ Yet they are not typical of the miracles of crusade narratives produced prior to the Third Crusade. One similar example might be Ralph of Caen's description of how Tancred located wood for the construction of siege engines when answering a call of nature.⁴⁹² Nicholson has suggested that "it is tempting to think that [the stories] reflect the tastes of the crusaders as a whole".⁴⁹³ The tone of immediacy and partisanship evidenced by some of these anecdotes supports this: one particular passage details how an unarmed knight, having left the camp to relieve himself, was able to defeat an assailant using a nearby stone. Someone who had witnessed the

⁴⁸⁸ Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 13-4. It should be remembered that Richard, despite being a participant in the Third Crusade, had not finished compiling his work until roughly two decades after the *terminus ante quem* of the completion of Ambroise's work. Certain of these stories can also be found in 'De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum Libellus', ed. J. Stephenson, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 66 (London, 1875), pp. 209-62, pp. 255-6. For a Latin edition and English translation of the *Estoire*, see Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. and trans. M. Ailes and M. Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003).

⁴⁸⁹ Ailes and Barber, *The History of the Holy War*, 2, pp. 1-3; For an alternative view, which argues that the identification of Ambroise as Norman should be abandoned, see F. Vielliard, 'Richard Coeur de Lion et son Entourage Normand: Le Témoignage de l'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 160.1 (2002), pp. 5-52.

⁴⁹⁰ Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 14.

⁴⁹¹ *IP1*, 1.47, p. 337: "Interea iuxta varios, sicut dicitur, eventus belli, nunc hiis nunc illis vicem pro vice reddentibus, casus contingebant multiplices non minus miraculosi quam mirandi, quos ad noticiam posteriorum visum est non indignum recitari."

⁴⁹² *RC*, 355, p.100.

⁴⁹³ Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 14.

event told someone else, and thus it became “notorious in the camp”.⁴⁹⁴ This particular anecdote is painted as camp gossip, which evokes a conversational, oral quality supportive of Nicholson’s hypothesis.

The insertion of these stories into *IP1* suggests that they were considered an important element of a full treatment of the siege of Acre. As has been noted, however, the stories were not original to *IP2*, but adapted from Ambroise. Marianne Ailes has pointed out that Ambroise’s vernacular verse chronicle would have been aimed at a different audience to Richard de Templo’s Latin prose version; while Ambroise’s primary audience would have been largely comprised of knights and their retinues, Richard would have been writing for clergy and scholars.⁴⁹⁵ It is perhaps surprising, then, in light of these considerations that Richard de Templo chose to incorporate Ambroise’s anecdotes so faithfully, even at times dwelling upon a particularly crude point. Nicholson, on the other hand, argues that while the two works were representative of differing literary traditions, “their approach to their subject was remarkably similar, and the same educated nobility who enjoyed hearing the *Itinerarium* read to them would also have enjoyed hearing Ambroise’s work recited”.⁴⁹⁶ While the identity of Richard’s intended audience eludes certainty, conclusions can be drawn regarding the functionality of these stories.

There is often a sense that an audience is expected to find the anecdotes entertaining (either as a source of humour, fear or wonder); didacticism is not the only function of these passages. As Ailes has pointed out with regards to the corresponding sections of Ambroise, “such incidents are clearly included for purposes other than edification”.⁴⁹⁷ They appear at times almost folkloric, not in the sense that they were created by or for some perceived lower strata

⁴⁹⁴ *IP1*, 1.49, p. 339. English translation is from Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 1.49, p. 105; Cf. Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, 1, lines 3578-619, p. 58.

⁴⁹⁵ Ailes and Barber, *The History of the Holy War*, 2, p. 13.

⁴⁹⁶ Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 15.

⁴⁹⁷ Ailes and Barber, *The History of the Holy War*, 2, p. 22.

of society, but in their worldly, almost mundane content. These anecdotes do still perform a didactic function, however. Each of these stories is used to demonstrate that God would intervene in the affairs of those who deserved it, for good or ill. For example, there are two separate anecdotes in which Turkish soldiers are the objects of divine retributive violence through symbolically and physically emasculating wounds to the genitals. In the first, an emir is burnt on the genitals by the Greek fire he had intended to use on Christian siege machines.⁴⁹⁸ The second instance involves a Turk who is shot in the groin before he is able to urinate on a cross: “And thus as he died he perceived the futility of attempting anything against God.”⁴⁹⁹ One story concerns how a man survived unscathed after being hit by a missile launched from a stone thrower. The audience is asked: who would not attribute such a thing to divine compassion? These events are portrayed as demonstrations of God’s support for those who fought for him.⁵⁰⁰ Another man was saved from being injured by a crossbow bolt by a piece of parchment inscribed with God’s name, which he had had hanging about his neck in the place where the bolt struck. “Wasn’t this obviously God’s work?” the passage concludes.⁵⁰¹

These stories are particularly interesting examples of how seemingly unconventional the miraculous of crusade narratives can be. While they may not be stories of miraculous cures performed via the spiritual potency of a saintly individual, they do still require divine intervention. As part of *IP2*, they function to charge the account of the siege of Acre with divine instrumentality, serving as proof that the crusaders, and the forces of Richard of

⁴⁹⁸ *IP1*, 1.54, p. 342; Cf. Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, 1, lines 3656-94, p. 59.

⁴⁹⁹ *IP1*, 1.56, p. 343; Cf. Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, 1, lines 3695-764, pp. 59-60.

⁵⁰⁰ *IP1*, 1.47, pp. 337-8; English translation is from Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 1.47a, p. 104. Cf. Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, 1, lines 3516-55, p. 57.

⁵⁰¹ *IP1*, 1.48, p. 338: “Nunquid non manifesta sunt opera dei, ut telum penetrans ferrum multiplicatum a scedula resiliret habetatum? Nomen quippe dei sanctum dicebatur vir ille gestare collo appensum, insertum scedule, ferro inpenetrabile. Murus quidem inexpugnabilis deus est sperantibus in se.” English translation is from Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 1.48, p. 104; Cf. Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, 1, lines 3556-77, pp. 57-8.

England in particular, were supported by God in their endeavours while on crusade, however seemingly mundane.

The narrative histories of the Third Crusade therefore reveal a simultaneous quantitative reduction and qualitative diversification of the miraculous. The function of the miraculous as a means to imply divine sanction or condemnation remains constant, though it appears to be employed less frequently than in narratives for earlier crusades. The most important exceptions to this pattern are the *HeFI* and *IP2*, which contain concerted efforts to buttress their crusade narratives with the legitimising power of the miraculous.

6. The Fourth Crusade

6.1. The Use of *Miraculum* and *Mirabile* in Fourth Crusade Sources

While the Fourth Crusade did culminate in a symbolic victory, this victory was won against Orthodox Christians. Contemporary responses to this theologically challenging act cast, and to an extent continue to cast, a shadow of judgement over the Fourth Crusade. As with earlier crusade narratives, criticism is often most clearly articulated by those texts which seek to defend against it. This is the case for several Fourth Crusade texts, which ultimately represent book-length defences of the crusade, its participants, and their actions.

Fourth Crusade narratives represent a corpus in which the specific terminology relating to the miraculous is used relatively frequently and with reference to both specific occurrences and the crusade as a whole. This can be largely attributed to the inclusion of texts which conform to the characteristics of other genres in the study of the Fourth Crusade. The most significant of these are *inventio* narratives and *gesta episcoporum*, which are rich in the miraculous on account of their purpose. The miracles of these texts usually occur in relation to the relics acquired during or shortly after the sack of Constantinople in 1204. The only comparable

considerations of relics in the narrative histories of previous crusades are those pertaining to the Holy Lance of Antioch, the True Cross found at Jerusalem, and the relics of St George moved from the Church of St Leontios in Antioch to Jerusalem. Only the miracles incorporated into Raymond of Aguilers's treatment of the latter of these relics resemble those of *translatio*-type narratives, and therefore the sources for the Fourth Crusade.⁵⁰² It is important to note not only that the specific terminology is used more frequently in the sources for the Fourth Crusade, but that they are occurring in the context of texts written for the accomplishment of different rhetorical purposes.

The most straightforward example of a *translatio* narrative with contents relating to the Fourth Crusade is that of the Anonymous of Langres' *Historia translationum*. The section of the narrative dedicated to the Constantinopolitan relic of St Mammes contains several miracles, but only uses both *miraculum* and *mirabile* once, during a description not of the relic, but of the saint's childhood.⁵⁰³ As part of the hagiography of the saint, the use of the specific terminology requires a lesser interpretative responsibility than if it were used in relation to the later biography of the Constantinopolitan relic. In the later parts of the *translatio*, the text relies instead upon more general expressions of wonder; it was "wonderful to say" (*mira dicturus sum*) how a village fire was "marvellously" (*mirabiliter*) extinguished on account of the relic's power.⁵⁰⁴

Several of the main sources for the Fourth Crusade follow the careers of bishops. According to the *GeH* Bishop Conrad of Krosigk acquired funds to participate in the crusade

⁵⁰² RA, pp. 131-4.

⁵⁰³ Anonymous of Langres, 'Historia translationum', p. 23.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.: "Mira dicturus sum, sed tota regio hoc clamat, et ipse episcopus constanter asserit, quod statim, monstrato capite, vim virtutis sue oblitus est ignis, ut mirabiliter videres flammam cum vento conflagere..."

“marvellously” (*mirabiliter*).⁵⁰⁵ Similarly, Conrad’s successful transportation of relics away from Constantinople was on account of a “marvellous judgement of God” (*mirabili... iudicio Dei*).⁵⁰⁶ It is confidently stated that God orchestrated “miracles” (*miracula*) through the crusader army, and that many other things were “miraculously” (*miraculose*) achieved there.⁵⁰⁷ Again, *miraculum* is used in a relatively general sense, in reference to the conquest of Constantinople as a whole. Gunther of Pairis’s *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, which follows abbot Martin of Pairis, demonstrates an unusual level of confidence in identifying several specific occurrences as *miracula*, though this should be seen as related to the unusual authorial presence throughout the text. “I confess”, it is stated, “that among everything recorded by historians or even by poets, I have read nothing like it or of anything so splendid. I also do not believe that without the indisputable miracle of divine favor this exceedingly well-fortified city [Constantinople]... could have been surrendered into the hands of a few.”⁵⁰⁸ From the very outset, Gunther notes, the Fourth Crusade *quoddam videtur habere miraculi*; it seemed to have a certain ‘miraculousness’.⁵⁰⁹ Even at the level of individual experiences, interpretative agency is applied with confidence; Martin is struck by the “miracle” (*miraculo*) of Aegidius’ vision.⁵¹⁰ This self-assurance is twinned with repeated acknowledgements of the miraculous as manifestations of God, “who alone does great wonders” (*qui facit mirabilia magna solus*).⁵¹¹ Of the texts which seek to defend the actions of a particular individual (namely, the translation of relics taken during the sack of

⁵⁰⁵ *GeH*, p. 116: “Ei vero propter expeditionem quam moverat exinanito nimirum in rebus, ad peregrinationis sue subsidium divina bonitas mirabiliter procuravit expensas.”

⁵⁰⁶ *GeH*, p. 120.

⁵⁰⁷ *GeH*, p. 118: “Quam prodigiose autem per exercitum tam humilem quam despectum Dominus operatus sit miracula... multaque alia ibidem miraculose peracta, quoniam specialem requirunt tractatum, in hoc compendio visa sunt non esse interserenda.”

⁵⁰⁸ GP, 19, p. 161: “Ego in omnibus his, que vel ab hystoriographis vel eciam a poetis referentur, nil me tale vel tam magnificum legisse confiteor nec arbitror absque certo divini favoris miraculo fieri potuisse, ut civitas illa munitissima... in manus paucorum... traderetur.” English translation is from Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 19, p. 112.

⁵⁰⁹ GP, 2, p. 109.

⁵¹⁰ GP, 22, p. 170: “Cuius sancte visionis abbas percussus miraculo presertim propter hominis fidem.”

⁵¹¹ GP, 24, p. 175.

Constantinople), Gunther's text offers the most comprehensive and earnest example; a conclusion observable even at the level of lexis.

The texts written in the defence of protagonists were not the only Fourth Crusade narratives to confidently employ the specific terminology. In a manner evocative of representations of earlier crusades, several other Fourth Crusade sources employ the lexis of the miraculous and marvellous in their treatments of crusade preaching. As discussed above, Bishop Conrad was said to have accrued funds marvellously. In contrast to texts concerning individuals like Martin of Pairis and Conrad of Krosigk, the chronicles of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines and Ralph of Coggeshall were not written in support of a particular crusade participant, nor did their respective houses benefit from Constantinopolitan relics, so far as can be deduced. Their partisanship, Andrea has argued, was derived from that of the Cistercian Order and western Christendom as a whole.⁵¹² Alberic's chronicle contains an oblique reference to "miracles" (*miracula*) which had been attributed to the crusade preaching of Fulk of Neuilly.⁵¹³ Similarly, Ralph describes Fulk's preaching as having been fortified by "the wonders of miracles" (*miraculorum prodigiis*).⁵¹⁴ Alberic's other use of *miraculum* in the section of his chronicle dedicated to the events of the Fourth Crusade is in relation to certain "miracles" (*miracula*) which took place after the emperor Baldwin's body was buried.⁵¹⁵ By contrast, the term is used more frequently by Ralph. According to Ralph, "many astounding miracles" (*plura stupenda miracula*) occurred by way of punishment for those who had ignored the stipulations of Eustace of Flay, who is introduced as a "comrade in preaching" (*comes... in*

⁵¹² Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 275.

⁵¹³ ATF, p. 876: "Dicunt quidam aliqua per eum facta fuisse miracula, maxime ad fontes quos benedixit."

⁵¹⁴ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 81: "Contulit etiam suo praedicatori virtutum insignia, ut sermonem sanctae praedicationis confirmaret sequentibus signis, ut quos non potuit verbis, ad viam salutis revocaret miraculorum prodigiis."

⁵¹⁵ ATF, p. 885: "Ubi quedam fuisse miracula facta dictus presbiter, qui in eiusdem mulieris hospitio pernoctavit, sicut ab illa audierat, retulit, et maritum ipsius mulieris ibi sanatum fuisse a dolore dentium et febrium."

praedicatione) of Fulk.⁵¹⁶ The use of specific terminology in association with the preaching of the Fourth Crusade is therefore a common characteristic of these narratives. Even the *Devastatio*, a text notable for its lack of engagement with the miraculous, refers to the crusade preacher Peter Capuano as having raised the morale of the pilgrims in a “marvellous manner” (*mirabili modo*).⁵¹⁷ As will be shown below, these depictions of crusade preaching represent part of a broader contention argued in many Fourth Crusade narratives that the expedition had been divinely sanctioned from beginning to end; a strategy for which the confident employment of specific terminology represents one aspect.

The other occasions on which Ralph of Coggeshall employs *miraculum* is in reference to a relic of the cross of Christ, which was brought back to England before eventually being given to the priory of Saint Andrew at Bromholm. Ralph notes that the “miracles” (*miracula*) attributed to the cross were so frequent and of such magnitude that people would travel great distances to make offerings and seek healing at its shrine.⁵¹⁸ Further uses of *miraculum* occur during a short aside in which Ralph comments that it should not be wondered at that miracles might occur in the presence of or at the touch of the “wood of the Lord’s Cross” (*ligni Dominicae crucis*), as all of the miracles performed by the righteous occur through the sign of the Holy Cross, even though that wood may not be present.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁶ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 134: “Relata sunt plura stupenda miracula, et in pluribus locis Angliae sunt divulgata de divina ultione in eos illata qui ab opera servili vacare noluerunt, post ejus praedictionem, in sacris Dominicis et in sabbatis post nonam pulsata.”

⁵¹⁷ Andrea, ‘The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*’, p. 132.

⁵¹⁸ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 202: “Post haec tot et tanta signa atque miracula per virtutem sanctae crucis in loco praedicto ostensa sunt, quod de omnibus Britanniae finibus ad adorandam illam sanctam crucem homines cum oblationibus devote advenirent, et infirmos diverse aegritudinibus ex toto liberabantur, alii aliqua ex parte remedium aliquod sentiebant.”

⁵¹⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 203: “Non est igitur mirandum aut diffidendum si ex praesentia ligni Dominicae crucis et contactu multotiens fiant diversa miracula inter recte et indubitanter credentes de virtute sanctae crucis, cum fere cuncta ecclesiae sacramenta, et miracula quae a justis hominibus fiunt, per sanctae crucis signaculum fiant, quamvis illud preciosum lignum praesens non existat.”

The chronicles of Alberic and Ralph provide valuable correctives to the argument that the preponderance of specific miraculous terminology relating to the Fourth Crusade is derived from the inclusion of traditionally hagiographical genres in the corpus of sources. While texts produced in association with a particular shrine and concerning saintly relics discuss miracles as an important aspect of establishing legitimacy, thereby skewing the impression given by the study of the lexis, it does not follow that this therefore invalidates that picture. Certain of the *inventio*-type texts consulted for this thesis constitute fuller and more dedicated prose crusade narratives than certain of the *res gestae* considered for earlier crusades.⁵²⁰ Rather than exclude the hagiographical texts concerning the Fourth Crusade as imposters upon an established tradition of crusade narrative, a fuller appreciation of the function of the miraculous is achieved by embracing them as yet another, related form of cultural enunciation.

6.2. Preaching the Fourth Crusade

It has been shown above how the employment of specific terminology communicates a confidence in representations of crusade preaching across the various ‘types’ of Fourth Crusade narrative. This is also reflected in several texts’ evocations of earlier representations of crusade preaching. Certain sources are explicit in portraying the Fourth Crusade as a miracle divinely sanctioned from the very beginning. One particularly charismatic preacher of the Fourth Crusade was Fulk of Neuilly, whose preaching is described at some length by Ralph of Coggeshall and, to a lesser extent, Gunther of Paris. God is repeatedly described by Ralph as actively using Fulk as a mouthpiece for the crusading message; God bestows his voice upon Fulk, and strengthens Fulk’s preaching with certain “emblems of power” (*virtutum insignia*); namely “signs” (*signis*) and by “the wonders of miracles” (*miraculorum*

⁵²⁰ Keith Busby has highlighted the perils inherent in attempting to impose rigid categorisation upon what represented more fluid genre definitions in the Middle Ages. See K. Busby, ‘Narrative Genres’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, ed. S. Gaunt and S. Kay (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 139-52.

prodigiis).⁵²¹ The parallels between this representation of Fulk and earlier descriptions of the crusade preaching of Urban II and Bernard of Clairvaux are clear, and it appears that such representations of crusade preaching had become an expected component in the narration of crusades.⁵²²

Ralph's detailed description of Fulk's preaching continues by noting that the preacher restored sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf and speech to the mute, gave mobility to those unable to walk, and by "divine power" (*virtute divina*) was able to heal many solely through the power of prayer, the sign of the Cross, and the imposition of his hand.⁵²³ A further gift which God had granted Fulk is described as the ability to "discern spirits" (*discretionem spirituum*), which enabled the preacher to determine when, and – perhaps more importantly – when not to heal an individual, dependent upon whether or not their sins had been redressed by the "scourge of divine censure" (*divinae animadversionis flagellum*).⁵²⁴ Thus all the provinces of *Galliarum* were enlightened by "signs and prodigies" (*signis et prodigiis*).⁵²⁵ There can be little doubt as to Ralph's intention in repeatedly describing Fulk's preaching as the "Word of God" (*verbum Dei*).⁵²⁶ Gunther is transparent in drawing the conceptual link between miraculous preaching and the crusade itself as miraculous; he states how the undertaking was "of a miraculous quality" (*miraculi*) from its inception.⁵²⁷

⁵²¹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 81: "Contulit etiam suo praedicatori virtutum insignia, ut sermonem sanctae praedicationis confirmaret sequentibus signis, ut quos non potuit verbis, ad viam salutis revocaret miraculorum prodigiis."

⁵²² See Chapter 2, sections 3.2 and 4.3.

⁵²³ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 81: "Nam caecis visum, surdis auditum praestabat, claudis gressum restituebat, mutis usum linguae reformabat, caeteraque invaletudinum incommoda virtute divina depellebat, et hoc absque protensae orationis suffragio, sola manus impositione et sanctae Crucis signaculo.;" Cf. Luke 7.22-3.

⁵²⁴ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 82: "Habebat siquidem quoddam Sancti Spiritus munus privilegiatum, scilicet, discretionem spirituum, per quod intelligebat quibus infirmis et quo tempore curationis privilegia largiretur."

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁵²⁶ Twice on Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 82, and once p. 83.

⁵²⁷ GP, 2, p. 109: "Que utique res iam in ipso sui exordio quoddam videtur habere miraculi, ut tam ille, qui iam verbum crucis publice predicabat, quam et iste, qui paulo post eiusdem predicator futurus erat, ambo, inquam, hi viri, sicut pares essent officio, ita ambo Parisienses communi vocabulo dicerentur, sed ille

The preaching of Abbot Eustace of St Germer de Flay in England in 1200 and 1201 is also discussed by Ralph.⁵²⁸ He is described as a “comrade in preaching” (*comes... in praedicatione*) of Fulk and incorrectly introduced as abbot of Flavigny.⁵²⁹ Eustace is similarly represented as spreading the “Word of God” (*verbum Dei*).⁵³⁰ A particular aspect of his preaching, Ralph describes, was the reassertion of the strict observance of feast days, and of the abstention from manual labour on Sundays and after Saturday Nones. It was reported how “many astounding miracles” (*plura stupenda miracula*) had occurred throughout England, in which those who had ignored Eustace’s preaching and partaken in labour were struck by “divine retribution” (*divina ultione*).⁵³¹ Again, the attribution of the Word of God to Fulk echoes accounts of the crusade preaching of Urban and Bernard. Such commonalities between the descriptions of the preaching of these expeditions would lend themselves to the representation of the Fourth Crusade as divinely sponsored.

A source which sits apart from the others is the *Devastatio*. In the *Devastatio*, the crusade leaders are the villains.⁵³² The wealthy and powerful repeatedly cheat and overlook the interests of the lower ranks. As is stated by Andrea, the supernatural does not feature in the *Devastatio*.⁵³³ The only instance which might be considered a fleeting reference occurs in the description of Peter Capuano’s preaching, which is described as “marvellous” (*mirabili*).⁵³⁴ It is interesting that this should occur at a point in the narrative before the account of how the

quidem a nomine civitatis sue, de qua carnaliter oriundus extiterat, hic autem a cenobio, cui pater spiritualis, ut diximus, presidebat.”

⁵²⁸ C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (London, 1996), p. 96.

⁵²⁹ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 133.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*: “Abbas de Flaviaco, comes domni Fulconis in praedicatione, in Angliam deveniens, disseminavit Verbum Dei per diversas provincias.”

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 134: “Relata sunt plura stupenda miracula, et in pluribus locis Angliae sunt divulgata de divina ultione in eos illata qui ab opera servili vacare noluerunt, post ejus praedictionem, in sacris Dominicis et in sabbatis post nonam pulsata.”

⁵³² Andrea, ‘The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*’, p. 129.

⁵³³ Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 207.

⁵³⁴ Andrea, ‘The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*’, pp. 132: “In festo beate Marie Magdalene dominus Petrus cardinalis Venetias venit, et omnes peregrinos exortatione sue predicationis mirabili modo confortavit.”

expedition was corrupted by the crusade leadership, as though the crusade leaders should be considered guilty of debasing something that had been initially divine. In sum, discussions of crusade preaching in miraculous terms underscored the divine origins of that campaign. Demonstrating this in the case of the Fourth Crusade was particularly important for many of these authors.

6.3. Critical Voices

By constructing defences of protagonists, or of the Fourth Crusade as a whole, authors were responding to contemporary anxieties surrounding the legitimacy of that campaign's outcomes. These concerns had been voiced by no less an authority than Pope Innocent III, whose relationship with the Fourth Crusade leadership during and after the expedition was one of extremes. Relations with the Venetians and Doge Enrico Dandolo appear to have been reasonably good on the eve of the crusade.⁵³⁵ Any goodwill between the papacy and the Venetians came under pressure when the pope received news that Dandolo intended, against Innocent's expressed wishes, to attack Zara.⁵³⁶ The Venetians were only granted a grudging absolution from their subsequent excommunication after Innocent received news of the second conquest of Constantinople, an act which the pope had also forbidden. The sudden change in the attitude of the papal curia upon receipt of this news is marked; his disposition in a letter of 13 November 1204 appears euphoric. Certainly, he exclaimed, the conquest of the city was a work of divine inspiration, unquestionably wrought through the hand of God.⁵³⁷ It has been argued that Innocent III considered himself "defeated by the crusade"; that clearly the pope had misinterpreted the will of God in attempting to prevent the crusader

⁵³⁵ T. F. Madden, 'Venice, the Papacy, and the Crusades Before 1204', in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. S. J. Ridyard (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 85-95.

⁵³⁶ Zara was at that time under the protection of Emeric of Hungary, who had taken a crusader vow and was therefore in turn under papal protection. Madden, 'Venice, the Papacy, and the Crusades', p. 90.

⁵³⁷ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 7.154, p. 264: "Sane a Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris. Hec est profecto dextere Excelsi mutatio, in que dextera Domini fecit virtutem..."

conquest of the city.⁵³⁸ Indeed, Innocent was forced to formulate a response; he was “confronted with a *fait accompli*”.⁵³⁹ As Andrea has argued, however, the attitude taken in his letters following his receipt of the news should not be seen as a simple act of retrospective legitimisation;⁵⁴⁰ as in all cases discussed in this thesis, room must be allowed for the act of belief in discussions of the miraculous, albeit with the added caveat of a parallel appreciation of potential rhetorical value.

In his letters, Innocent discusses several ways that the conquest ought to be rationalised. First, was the portrayal of the Greeks as the deserving recipients of divine chastisement enacted through the crusader army. Innocent describes the Greeks as being in possession of an “innate evil” (*innata... malitia*). It was as a result of this, he continues, that the Greeks blocked the expedition, which until that point was intended for the Holy Land. Thus the crusaders were reluctantly forced into the conquest of that city.⁵⁴¹ This was also the attitude displayed in a letter of Baldwin of Flanders to the pope, dated after 16 May 1204, which states that just as the conquest of the city was enacted through the power of God, so the deeds of the Greeks were in fact those of “demons” (*demonum*).⁵⁴² Baldwin, who wrote this letter as the newly-elected emperor, emphasises the role of the divine in the orchestration of the capture of

⁵³⁸ M. Meschini, ‘The “Four Crusades” of 1204’, in *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions*, pp. 27-42, p. 30.

⁵³⁹ J. M. Powell, trans., *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author* (Washington, DC, 2004), p. xxxix.

⁵⁴⁰ A. J. Andrea, ‘Innocent III, the Fourth Crusade, and the Coming Apocalypse’, in *The Medieval Crusade*, pp. 97-106, p. 102.

⁵⁴¹ *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, 8.134(133), p. 246: “Cumque vos ad navigandum in Siriam totis viribus pararetis, innata Grecorum malitia iura mentis et pactis penitus violatis igne, dolo et toxico iter vestrum non semel tantum sed sepe nequiter impedit et ad occupationem urbis regie vos in ipsorum perniciem renitentes et invitos attraxit.”

⁵⁴² *Die Register Innocenz’ III*, 7.152, p. 254: “Et nunc breviter narranda suscipimus, que circa nos postea contigerunt, eo prenotato, quod, sicut non opera hominum fuere sed Dei, que Grecis intulimus, ita non hominum opera fuere sed demonum, que cum imperatore novo Grecoque per onia Grecian obis perfidia consueta retribuit.”

Constantinople, stating that the victory was God's alone, and that his strong right arm was revealed in the crusader army.⁵⁴³

Yet the overwhelmingly positive response of Innocent III in his letters between April 1204 and the following summer should not be considered in isolation. The curia voiced criticisms of the crusade's exploits both prior to and following the approximately year-long period in which the above letters were written. Despite his initial praise for the crusade participants, Innocent's sentiments later turned to disgust upon hearing the news of the three-day sack of the city. In his letter of 12 July 1205, addressed to Cardinal Peter Capuano, Innocent strongly voiced his disapproval of the crusaders' actions, stating that the Greeks were right to detest them more than dogs.⁵⁴⁴ Among the crimes committed by the crusaders was the theft of church property, and of particular relevance to this discussion, the carrying away of relics.⁵⁴⁵

Constable has rightly drawn attention to the amount of criticism voiced in the sources as a whole, suggesting that it is largely as a result of this that the Fourth Crusade has been remembered in such barbaric terms, particularly when considered in the light of comparably bloody events in the history of the crusades.⁵⁴⁶ Angold has echoed this assertion, stating that the "exaggeration" of the sources "coloured how the Latin Empire was regarded and how the Fourth Crusade was remembered in the West".⁵⁴⁷ The text which has arguably had the greatest influence on modern attitudes on the crusader sack of the city is that of the Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates. Niketas, a high-ranking civil servant in Constantinople, was present during the sack of the city, and his "vivid and emotionally moving" version of events

⁵⁴³ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 7.152, pp. 258-9: "Nunc autem non nobis victoriam usurpamus, quia salvavit sibi dextera Domini, et brachium virtutis eius revelatum est in nobis."

⁵⁴⁴ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 8.127(126), p. 232: "...que in Latinis non nisi perditionis exemplum et opera tenebrarum aspexit, ut iam merito illos aborreat plus quam canes?"

⁵⁴⁵ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 8.127(126), p. 232: "Nec suffecit eisdem imperiales divitias exaurire ac diripere spolia principum et minorum, nisi ad thesauros ecclesiarum et, quod gravius est, ad ipsarum possessiones extenderent manus suas, tabulas argenteas etiam de altaribus rapientes et inter se confringentes in frusta, violantes sacraria et cruces et reliquias asportantes."

⁵⁴⁶ G. Constable, 'The Fourth Crusade', in *Crusaders and Crusading*, pp. 321-48, pp. 321-2.

⁵⁴⁷ Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 117.

continues to inform how the incident is perceived.⁵⁴⁸ In his account, Niketas specifically mentions the disrespect shown to church property, and to relics in particular: “O, the shameful dashing to earth of the venerable icons and the flinging of the relics of the saints, who had suffered for Christ’s sake, into defiled places!”⁵⁴⁹ As this passage demonstrates, the crusader treatment of church property also featured prominently in Greek discourse.

Western disapproval was not isolated to papal correspondence. There are examples of doubt and uncertainty in western chronicles from the period.⁵⁵⁰ Arnold of Lübeck, who wrote so passionately of Henry the Lion’s 1172 pilgrimage to Jerusalem in his *Chronica Slavorum*, appears to have reserved judgement on the divine origins of the Fourth Crusade. “Whether they were the deeds of God or of men, a fitting outcome is not yet in sight”.⁵⁵¹ Here, Arnold’s work reveals the sorts of questions with which western chroniclers had to wrestle in the decades after 1204. It is such condemnations, or at least problematisations, of the events of the Fourth Crusade, and notably of the sack of Constantinople, which led to the production of such fierce and concerted defences of relics and those who bore them back to western Europe.

It is important to note that the theft of the Constantinopolitan relics was not only condemned after the fact; Robert of Clari notes how the crusaders and Venetians had been made to swear an oath before the city was besieged, promising that they would not loot churches or monasteries.⁵⁵² Implicit within the acquisition of relics during the sack of the city, therefore, is the deliberate defiance of the contents of that vow. This, combined with accounts of the brutality of the sacking of the city, and subsequent condemnations of the event, made the

⁵⁴⁸ Andrea, ‘Essay on Primary Sources’, p. 310.

⁵⁴⁹ Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, 8, pp. 314-5.

⁵⁵⁰ Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 113-6.

⁵⁵¹ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, 6.19, p. 240: “Sed utrum Dei facta sint an hominum, necdum dignus finis declarat.” English translation is from Angold, *The Fourth Crusade*, p. 115.

⁵⁵² Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 68, pp. 84-5: “Et se leur fist on jurer seur sains que il main ne meteroient seur moine, ne seur cleric, ne seur prestre, s’il n’estoit en desfense, ne qu’il ne froisseroient eglise ne moustier.”

ownership of these relics particularly problematic. The sources circumnavigate this issue in several ways, from large-scale justifications of the outcome in terms of divine providence, to vindicating the acquisition of relics on an individual basis. Each of these methods is reliant on the heuristic capacity of the miraculous; the best defence, be it of actions, individuals, or items, is a divine one. It therefore follows that the sources which contain the greater weight of miraculous material are those written in defence of a crusade participant or a particular relic and its bearer.

6.4. Justifying the *translatio* of Constantinopolitan Relics

The proportion of Fourth Crusade sources produced with the primary intention of recording the means by which relics were acquired from Constantinople and transported to their new devotional sites in the West belies an anxiety on the part of western clerical and monastic authorities regarding the legitimacy of this practise in this instance. While the pious theft of relics had been an accepted and licit aspect of Christian spirituality since Late Antiquity, the circumstances in which the Constantinopolitan relics had been acquired appear to have necessitated particularly rigorous legitimation.⁵⁵³ Even at the turn of the thirteenth century, a significant number of western Europeans would have viewed the use of a crusade force against Christians as a perversion of the movement and its mores.⁵⁵⁴ The legitimacy of relics acquired during the sack of Constantinople was further problematised; as mentioned previously, the crusade leaders themselves had forbidden the looting of religious property before the final attack on Constantinople took place, and presumably this included relics.⁵⁵⁵ Equally, the crusaders swore an oath that any looted material was required to be handed over

⁵⁵³ Patrick Geary has identified the relic thefts of 1204 as the apogee of the centuries old tradition of Italian acquisition of Greek relics. Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 87.

⁵⁵⁴ A. E. Laiou, 'Byzantium and the Crusades in the Twelfth Century: Why Was the Fourth Crusade Late in Coming?', in *Urbs Capta*, pp. 17-40, pp. 37, 40.

⁵⁵⁵ Robert of Clari, *La Conquête*, 68, pp. 84-5.

for redistribution, and this on pain of excommunication or death.⁵⁵⁶ Thus, the relics which did find their way back to the West flaunted not only a basic tenet of the crusading movement, but the commands of the crusading leadership. As a consequence, the narrative justifications for these relics represent a comprehensive defence of their procurement. Integral to this was the legitimising power of the miraculous; the means through which the divine will might be communicated and made manifest to humankind.

Many of these sources play on the implicit agreement, or even will, on the part of the saint to have their relics moved by that individual to that location. Assumed within this is the suggestion that the erstwhile Greek custodians of those relics were deemed unworthy by the saints themselves, which in turn legitimises their theft in the first instance. It is hinted at in Alberic of Trois-Fontaine's narrative that the crusader capture of a Greek icon carried into battle by the patriarch at Philia occurred on account of the withdrawal of divine support for the Greeks.⁵⁵⁷ The miraculous (here used in a general sense to include visions and signs) is used as explicit proof of legitimacy. A miracle might facilitate the acquisition of the relic and its safe transportation across land and sea. These function in support of the individual or group of people who took or are entrusted with the relic or relics. Miracles which take place once the relic is housed back in western Europe work in the text to communicate the suitability of that location.

The Anonymous of Soissons' account of the Fourth Crusade features rich examples of this latter type of miracle. The stance taken in *De terra Iherosolimitana* regarding the righteousness of the crusaders' actions at Constantinople is much more tentative than in the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* of Gunther of Pairis. The outcome of events is presented as

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 2, 252, p. 56; Also discussed by Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, p. 16.

⁵⁵⁷ ATF, p. 883: "Hanc yconam cum in preliis ferre essent soliti, nequaquam antea potuerunt ab hostibus superari."

much more heavily dependent upon acts of divine clemency and punishment in response to the actions of the crusaders themselves. This served to communicate that the endeavour ought to be understood as divinely protected. It was as a result of 'divine favour' (*Dei...clementia*) that the first of the crusaders leapt from the siege engines onto the city walls during the siege of Constantinople.⁵⁵⁸ Similarly, it was by the mercy of God that the Greeks surrendered the city and Baldwin was crowned emperor.⁵⁵⁹ The Anonymous only moves beyond such phrases and towards more detailed accounts of the miraculous once Nivelon has transported the Constantinopolitan relics back to Soissons.

The relics, presented in two separate lists, were gifted by Nivelon to the cathedral church of the holy martyrs Gervasius and Protasius (the cathedral at Soissons), to the Benedictine nunnery at Notre-Dame de Soissons, the abbey of Saint John at Laon, and to the Cistercian abbey of Longpont.⁵⁶⁰ All of these recipient institutions lie within the diocese of Soissons. At the cathedral, the ill and infirm were healed from that very day onwards. A specific example is offered; an elderly blind man had his sight restored to him, despite having been unable to see for many years previously.⁵⁶¹

Among the relics gifted to the monasteries of the Blessed Mary and to Longpont were two crucifixes "made from the wood of the Lord".⁵⁶² These echo the significance attributed to the loss of the True Cross at the battle of Hattin during the opening passage of the text: having briefly outlined the events of 1099, and those of 1187, the author moves on to state how "a portion even of the wood of the Holy Cross was lost in the war, which afterward, so we

⁵⁵⁸ Anonymous of Soissons, 'De terra Iherosolimitana', p. 341.

⁵⁵⁹ Anonymous of Soissons, 'De terra Iherosolimitana', p. 341: "Tunc nostri, Dei providente clementia, accepta Grecorum securitate et fidelitate, Balduinum, comitem Flandrensium, in imperatorem sublimaverunt... coronare fecerunt."

⁵⁶⁰ Anonymous of Soissons, 'De terra Iherosolimitana', pp. 341-3.

⁵⁶¹ Anonymous of Soissons, 'De terra Iherosolimitana', p. 342: "Inter quos quidam cecus de Artichiaco, magne et antique etatis, qui per multos annos lumen amiserat, statim illuminatus est."

⁵⁶² Anonymous of Soissons, 'De terra Iherosolimitana', pp. 342-3. English translation is from Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, pp. 236-7.

believe, was found neither by us nor by the Saracens”.⁵⁶³ The loss of the True Cross appears to be of primary significance to the Anonymous in his conceptualisation of crusading history. Gunther of Pairis also framed the crusade preaching of Abbot Martin of Pairis in terms of the lamentation of the loss of the True Cross relic.⁵⁶⁴ By framing the Fourth Crusade in terms of avenging the loss of a relic, both the Anonymous and Gunther allude to the important role to be played by the acquisition and translation of relics in their texts, while also framing the acquisition of relics as a valid and precedented endeavour for the crusading enterprise.

While the Anonymous of Soissons utilised the miraculous in order to defend Nivelon of Soissons and the relics he brought back to the West, another anonymous author achieved the same ends by the same means. Bishop Conrad’s return to Halberstadt with the Constantinopolitan relics is described in miraculous terms: “For this man carried with him tokens of the saints, in connection with which undoubtedly peace and salvation were introduced to the Fatherland.”⁵⁶⁵ The advent of those relics brought unity, order and plenty to the area, which, as is described, was fraught with schism and hunger. All of this occurred, the author continues, through the “marvellous judgement of God” (*mirabili... iudicio Dei*); namely, that God should allow for Conrad to translate the saints’ remains to Halberstadt.⁵⁶⁶ In both instances, the reputations of Nivelon and Conrad benefit from the implications of being a successful translator of relics.

⁵⁶³ Anonymous of Soissons, ‘De terra Iherosolimitana’, p. 338: “Cum per Dei misericordiam, anno Verbi incarnati millesimo de centeno minus uno, civitas sancta Iherusalem et Antiochia cum patria sibi adiacente, in potestatem Francigenorum Christianorum, depulsis Sarracenis, devenisset, iterum peccatis exigentibus, anno incarnati Verbi m^oc^olxxx^ovii^o, Christianus exercitus a Sarracenis superatus est... Pars etiam ligni sancte crucis in bello est perdita, que postea, ut credimus, nec a nostris nec a Sarracenis est inventa.” English translation is from Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 230.

⁵⁶⁴ GP, 2, p. 112: “Sacrosanctum illud et venerabile crucis lignum, quod Christi sanguine perfusum est, ab his, quibus verbum crucis stulticia est, ut nemo christianus, quid de illo actum sit vel unde requiri debeat, scire possit.”

⁵⁶⁵ *GeH*, p. 120: “Ipse enim secum sanctorum pignora apportavit, cum quibus indubitanter pax et salus patrie sunt illata.” English translation is from Andrea, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 261.

⁵⁶⁶ *GeH*, p. 120.

7. Conclusion

Miracles, as instances of divine intervention, performed important functions as part of a narrative. Throughout the sources investigated here, miracles work to associate with the divine, whether they be benevolent or punitive in nature. From the representation of a crusading endeavour as a whole as miraculous, as in many treatments of the First Crusade, or in Pope Innocent's letters responding to the news of the conquest of Constantinople, to small-scale preaching miracles such as those attributed to Pope Urban II, they all function to construct a narrative in which the crusade is divinely sanctioned and presided over. It has been shown, however, that the term *miraculum* is used sparingly in these narratives on account of the interpretative responsibility inherent in its use. Often, miracles are discussed without the use of the specific lexis. In instances of interpretative reticence, or where the interpretation is the responsibility of an 'eyewitness', the terminology does appear to be more freely employed. Marvels, as notable occurrences which do not necessitate divine intervention, remain frequent, possibly on account of reduced interpretative onus. By extension, this reveals that many of the authors considered here were conversant with the emerging conceptual dichotomy between the marvellous as unknown nature, and the miraculous as divine intervention.

The narratives of the First Crusade represent a body of examples of the miraculous the scale of which was not matched by the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades. Neither the Second nor Third Crusades represented miracles in their own right. The miraculous of these crusades usually concerned itself with individuals, such as Louis, Richard and Frederick, and was forced to function in the shadow of criticism. Fourth Crusade narratives contain a higher proportion of miraculous episodes associated with relics and translators, though intrinsic to many of these defences is the contention that the undertaking was legitimate. Fourth Crusade narratives therefore rely on the same epistemological function of the miraculous as that used

m the narratives of earlier crusades. Therefore, while the specific deployment of the miraculous and marvellous might alter along with, and even reflect, the fortunes of crusading in this period, its function as a rhetorical device remains rooted in its power of divine association.

Chapter 3: Visions and Dreams

As they occur in texts produced by Latin Christians in the Middle Ages, visions and dreams provide instances in which one or several of the senses were granted the ability to perceive the usually imperceptible. During a vision, direct communication between those inhabiting the natural, everyday world, and saints, demons, ghosts, or even Christ himself, is made possible. The curtain of mundanity is temporarily raised to reveal communications from the world of the supernatural. The privileged nature of these experiences naturally lent itself to their utility as epistemological devices, or as a means of determining or advocating certain truths. In her survey of the functions of late medieval English vision accounts, Gwenfair Adams argues that the majority of examples from within her source material perform a didactic function, for example validating the sanctity of particular saints, providing examples of the benefits of a pious existence (and the consequences of an impious one), and enforcing a point of doctrine.⁵⁶⁷ The premise which allows the miraculous of late medieval England to perform a didactic function is the same as that which enables the miraculous of crusade narratives to act as legitimatory or as proof; that truly revelatory visions were divine communications.

These divine communications were free from the intermediary and regulatory influence of the Church. As Brown demonstrated in a seminal article on the 'Holy Man' in Late Antiquity, visionaries had the potential to gain significant popular, and therefore political, influence.⁵⁶⁸ Dreams in particular had continued to be treated with great suspicion by the Catholic Church of the early Middle Ages.⁵⁶⁹ Theories surrounding the identification of truly revelatory experiences, as opposed to the simply mundane, or worse, demonic, continued to be

⁵⁶⁷ G. W. Adams, *Visions in Late Medieval England: Lay Spirituality and Sacred Glimpses of the Hidden Worlds of Faith* (Leiden, 2007), p. 15.

⁵⁶⁸ Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man', pp. 80-101.

⁵⁶⁹ Schmitt, *Ghosts*, p. 42.

scrutinised by theologians and ecclesiastics throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, anxieties surrounding the identification of the revelatory are manifest in some crusade histories, and frequently take the form of borrowings from classical and patristic authorities.

This chapter considers the different ways that visions and visionaries are utilised in crusade narratives. In a similar way to the miraculous as explored in Chapter 2, the epistemological and didactic functions of visions means that they provide a medium through which one might observe contemporary responses to crusades. This chapter will demonstrate that there is a notable dearth of visionary material associated with the sources for the Second Crusade in particular, though certainly none of the crusades which occurred between 1095 and 1204 elicited a volume of visionary anecdotal material comparable to that inspired by the First Crusade.

Morris has commented that “crusading sources apply words cognate with both ‘vision’ and ‘appearance’ indiscriminately”.⁵⁷⁰ It will be demonstrated in what follows that this is not always the case, and that representations of visions and dreams in crusade histories should be approached with a greater sensitivity towards the lexis employed. It will be shown that authors were able to engage with theoretical dichotomies pertaining to the visionary, and that presumably they anticipated a level of conceptual resonance amongst their audiences.

It is not the purpose of this chapter to arrive at a popular or even a learned definition of vision as it appears in crusade narratives. Each text provides a complex and often contradictory reflection of an individual’s, or several individuals’, understanding of an already amorphous concept. Chenu’s comment on twelfth-century Neoplatonisms is equally applicable here: “an undeniable core of common perceptions did not inhibit a certain amount of picking and

⁵⁷⁰ Morris, ‘Policy and Visions’, p. 39, n. 21.

choosing, and the resulting systems of thought represented incompatible and bewildering syncretisms.”⁵⁷¹ Rather, this chapter will draw together various allusions to the visionary in order that several patterns of usage become discernible: first, the passive reflection and active reinterpretation of authorities on the narrativisation of visions and dreams in certain texts; second, the functions that visions and dreams might perform within crusade narratives; and third, how this usage can be seen to respond to contemporary perspectives on the crusades more broadly.

1. Conceptual Differentiations: Visions, Dreams, and the Spaces Inbetween

Twelfth-century authors of narrative histories would themselves have been exposed to material in which dreams and visions were discussed as discrete types of experience and where dreams were characterised as potentially less trustworthy than a true vision. This distinction has biblical precedent; visions of transparent meaning and unclear dreams were often juxtaposed in the Vulgate as *visio* and *somnium* respectively.⁵⁷² For example, it is described in chapter 12 of the Book of Numbers how the Lord told Moses, Aaron and Mary: “if there be among you a prophet of the Lord, I will appear to him in a vision, or I will speak to him in a dream.”⁵⁷³ The implication appears to be that the means by which God intended to communicate was dependent on the state of consciousness of the recipient. It is also said in chapter 34 of Ecclesiasticus that “dreams have deceived many”, which explicitly identifies *somnia* as an untrustworthy category of experience.⁵⁷⁴ The problem of how best to interpret communications couched within dreams, an indiscriminate and usually mundane experience, was one of recurring significance throughout Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, and

⁵⁷¹ M.-D. Chenu, ‘The Platonisms of the Twelfth Century’, *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century*, pp. 49-98, p. 49.

⁵⁷² J. Le Goff, ‘Dreams’, in *The Medieval Imagination*, pp. 193-242 p. 194.

⁵⁷³ Numbers 12.6: “Audite sermones meos si quis fuerit inter vos propheta Domini in visione apparebo ei vel per somnium loquar ad illum.”

⁵⁷⁴ Ecclesiasticus 34.7: “Multos enim errare fecerunt somnia.”

was certainly no less pertinent by the twelfth century. Odo of Cluny, writing about a vision in the tenth century, noted in his *vita* of Gerald of Aurillac that: “Indeed, the visions of dreams are not always vain. And if faith is to be put in sleep, it seems that this vision agrees in its result with future events.”⁵⁷⁵ It appears that in this instance the veracity of the dream’s predictions confirmed its status as an experience of visionary significance.

Truly revelatory visions were difficult to identify. An individual might knowingly lie about having experienced a vision. There was a deliberate fiction, lacking a foundational empirical experience, which relied instead upon the evocation of recognisable tropes for the construction of an experience identifiable as a vision. There existed a multiplicity of experience and interpretation between the fabricated and the revelatory vision. These experiential waters are made murkier by the existence of a related phenomenon which might also offer an individual revelatory knowledge of hidden truths; the dream. Dreams were particularly problematic given their universality; the majority of people would have been able to recollect dreams on a daily basis. A dream might involve supernatural elements, and therefore reasonably be referred to as a vision, while a vision might occur during sleep, and therefore be termed a dream.⁵⁷⁶ On account of these difficulties, the conceptual distinction between the dream and the vision appears to have remained fluid throughout the Middle Ages. While it could generally be considered that the two terms were used synonymously, examples can be identified which reveal a firm conceptual differentiation between the two, in which visions indicate divine instrumentality and dreams relate to the mundane. This is particularly clear in instances where the two types of phenomena are discussed in relation to one another.

⁵⁷⁵ Odo of Cluny, ‘De Vita Sancti Geraldii Auriliacensis Comitum’, *PL* 133, cols. 639-710, col. 643: “Siquidem somniorum visiones non semper sunt inanes. Et si somno fides adhibenda est, videtur haec visio rerum effectui convenire futurarum.” English translation modified from Odo of Cluny, *St. Odo of Cluny: Being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac by St. Odo*, ed. and trans. G. Sitwell (London, 1958), p. 95;

⁵⁷⁶ Adams, *Visions in Late Medieval England*, p. 176.

The elusive nature of the divide between the mundane and the revelatory dream appears to have preoccupied many great thinkers of the classical, patristic and Late Antique periods. Aristotle, Plato, Cicero and Lucretius all theorise on the relationship.⁵⁷⁷ In the early third century a coherent Christian treatise on dreams was produced in the form of chapters 45-49 of Tertullian's *De anima*.⁵⁷⁸ According to Tertullian, who appears deeply suspicious of dreams, a dream could be demonically-inspired, prophetic or circumstantial. This complex and contradictory understanding of dream visions was developed further by Isidore of Seville (writing in the early seventh century), who identified vision (*uisio*) and dream (*somnium*) as distinct, but equally valid, forms of prophecy.⁵⁷⁹ The anxiety appears to arise from the fluidity and interrelation of these definitions, for a vision could occur in the guise of a dream, and was an accepted medium through which the divine could communicate with human beings.⁵⁸⁰ The danger lay in the potentiality for demonically inspired dreams, or the attribution of significance to mundane dreams. As discussed above, the potential for visionaries to develop a substantial popular following on account of their claims to vicinity to divine truths, and the subsequent influence that they might exert, meant that they could play a persuasive social and political role.⁵⁸¹ Beyond being an intellectual exercise for the inquisitive, the identification of the truly revelatory and the misinterpreted mundane or demonic was a recurring concern for the antique Roman Church.

⁵⁷⁷ Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, p. 18.

⁵⁷⁸ Le Goff, 'Dreams', p. 207.

⁵⁷⁹ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 7.8, as made available at <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore.html> (Accessed: 26 July 2016): "Secundum genus visio; sicut apud Esaiam dicentem [Isaiah 6.1]: 'Vidi Dominum sedentem super solium excelsum.' Tertium genus somnium; sicut Iacob subnixam in caelo scalam dormiens vidit."

⁵⁸⁰ C. M. Carty, 'The Role of Medieval Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999), pp. 45-90, p. 45: "Although in the Middle Ages the possible source of dreams, including the devil himself, gave churchmen cause for some concern, the dream had a special appeal in Christian contexts, for it was one vehicle which God or his emissaries had used in the past and could still use in the present for communicating with man."

⁵⁸¹ Morris, 'Policy and Visions', p. 34.

Authoritative explorations of dream theory were looked to in the early and central Middle Ages for precedent and explanation. One of the most significant early dream schemas to influence twelfth-century western European understandings of visions and dreams was contained in the *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* of the Neoplatonist Macrobius (writing c. 430).⁵⁸² Macrobius based his theory on several previous works, particularly that of Artemidorus (second century AD), but it was the form that these theories took in the work of Macrobius that is reflected in the considerations of dreams from the central Middle Ages.⁵⁸³ Macrobius' work is explicit in its identification of vision as a category within a complex schema of dream types ranging from the mundane to the divine. Of particular interest to Macrobius appears to have been the experiences which dwelt between the poles of the truly revelatory and the entirely mundane.⁵⁸⁴ The fulfilment of the prophetic components of a dream or vision was key to confirming its divine origins. Echoes of this idea are evidenced in several vision accounts from crusade narratives, where an author might note that later events proved the revelation to have been a true one.⁵⁸⁵

Macrobius proposed a schema of five dream types, which are (from the mundane to the revelatory): the nightmare (*insomnium*); apparition (*visum*); enigmatic dream (*somnium*); prophetic vision (*visio*); and oracular vision (*oraculum*).⁵⁸⁶ Nightmares and apparitions are attributed with “no prophetic significance”; they represent the mundane end of the spectrum. A nightmare is often born of excess of food or drink or caused by anxiety or distress. An apparition is characterised as an affliction of the state between sleep and waking. For

⁵⁸² A. Cameron, ‘The Date and Identity of Macrobius’, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 56.1-2 (1966), pp. 25-38.

⁵⁸³ W. H. Stahl, trans., *Commentary on the Dreams of Scipio* (New York, NY, 1990), pp. 87-8, n. 1. The most recent English translation of Artemidorus's *Oneirocritica* is Artemidorus Daldianus, *The Interpretation of Dreams: Oneirocritica*, trans. R. J. White, 2nd ed. (Park Ridge, NJ, 1990). For an edition of the Greek see Artemidorus Daldianus, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*, ed. R. A. Pack (Leipzig, 1963).

⁵⁸⁴ Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, p. 35.

⁵⁸⁵ See for example WT1, 9.6, p. 427; and GP, 15, p. 149.

⁵⁸⁶ Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, *Macrobius, Vol. II. Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970), 1.3, pp. 8-10.

example, Macrobius suggests, *ephiartes* (ἐπιάλτης) would fall into this category (a waking nightmare-like state in which the subject feels a weight upon their chest, later interpreted as demonic, and more recently as sleep paralysis).⁵⁸⁷ Neither of these two experiences are identified as being of revelatory significance, though the *visum* reaches out fractionally towards the higher types on account of its existence beyond individual psychological process, into the realms of (albeit delusory) reality.⁵⁸⁸

At the centrepiece, connecting rather than separating the realms of the mundane and the revelatory, is the enigmatic dream, or *somnium*.⁵⁸⁹ This is a dream which presents truth in a concealed or ambiguous manner; meaning must be obtained through interpretation. While this type of experience may yield a truth eventually, after the fiction in which it is presented is subjected to proper interpretation, it cannot communicate meaning as clearly or directly as the higher dream types. Above the *somnium* is the prophetic *visio*, in which an image of everyday events reveals a truth that the dreamer could not have otherwise known. The vision is proven to be revelatory when those events transpire in reality; the revelatory is couched in the mundane. Above the prophetic vision and described as the highest form of dream by Macrobius is the oracular vision. In these instances, truth is imparted upon the dreamer by a figure of authority, such as a particularly holy individual, a saint, or a god. On account of its delivery, the truth of the *oraculum* is self-evidently divine in origin.⁵⁹⁰

It is demonstrated below that the understandings, and by extension portrayals, of dreams and visions contained in certain of the narrative histories of the crusades of 1095 to 1204 can be shown to have been influenced by the contemporary circulation of Macrobius' work in the

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 10: "In hoc genere est et ἐπιάλτης quem publica persuasio quiescentes opinatur invadere, et pondere suo pressos ac sentientes gravare." See M. van der Lugt, "The *Incubus* in Scholastic Debate: Medicine, Theology and Popular Belief" in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Biller and J. Ziegler (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 175-200, esp. pp. 186-91.

⁵⁸⁸ Kruger, *Dreaming*, p. 22.

⁵⁸⁹ Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, 1.3, p. 10.

⁵⁹⁰ Ibid.

twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁹¹ The study of visions and dreams in narrative histories of these crusades therefore reinforces the broader contention that crusade texts represent a rich source for understanding the theoretical framework in which western European intellectuals might operate.

A second authority on the subject was Macrobius' near-contemporary, Augustine of Hippo. While Macrobius' schema did not receive widespread attention until the twelfth century,⁵⁹² Augustine's various treatises on the subject were of a more perennial influence.⁵⁹³ Augustine's consideration of visions represents an effort to provide a thoroughly Christian epistemology which moves beyond the classification of dream types.⁵⁹⁴ In his *De Genesi ad Litteram*, Augustine describes a threefold typology of vision; corporeal, spiritual, and intellectual.⁵⁹⁵ The first of these, corporeal sight, refers to the ability to behold something physically with one's own bodily senses; namely the eyes. If this first means of perception was the most mundane, then intellectual vision, at the opposite end of the spectrum, represented the highest. This intuitive form of sight enables one to perceive a concept, and denotes the means by which one might contemplate God. Spiritual sight, which sits between these two poles in Augustine's schema, denotes how one might perceive the semblances of things within one's own mind. It is this, spiritual sight which appears most closely aligned to the processes inherent in oneiric vision. The highest type, intellectual perception, was essentially avisual but enabled an individual to interpret the other two types accurately. He elaborates:

⁵⁹¹ See Chapter 3, section 5.1.

⁵⁹² The twelfth century appears to have been the apogee of the popularity of Macrobius' dream schema. See A. M. Peden, 'Macrobius and Medieval Dream Literature', *Medium Aevum* 54 (1985), pp. 59-73.

⁵⁹³ Schmitt, *Ghosts*, p. 23.

⁵⁹⁴ Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, p. 36; Peden, 'Macrobius', p. 59.

⁵⁹⁵ See J. Keskiäho, *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 137-50.

When we read this one commandment, *You shall love your neighbor as yourself*, we experience three kinds of vision: one through the eyes, by which we see the letters; a second through the spirit, by which we think of our neighbour even when he is absent; and a third through an intuition of the mind, by which we see and understand love itself.⁵⁹⁶

In seeking to further elucidate his stance regarding intellectual sight, Augustine writes:

But in the case of love, is it seen in one manner when present, in the form in which it exists [i.e. physical sight], and in another manner when absent, in an image resembling it [i.e. spiritual sight]? Certainly not. But in proportion to the clarity of our intellectual vision, love itself is seen by one more clearly, by another less so. If, however, we think of some corporeal image, it is not love that we behold.⁵⁹⁷

Augustine subsumes both mundane and revelatory dreams within the middleliness of spiritual vision, and by doing so emphasises their ambiguity. Intellectual vision is required for that which is spiritually perceived to be proved reliable or prophetic.⁵⁹⁸ The efficacy of this highest form of vision is dependent upon personal enlightenment. This is reflected in *DeL*, as Raol is known to have drawn upon various intellectual authorities – including Augustine – as

⁵⁹⁶ Augustine of Hippo, *De Genesi ad Litteram, Libri Duodecim*, in *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin* 49, ed. and trans. P. Agaësse and A. Solignac, 7th series (Brussels, 1972), 12.6, pp. 346-8: “Ecce in hoc uno praecepto cum legitur: diliges proximum tuum tamquam te ipsum, tria uisionem generas occurrunt: unum per oculos, quibus ipsae litterae uidentur, alterum per spiritum hominis, quo proximus et absens cogitatur, tertium per contuitum mentis, quo ipsa dilectio intellecta conspicitur.” English translation is from Augustine of Hippo, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis, Volume II, Books 7-12*, trans. J. H. Taylor (New York, NY, 1982), 12.6, p. 185.

⁵⁹⁷ Augustine of Hippo, *De Genesi ad Litteram*, 12.6, pp. 350-2: “Dilectio autem numquid aliter uidetur praesens in specie, qua est, et aliter absens in aliqua imagine sui simili? Non utique. Sed quantum mente cerni potest, ab alio magis, ab alio minus ipsa cernitur; si autem aliquid corporalis imaginis cogitatur, non ipsa cernitur”. English translation is from Augustine of Hippo, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 12.6, p. 186.

⁵⁹⁸ Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, pp. 35-43.

part of his justification of the Lisbon expedition.⁵⁹⁹ It is commented during an account of a sermon attributed to the author himself that: “if the eternal light which is seen through the inner eye appears not to the eyes of sinners, it could not be perceived by the minds of the defiled.”⁶⁰⁰ This reflects an understanding of the efficacy of spiritual vision as dependent on the individual’s piety. A similar conceptualisation of spiritual vision is evidenced in Gerald of Wales’ *Itinerarium Kambriae*. He relates a story about a lord who had been struck blind by God as punishment for spending a night in a church with his hunting dogs. He was later conveyed to Jerusalem in order that his “inner sight” – or more literally “lamp” – (*interior... lucerna*) should not suffer a similar fate.⁶⁰¹

Augustine’s spiritual vision focuses on the mental environment of these experiences, and the nature of spiritually perceived objects as images or apparitions in the semblance of known forms. This was part of Augustine’s broader contention that the dead could in no way appear to the living in bodily form.⁶⁰² When an individual saw a dead person in a vision or dream, they saw a mere image; an apparition. The dead individual was not physically present. Saints represented a perplexing exception to this rule; Augustine appears to have been undecided whether saints appeared of their own volition or through the proxy of angels, concluding only that such instances were miraculous.⁶⁰³ Schmitt, in his consideration of ghosts, has noted that Augustinian immateriality was frequently disregarded throughout the Middle Ages, and that apparitions were often bestowed with a decided corporeity.⁶⁰⁴ Jesse Keskiaho has identified a similar tendency towards the physical in certain eighth-century vision accounts.⁶⁰⁵ Such

⁵⁹⁹ See Phillips, ‘Ideas of Crusade and Holy War’, esp. pp. 130-3.

⁶⁰⁰ *DeL*, p. 150-1: “Si enim non appareret oculis peccatorum lumen eternum quod per oculos interiores videtur, mentibus inquinatis videri non posset.”

⁶⁰¹ *Itinerarium Kambriae*, 1.1, pp. 16-7.

⁶⁰² Schmitt, *Ghosts*, pp. 17-27.

⁶⁰³ Augustine of Hippo, ‘De cura pro mortuis gerenda ad Paulinum’, *PL* 40, 16.19-20, cols. 606-7. See also Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp. 77-81.

⁶⁰⁴ Schmitt, *Ghosts*, p. 27.

⁶⁰⁵ Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp. 59-75.

proclivities were encouraged by works such as the *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great (d. 604), in which Augustine's ambivalence towards the physicality of saintly visions was glossed as part of his defence of the cult of saints.⁶⁰⁶ It will be shown below that the authors of crusade narratives also engaged with this centuries-old discourse on the physicality of vision.⁶⁰⁷

Keskiaho has recently shown that Augustinian and Gregorian understandings of dream theory were ultimately constructed by those who consulted and represented them; reception of these authorities was dependent upon contemporary circumstances.⁶⁰⁸ Narratives, including crusade histories, can reflect these processes of understanding. The remainder of this chapter will highlight instances in which the influence of Macrobian and Augustinian dream theory is reflected in crusade narratives.

John of Salisbury (d. 1180) has been described as “one of the most learned courtier-bureaucrats of twelfth-century Europe”.⁶⁰⁹ One text attributed to John, a theoretical treatise known as the *Policraticus* (1156-1159), provides several illuminating examples of how a twelfth-century educated churchman might conceptualise and represent themes pertaining to the miraculous.⁶¹⁰ In his lengthy consideration of the authenticity of dreams, John drew most obviously upon Macrobius. However, the influence of Augustine's vision typology can also be identified. This section of the *Policraticus* therefore represents a useful example of how such authorities might be reflected in twelfth-century discussions of dreams and visions. John writes, in words strongly evocative of Macrobius', that there are manifold types, causes,

⁶⁰⁶ See M. Dal Santo, *Debating the Saints' Cults in the Age of Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 21-84; and Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp. 89-103.

⁶⁰⁷ For example, when Raymond of Aguilers describes how Peter Bartholomew was asked to kiss the feet of Christ, who had appeared to him in a vision. See RA, 8, p. 75. See also Chapter 3, section 2.1.

⁶⁰⁸ Keskiaho, *Dreams and Visions*.

⁶⁰⁹ C. J. Nederman, ed. and trans., *John of Salisbury: Policraticus, Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers* (Cambridge, 1990), p. xv. On John of Salisbury and his *Policraticus*, see especially Nederman, *John of Salisbury*, pp. xv-xxvi.

⁶¹⁰ See also Chapter 4, section 1.

forms and meanings of dreams.⁶¹¹ He reproduces the hierarchy provided by Macrobius, concluding that the *visio* and the *oraculum* present a visible truth, while the intermediate *somnium* is the most common, the truth of which is shrouded as if by a curtain.⁶¹² John is careful to point out, however, that his description of the methods of interpreting dreams should not be misinterpreted as condonement of that practice. Whosoever, he continues, involves themselves in the “deception of dreams” (*somniorum... uanitatem*) is not awake to God’s law.⁶¹³ He concludes that any who so enjoy the favour of God such that he is capable of interpreting allegorical dreams should join Daniel and Joseph in attributing that ability to God.⁶¹⁴ The idea that the accurate interpretation of such experiences is dependent upon divine favour parallels Augustine’s argument that intellectual vision, required for the interpretation of that which is spiritually perceived, is dependent upon enlightenment. While John therefore employs both Macrobian and Augustinian theories of dreams and visions, he subordinates the Platonic emphasis on the individual’s inherent ability to divine in sleep to the Christian dependency upon knowledge of God.

The Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach (d. c. 1240) also appears to have been influenced by Macrobian dream schema and Augustinian vision typologies.⁶¹⁵ In Book Eight

⁶¹¹ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus I-IV*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *CCCM* 118 (Turnhout, 1993), p. 94: “Sunt autem multae species somniorum et multiplices causae et uariae figurae et significationes.”

⁶¹² John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, p. 99: “Verum quia duae primae species omnino uanae sunt, et in postremis quasi uisibili specie ueritas menti occurrit, mediam quae corpori ueritatis quasi uelum figuratum oppandit diligentius exequitur.”

⁶¹³ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, p. 102: “Sed dun coniectorum traditiones exequimur, uereor ne merito non tam coniectariam exequi, quae aut nulla aut inanis ars est, quam dormire uideamur. Quisquis enim somniorum sequitur uanitatem, parum in lege Dei uigilans est, et dum fidei facit dispendium, perniciosissime dormit. Veritas siquidem ab eo longe facta est, nec eam facilius potest apprehendere quam unionem expungere uel puncto curare carineam qui caligantibus oculis in meridie palpat.”

⁶¹⁴ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, p. 104: “Siccine solent coniectores etiam cogitationes excutere et umbras exinanire, explicare inuolucra et illustrare tenebras figurarum? Si quis est qui pari gratiae priuilegio gaudeat, accedat ad Danielelem et Ioseph et similiter eis Domino gratuletur.”

⁶¹⁵ On Caesarius’ *Dialogus miraculorum*, see especially V. Smirnova, M. A. Polo de Beaulieu and J. Berlioz, eds., *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach’s Dialogue on Miracles and Its Reception* (Leiden, 2015). On Caesarius’ work in relation to the crusades, see Purkis, ‘Crusading and Crusade Memory’, and ‘Memories of the Preaching for the Fifth Crusade in Caesarius of Heisterbach’s *Dialogus miraculorum*’, *Journal of Medieval History* 40.3 (2014), pp. 329-45.

of the *Dialogus miraculorum* (1219-1223), and in an echo of Macrobius, Caesarius writes that dreams can be caused by such mundane factors as excess of indulgence, and such revelatory influences as the divine.⁶¹⁶ Caesarius also discusses Augustine's threefold schema of vision types.⁶¹⁷ For Caesarius, contemplation of God was the key to revelatory vision.⁶¹⁸ Caesarius' consideration of vision is indicative of a continued desire to seek out authorities on visions and dreams in the thirteenth century; an intellectual need which is equally evidenced in crusade sources.

2. The First Crusade

2.1. The Language of Visions in First Crusade Narratives

Crusade narratives reflect the range of lexical constructions which can be used to denote experiences which we might call visions or dreams. One might experience a dream, a vision in a dream, a vision in sleep, a vision, an apparition, or literally 'see' what is beheld. The numerous narratives surrounding the figures of Peter Bartholomew and Stephen of Valence present a rich corpus of material for assessing how visions and dreams are represented in First Crusade texts and for exploring how these representations altered over time as key texts, such as the *Gesta Francorum*, were adapted.

One of the most recognisable components of First Crusade narratives is the series of events associated with the discovery of the relic of the Holy Lance at Antioch in 1098. Having entered the city of Antioch on 3 June 1098 after prosecuting a protracted siege, the crusade participants soon became the besieged themselves. The citadel had remained in Muslim

⁶¹⁶ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange (Brussels, 1851), 2, 8.4, p. 83: "Somnium quandoque fit ex reliquiis cogitationum et curis; quandoque ex crapula; quandoque ex inanitione ventris; quandoque ex illusionem et fantastica imaginatione inimici sine praecedente cogitatione; quandoque ex praemissa cogitatione, illusionem secuta; quandoque per revelationem Spiritus sancti, quae multis modis fit; et est hoc genus somnii dignissimum."

⁶¹⁷ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, 2, 8.1, pp. 80-2.

⁶¹⁸ Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, 2, 8.4, pp. 83-4: "Nec tamen minus, imo magis meritorium est, si cogitatio sancta praecessit."

hands, and a relief force led by Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, had arrived outside the city walls on 5 June. Thus beset from within and without, the frequency of desertions began to escalate. On 10 June a Provençal peasant named Peter Bartholomew told the papal legate Adhémar of Le Puy and the Provençal leader Count Raymond of Toulouse of a series of visions he had experienced at intervals since late December 1097. In these visions St Andrew the apostle had revealed the location of the lance believed to have been used by Longinus to pierce the side of Christ at the crucifixion. The discovery of the Lance in the basilica of Saint Peter in Antioch on 14 June ostensibly proved the legitimacy of Peter's claims, and two weeks later the relic's authenticity was reinforced by the crusader victory against Kerbogha outside the walls of the city; Raymond of Aguilers had carried the relic into battle on 28 June in order that it might serve, in the words of France, as "a tangible manifestation of God's favour to the crusader army".⁶¹⁹ Yet such proofs were considered insufficient to many, and Peter's continued politicisation of his ongoing visions resulted in his undergoing an ordeal by fire at 'Arqah on 8 April 1099. The ambiguity surrounding the cause of his death several days later, either as a direct result of his burns or on account of wounds inflicted upon him by an adoring crowd, enabled Peter's critics and supporters to continue in their opposing stances.

The visions ascribed to Peter Bartholomew, and the various textual representations of these events, have received considerable scholarly attention.⁶²⁰ Key among these is a study by Morris, in which he demonstrates how the first crusaders themselves harnessed the influence of Peter Bartholomew in order to mould policy.⁶²¹ Integral to this line of reasoning is the potential influence of the medieval visionary, a theme which France engages with in greater

⁶¹⁹ France, 'Two Types of Vision', p. 11. Recent scholarship has challenged the previously prevailing view that the discovery of the Holy Lance, and the subsequent zeal that this inspired, was directly responsible for the crusader sally from the city. See especially Asbridge, 'The Holy Lance of Antioch'.

⁶²⁰ This scholarship is discussed in more detail in the Introduction.

⁶²¹ Morris, 'Policy and Visions'.

detail in his examination of Peter's "highly political" revelations.⁶²² It is precisely this potentiality for political influence which underpins the contemporary anxieties regarding legitimacy and proof which are explored here. The significance that might be attributed to dreams and visions, and by extension to a dreamer or visionary, resulted in a desire to authenticate the truly revelatory, thus separating away and discrediting the mundane. While Morris and France have shown how this anxiety is reflected in the sources for the First Crusade with particular reference to Peter Bartholomew, the following analysis represents a survey over a broader chronological span, with the added exploration of how twelfth-century understandings of vision theory were manifested.

The narrative of Peter Bartholomew's visions as presented by the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum* includes one of the only nominal usages of *visum* in the corpus of crusade histories examined for this thesis. St Andrew is described as having appeared to Peter Bartholomew to advise him of the location of the lance which had pierced Christ's side at the crucifixion. At first, Peter was reluctant to tell the other pilgrims what had been revealed to him because he feared that he had seen an "apparition" (*visum*).⁶²³ He suspected that he had seen a deception, a figment of his imagination. The use of *visum* serves to emphasise the potentially deceptive quality, in line with the definition of the term provided by Macrobius; a *visum* has no higher significance.

It has been argued that the work widely attributed to Peter Tudebode represents a reworking of a no-longer-extant recension of the *Gesta Francorum*.⁶²⁴ Tudebode transposed verbatim the sentence in which Peter Bartholomew feared that he had witnessed a *visum*, suggesting that this means of expression was deemed satisfactory for wholesale incorporation by

⁶²² France, 'Two Types of Vision', p. 9.

⁶²³ *GF*, p. 59: "Ipse autem timens reuelare consilium apostoli, noluit indicare nostris peregrinis. Estimabat autem se uisum uidere."

⁶²⁴ Bull, 'The Relationship Between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode'.

Tudebode. As discussed above, the *Gesta Francorum* also represents the base text for three further, more detailed and theologically erudite, prose crusade narratives. All three of these derivative, non-participant narratives alter the language used in their treatments of Peter Bartholomew and his visions, choosing instead to incorporate the motif of the deceptive dream and excising *visum* altogether. In his *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Baldric writes that Peter feared that he would not be believed as the vision had been presented to him in the form of a dream (*somniantis more*).⁶²⁵ The couching of the vision within a dream subverts its potential revelatory significance. Peter is no longer concerned that he has seen an apparition, or *visum*, but that it was merely a dream. It could be argued that Baldric's inclination towards the poetic, which is often manifested in artful alliteration and assonance, renders this alteration insignificant. However, both Guibert of Nogent and Robert the Monk also erase *visum* from their versions.

In Guibert's *Dei gesta* Peter Bartholomew initially considers his experience to have been nothing more than the "mockery of dreams" (*ludibriis somniorum*) which so commonly afflicts everyone.⁶²⁶ Here the *Dei gesta* engages with the concept of the delusory dream as a fiction. Peter is represented as fearful of pursuing the truth couched within the allegory of this apparent *somnium*. According to Robert the Monk, and in a moment of alliterative flair, Peter Bartholomew withheld details of his experiences as he feared that "he had seen the vision in vain" (*vanam visionem vidisse*).⁶²⁷ Peter makes this statement in direct speech at a later narrative moment, and presumably therefore the more confident *visio* is used in order to

⁶²⁵ BB, 3, p. 70: "His dicitis, beatus disparuit apostolus. Peregrinus, his auditis, siluit; responsum enim apostoli nemini propalare uoluit; estimabat siquidem se, somniantis more, uisionem istam uidisse."

⁶²⁶ GN, 5.19, p. 221: "Cuius visionis conscius neminem homo isdem facere tunc uoluit nec eam apud se tanti pendit, ut ludibriis somniorum, quibus pene indesinenter afficimur, maius in ullo estimaret valere aliquid." English translation is from Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, 5, p. 101.

⁶²⁷ RM, 7, p. 68: "Ego uero tunc non ausus fui hoc alicui indicare, existimans me uanam uisionem uidisse."

reflect the later conviction which led Peter to confide in certain of the crusade leaders and was reinforced by the successful *inventio* of the relic.

Visum fell victim to the editorial rigour of Baldric, Guibert, and Robert. This may well be on account of the term's rarity; it is certainly unusual to find it used in relation to a visionary experience in texts from this period, as opposed to its much more common use as denoting sight or the quality of being visible. *Visum* therefore represents a quirk of the *Gesta Francorum*'s style which was later erased. It is also possible that the inherent mundanity of a *visum* rendered the term inappropriate to the monastically-educated redactors. *Somnium* conveys the same illusory quality without the implication of complete mundanity. Thus the portrayal of Peter as afraid that he had experienced a *somnium* provides grounds for his hesitation (namely, fear of pursuing the interpretation of his dream), while leaving conceptual room for the experience to have divine significance. Why seek interpretation for something that was self-evidently mundane, as a *visum* was? Indeed, these factors need not be mutually exclusive.

More broadly, this reveals that the process by which these authors sought to refine the *Gesta Francorum* is evident at a micro level. These authors engaged with an intellectual process, the connotations of which are identifiable at a lexical scale. While not indicative in every instance, the careful scrutiny of the language employed in discussions of the miraculous, and specifically the visionary does have the potential to reflect various facets of medieval understandings of these themes and their role in narrative.

The same anxieties surrounding the terminological misrepresentation of the divine and the mundane are reflected in the epistemologies of proof evidenced in crusade narratives. Proof is seen to function at several levels, and discussions of proof reveal much about what an author expected to be found convincing; proof is demonstrated through the employment of

recognisable motifs. The character of the dreamer had considerable bearing upon the probability that their experiences would be accepted as revelatory. A priest described as having received a vision of St Ambrose in Albert of Aachen's work is identified as renowned for his good reputation and excellent behaviour, presumably to encourage belief in his story.⁶²⁸ The importance placed upon character is particularly apparent in the case of Peter Bartholomew as the contemporary debate over the legitimacy of his visions is reflected in the narrative sources; his character represents an important piece of evidence for the arguments of both sides. Ralph of Caen, in his explicitly negative portrayal of Peter, most clearly reveals the belief that the likelihood of divine visitation was dependent upon personal merit. He places his objections to Peter into direct speech, which he in turn attributes to Bohemond. That St Andrew should appear to one such as Peter is described as a "fine fabrication" (*pulcre... commentum*): Bohemond had heard that Peter frequented taverns, ran through markets, and was a "friend of nonsense".⁶²⁹ That Saint Andrew should have "appeared" (*apparuisse*) to such a man was unthinkable. Bohemond sarcastically exclaims that: "The apostle chose a worthy person to unfold the secret of the heavens to!"⁶³⁰ Ralph's description of Bohemond's derision appears to represent more than mere literary art when cross referenced with a comment by Raymond of Aguilers, in which he notes how Bohemond and his men mocked the Provençals for their loyalty to Peter and the Holy Lance after the seizure of Ma'arrat-an-Numān.⁶³¹

Ralph's portrayal of Peter reads like a prolonged attempt at character assassination, and it is clear from this that character (and more specifically, piety) represented an important factor in the way that visionaries were perceived at the turn of the twelfth century. This resonates with

⁶²⁸ AA, 4.38, p. 306: "In initio namque huius uie quidam sacerdos, uir boni testimonii et eximie conuersationis in Italie partibus manens, mihi a puericia notus..."

⁶²⁹ RC, 311, p. 87: "Pulcre" inquit "commentum est beatum Andream apparuisse homini, quem audio cauponas frequentare, for a percurere, nugis amicum, triuiis innatum."

⁶³⁰ RC, 311, p. 87: "Honestam elegit sanctus apostolus personam, cui celi panderet archanum!"

⁶³¹ RA, p. 98: "...irrisit nos Boimundus et socii eius."

the Augustinian theory that things which are spiritually perceived only become truly significant through interpretation by the intellect, which is in itself dependent upon piety. Beyond this, learning and social standing also appear to have contributed to believability. In his consideration of the interpretation of dreams in his *Policraticus*, John of Salisbury commented that “careful attention is to be given to the condition of the actors, to the facts, and to the circumstances, for as Nestor says, with regard to the public interests credence should be given to a king’s dream”.⁶³² In this, he is drawing upon Macrobius’ consideration of why Scipio was the ‘proper person’ to receive a dream about the future of Rome and of Carthage, in which the Neoplatonist refers to Nestor’s speech in *The Iliad*.⁶³³ The reasoning here is that credibility should be given to dreams in instances where the standing of the recipient is appropriate to the truth which it communicates. This line of reasoning is echoed in the First Crusade narratives. Raymond of Aguilers, the most enthusiastic supporter of Peter Bartholomew, commented that Peter had feared to reveal his visions to Raymond of Saint-Gilles and Bishop Adhémar because of his poor situation.⁶³⁴ Further, Raymond notes that when he tried to tell people of a later vision in which Peter saw the crucified Christ, some could not understand why God would have a conversation with someone as poor and illiterate as Peter.⁶³⁵ In these instances, it is intellect and social standing which have a bearing on the perceived legitimacy of the visionary’s claims. France attributes the general acceptance of Stephen of Valence’s vision (which is discussed in detail below) to Stephen’s status as a cleric; it was Peter’s similarity to the influential holy man of the period that tarnished him as

⁶³² John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, p. 95: “In his uero omnibus qualitas personarum, rerum et temporum diligentissime obseruatur, Vt enim ait Nestor: de statu publico regis credatur somnio aut eius qui magistratum gerit uel re quidem uel rei uicina praedestinatione.” English translation is from John of Salisbury, *Frivolities of Courtiers and Footprints of Philosophers, Being a Translation of the First, Second, and Third Books and Selections from the Seventh and Eighth Books of the Policraticus of John of Salisbury*, trans. J. P. Pike (London, 1938), p. 77.

⁶³³ Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, 1.3, pp. 11-2.; Cf. Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. M. Hammond (London, 1987), 2.76-85, p. 21.

⁶³⁴ RA, p. 70.

⁶³⁵ RA, p. 116: “Unde etiam de lancea Domini dubitabant.”

wielding potentially volatile power.⁶³⁶ The legitimating impact of social position is reflected in Albert of Aachen's – and later in William of Tyre's – portrayal of Peter Bartholomew as a cleric.⁶³⁷ This representation of Peter by Albert could be seen as an elevation of status, or as a reflection of information given to Albert from his oral sources. However, William of Tyre was not wholly reliant upon Albert for his information and undoubtedly had access to material describing Peter as a poor peasant. For example, he is known to have drawn upon Raymond of Aguilers' *Historia Francorum*, which is adamant in its portrayal of Peter as a peasant.⁶³⁸ Adopting Albert's portrayal of Peter therefore elevated the visionary's social standing, which has been identified by Asbridge as a means by which William sought to validate Adhémar's belief in the relic.⁶³⁹

Peter's learning became an important bone of contention as the debate surrounding the authenticity of his claims became more heated, and this is reflected in the narratives. Another critic of Peter Bartholomew, Fulcher of Chartres, describes how many began to think that the lance unearthed at Peter's urging was not the genuine lance that had pierced Christ's side, but another falsified by that "stupid man".⁶⁴⁰ A further method of proof employed by Raymond is reliant upon Peter's lack of schooling. Raymond notes that he and the bishop of Orange questioned Peter on whether or not he was knowledgeable of the liturgy. Given that many of Peter's visions resulted in his being given strict liturgical instructions, a lack of familiarity with liturgy on Peter's part would prove the divine origin of that information and, by extension, of his visions in general. Raymond explains that should Peter say that he was

⁶³⁶ France, 'Two Types of Vision', pp. 1-20.

⁶³⁷ AA, 4.43, p. 316: "Hic etenim clericus domno episcopo Podiensi Naimero... Qui uerbis illius credentes ad locum quem clericus asserebat communi decreto uenerunt."; WT1, 63, 6.14, pp. 324-5: "Cuidam enim Petro clerico ut dicitur de regione que dicitur Provincia ad episcopum Podiensem et dominum comitem accessit Tolosanum..."

⁶³⁸ E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, trans., *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (New York, NY, 1943), 1, p. 29; RA, 7, pp. 56-7.

⁶³⁹ Asbridge, 'The Holy Lance of Antioch', p. 25.

⁶⁴⁰ FC, 18.3, pp. 237-8: "...contigit multos de clero ac populo haesitare, quod non esset illa dominica lancea, sed ab homine illo stolido altera erat fallaciter inventa."

indeed aware of the liturgy then people would disbelieve the credibility of his story. However, Peter answered in the negative, only being able to remember the *Pater Noster*, *Credo in Deum*, *Magnificat*, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, and *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*.⁶⁴¹

Peter Bartholomew was repeatedly pressed by St Andrew to divulge his message to Adhémar and the Provençal count. According to Raymond of Aguilers, he was miraculously prevented from taking to sea by a storm, and even had illness inflicted upon him, that he might finally cease his protestations and seek an audience with the crusade leadership.⁶⁴² The initial reluctance attributed to those considered to be true visionaries should also be viewed as a legitimacy device. In this *topos*, the recipient attempts to ignore the vision at first, thus expressing humility. They are then revisited (as these dreams are often similar to the oracular Macrobian type, they usually feature an authority figure), and urged to act upon the content of their visions, often in a menacing or threatening way.

The imagery of the reluctant visionary repeatedly urged to divulge their experience is a recurring one in crusade narratives. Fulcher presents Pirrus's betrayal of Antioch as having been orchestrated directly by God; appeased by the prayers and observances of the army, God "appeared" (*apparuit*) to and addressed the Turk directly.⁶⁴³ Pirrus kept the vision a secret at first, but God visited him again. Troubled, Pirrus told Yaghi-Siyan, the prince of Antioch at that time, of his visions but was spurned. Visited by God a third time, Pirrus then contacted the Christian army to plot the betrayal of the city to them.⁶⁴⁴ The threefold pattern of repeated visitation and denial is evocative of both the Denial and Restoration of Simon Peter in the New Testament gospels, and represents another recognisable, and therefore trustworthy,

⁶⁴¹ RA, p. 76.

⁶⁴² RA, pp. 71-2.

⁶⁴³ FC, 17.2, pp. 230-1.

⁶⁴⁴ FC, 17.2-5, pp. 231-2.

motif.⁶⁴⁵ Guibert of Nogent, likely having come across this anecdote in Fulcher's work, flags up how ostensibly inappropriate Pirrus was as a recipient of divine vision. It is noted that we ought not to be surprised at this from he "who made himself audible to Cain and Hagar, and made an angel visible to an ass".⁶⁴⁶ The fact that Guibert addressed this issue demonstrates that piety and social standing were widely accepted as important factors in the believability of vision accounts; as a Muslim Turk, Pirrus was not the typical recipient of divine vision.⁶⁴⁷ However, in this instance the positive outcome of this vision for the crusaders rendered the episode explicable.

Consideration of vision stories from across the corpus of First Crusade narratives reveals varying conceptualisations of the physicality of visions, and again the events surrounding the visions of Peter Bartholomew provide excellent comparative material. In both the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano*, Peter Bartholomew is described as having been physically "carried" (*portavit*) into Antioch in order to be shown the location of the Holy Lance.⁶⁴⁸ Here, Peter Tudebode's narrative diverges from the *Gesta Francorum*. When told to return to the camp, Peter objected: how could he escape when there were Turks on the city walls? In response, the apostle said: "Go, do not fear", and upon leaving the city the Turks said nothing to him.⁶⁴⁹ Peter's experience is portrayed in a literal sense; he was corporeally transported into the city, and was forced to then escape on foot in order to return to the camp where he had been visited by the apostle. Where the *Gesta*

⁶⁴⁵ Matthew 26.33-5; Mark 14.29-31; Luke 22.33-4; John 13.36-8, 21.

⁶⁴⁶ GN, 7.32, p. 331. English translation is from Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, 7, pp. 156; Cf. WM, 4.363, p. 636.

⁶⁴⁷ While Pirrus is occasionally identified as Armenian (for example in Asbridge, *The Crusades*, p. 72), Guibert and his sources appear to have believed that he was a Turk. See *GF*, p. 44; *FC*, 17.2, p. 231; and *GN*, 5.2, p. 200.

⁶⁴⁸ *GF*, 9.25, p. 59: "In illa vero hora accepit eum sanctus Andreas, et portavit eum usque ad locum ubi lancea erat recondita in terra." Cf. *PT*, p. 101: "In illa vero hora accepit eum sanctus Andreas et portavit eum in civitatem usque ad locum ubi lancea erat recondita in terra."

⁶⁴⁹ *PT*, p. 101: "'Vade; ne timeas.' Tunc Petrus cepit exire de civitate, videntibus Turcis, nichilque ei dixerunt."

Francorum says nothing of how Peter was returned from his situation, Peter Tudebode inserts a brief account of a miraculous return.

Raymond of Aguilers described this event in a similarly literal way, but rather than have Peter physically carried by the apostle, he is instead led to the location of the lance.⁶⁵⁰ Once there, St Andrew placed the lance into Peter's hands (*in manibus michi*). Raymond emphasises the physicality of this experience by having Peter reiterate that he had held it in his hands.⁶⁵¹ Further, Peter offers to take the lance to Count Raymond, but St Andrew insists that only once Antioch had been captured could Peter return to that place in order to search for the lance. The lance reburied, Andrew returned Peter to his tent and then withdrew (*recesserunt*).⁶⁵²

The three theologically refined texts appear to distance themselves from the literal physicality of these existing narratives. Robert has the apostle simply show (*ostendit*) the location of the lance to Peter, with no further consideration of how.⁶⁵³ Similarly, in Baldric's narrative, St Andrew conveyed (*deportauerat*) Peter to the place that he might reveal (*demonstrauerat*) the location of the relic to the pilgrim.⁶⁵⁴ While Baldric provides us with the means by which Peter was able to see the location of the lance (namely, that he was carried), it is unclear whether he understood this to have taken place in the literal, physical sense suggested by the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode. To put it another way, it is unclear whether Peter was understood to have perceived this with his physical or spiritual sight. Guibert of Nogent, by contrast, specifies that the apostle "spiritually carried" (*spiritualiter asportavit*) Peter to

⁶⁵⁰ RA, p. 69: "Surrexi itaque et secutus sum eum in civitatem nullo circumdatus amictu preter camisiam et induxit me in ecclesiam beati Petri apostoli per septentrionalem portam quam antea Sarraceni maumariam fecerant."

⁶⁵¹ RA, p. 70: "Dumque eam in manibus meis tenerem, lacrimando pre gaudio."

⁶⁵² RA, p. 70: "His ita peractis super murum civitatis reduxit me in domum meam, et sic a me recesserunt."

⁶⁵³ RM, 7, p. 68: "Et ostendit michi sanctus apostolus locum."

⁶⁵⁴ BB, 3, p. 70: "Beatus tamen Andreas, sicut peregrinus postea referebat, eum ad locum usque deportauerat; ibique quod diu latuerat, totum demonstrauerat."

where the lance was buried.⁶⁵⁵ This idea of being spiritually transported is also evidenced in the *Historia Ierosolimitana* of Albert of Aachen, in which a knight named Hecelo is described as hunting in the forest with Duke Godfrey when, upon growing tired, he was overcome by sleep. He was immediately “carried in spirit to Mount Sinai” (*in spiritu ad montem Syna translatus*), where he witnessed a vision which presaged Godfrey of Bouillon’s future role as advocate of the Holy Sepulchre.⁶⁵⁶ These examples reveal how varied understandings of the physicality of visions and dreams could be. Most striking is the way that the theologically refined texts distance themselves from the explicitly literal versions of the participant narratives. This appears to reflect a heightened sensitivity to interpretative responsibility on the part of monastically educated authors which, it will now be shown, is also evidenced in considerations of a second visionary named Stephen of Valence.

Raymond of Aguilers records that, the night after Peter Bartholomew had delivered St Andrew’s message to Adhémar and Count Raymond, a priest named Stephen had also experienced a vision. Stephen, fearing a Turkish sally from the citadel, had fled into the church of the Blessed Mary to confess and sing psalms with some companions. Stephen remained awake after the others had fallen asleep, and it was then that he was visited by a man described by Raymond as “beautiful beyond all beauty” (*ultra omnem speciem pulcher*).⁶⁵⁷ This is an echo of Raymond’s earlier allusion to Christ as “beautiful above the sons of men” (*speciosus forma pre filiis hominum*), used when describing the mysterious figure who appeared alongside St Andrew during Peter Bartholomew’s visions. Here the phrase is quoted directly from Psalm 44.⁶⁵⁸ An attentive reader or listener, knowing that Peter Bartholomew’s visitor, thus described, had later been identified as Christ, would have known

⁶⁵⁵ GN, 5.19, p. 221.

⁶⁵⁶ AA, 6.34, p. 446: “Ac statim in spiritu ad montem Syna translatus.”

⁶⁵⁷ RA, 8, p. 72.

⁶⁵⁸ RA, p. 51, n. 1; Cf. Psalm 44.3.

who now appeared to Stephen. Christ's identity only became known to Stephen upon recognition of a cross which shone more brilliantly than the sun about the former's head.⁶⁵⁹

In order that a vision be considered truly revelatory, the identification of the figure being seen had to be unequivocal. This is particularly true of the Macrobian understanding of the *oraculum*, for which the truth must be communicated by a person of authority. It is often the individual being seen who makes their identity known to a bemused visionary, either verbally or – as in the case of Stephen's vision of Christ – the identity of the visitor is made plain to the visited by some sign. Several of the narratives of the First Crusade employ the image of the mysteriously appearing cross in their own versions of Stephen's vision. The *Gesta Francorum*, whose version also includes St Peter, describes a "whole cross" (*integra crux*) about Christ's head.⁶⁶⁰ Guibert of Nogent appears to have felt compelled to clarify how this functioned as a proof. The priest (Guibert does not name Stephen in his version) recognised Christ upon the appearance of a cross in a cloud above his head, "as is usually done in paintings" (*ut solet in picturis fieri*).⁶⁶¹ Guibert reiterates this concept through the voice of the priest, who comments that such a symbol is "specifically" (*specialiter*) Christ's.⁶⁶² According to Baldric of Bourgueil, Christ asked Stephen if he knew him. It was then that the cross appeared, and Stephen replied: "If well, my Lord, I perceive from the sign of the cross imposed about your head, I understand you to be our redeemer and crucified."⁶⁶³ The cross, as a symbol of the crucifixion, serves to identify Christ beyond reasonable doubt. According to Raymond of Aguilers, when Peter Bartholomew asked to know the identity of St Andrew's

⁶⁵⁹ RA, 8, p. 73: "Cumque in eum perspicaciter sacerdos intenderet, de capite eius speciem, crucis sole multum clariorem procedere vidit."

⁶⁶⁰ GF, 9.24, p. 57: "Ecce apparuit integra crux in capita eius."

⁶⁶¹ GN, 5.17, p. 219. On the early medieval use of physical appearance as a means of establishing the truthfulness of a vision, see Keskiäho, *Dreams and Visions*, pp. 35-46.

⁶⁶² GN, 5.17, p. 219: "...nisi quia tuis modo conspicio cervicibus imminere crucis effigiem, quod tuam specialiter, quocumque pingitur, insignire consuevit imaginem."

⁶⁶³ BB, 3, p. 68: "Si bene, domini mi, percipio ex signo crucis capiti tuo impositi, crucifixum et redemptorem nostrum te intelligo."

mysterious companion, the saint asked Peter to kiss the man's feet. Peter understood the man to be Christ upon recognition of the marks of crucifixion on his feet, which are vividly described by Raymond as being fresh, as though they had recently been bleeding.⁶⁶⁴ Again, the symbolism of the crucifixion is the key to the identification of the visitor. Several other narratives of the First Crusade use the motif of the appearing cross in their own versions of Stephen's vision.⁶⁶⁵ Notable exceptions include the texts of Albert of Aachen and Ralph of Caen, both of which were written independently of the traditions of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Gesta Francorum* and contain no reference to Stephen or to his vision.

Once Stephen had identified Christ, the latter instructed the former to go to Bishop Adhémar in order to advise him that the army's current privations were the result of sin. Should Adhémar follow St Andrew's instructions, then in five days' time Christ's mercy would be with them.⁶⁶⁶ This latter remark is an allusion to the discovery of the Holy Lance in the basilica of St Peter. The accuracy of the prediction functions as proof of the legitimacy of Stephen's vision.

While Stephen does not require defences of his character, the narratives do still engage with methods of establishing proof. The majority of these work to prove that Stephen's vision truly was of Christ. This is in marked contrast to the various methods employed in both defences and condemnations of Peter Bartholomew, as set out above. As John France has shown, Stephen's social standing as a cleric made him appear less volatile than Peter, who bore an uncomfortable resemblance to the holy man of antiquity.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁴ RA, 8, p.75: "Festinus itaque volens accedere, vidit plagam unam super pedem eius, ita recentem et sanguinolentam ac si modo facta fuisset."

⁶⁶⁵ PT, p. 99; RM, 7, p. 67.

⁶⁶⁶ RA, 8, p. 73: "Si feceritis quæ ego precipio vobis, usque ad quinque dies, vestri miserebor."

⁶⁶⁷ France, 'Two Types of Vision'.

While it has already been demonstrated how the three theologically refined texts – those of Baldric, Guibert and Robert – altered their portrayals of visions at a lexical level by omitting *visum* from their treatments of Peter Bartholomew, scrutiny of the various versions of Stephen of Valence’s vision reveals that this sensitivity is also discernible here. In this instance, an anxiety surrounding the consciousness of the visionary at the moment of his experience is revealed. It has been established that a truly revelatory vision could be experienced either when awake, or when asleep in the form of a dream, and that schemata such as that of Macrobius are responses to the difficulties surrounding this latter type of experience. Both the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode record Stephen as simply lying prostrate when he experienced his vision.⁶⁶⁸ According to Raymond of Aguilers, Stephen was awake.⁶⁶⁹ Guibert, Baldric and Robert all alter the consciousness of Stephen in their own versions of the event. Both Guibert and Robert describe Stephen as asleep.⁶⁷⁰ Baldric, on the other hand, provides a far more elaborate consideration of Stephen’s consciousness at the time of his vision. In direct speech, Stephen proclaims that he had experienced a “vision” (*uisionem*), and pre-empts challenge by asserting that he is not mistaken; it was not “imagination” (*fantasiam*), nor was it “the trifling of dreams” (*somniorum ludificacionem*). Stephen had chosen one night to pray in the church of the Holy Mother of God, that she may intercede in the suffering of the Christian army. He notes that he does not know whether he was awake or “half lulled to sleep” (*semisopitus*) when he “saw” (*uidi*) Jesus Christ,

⁶⁶⁸ *GF*, 9.24, p. 57; *PT*, p. 99.

⁶⁶⁹ *RA*, p. 73.

⁶⁷⁰ *GN*, 5.17, p. 219; *RM*, 7, p. 67: “Dum quadam nocte in ecclesia sue caste genitricis dormiret.”

accompanied by the Virgin Mary and St Peter.⁶⁷¹ He beheld all of these truly and not as a madman, as had apparently been claimed by others.⁶⁷²

Orderic Vitalis follows Baldric in portraying Stephen as half asleep.⁶⁷³ Elsewhere in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in his version of Herlequin's Hunt, Orderic emphasises the consciousness of the visionary.⁶⁷⁴ The witness to this vision, a priest named Walchelin of Bonneval, is recorded as having seen a great procession of sinners, each suffering the torments appropriate to their roles in life.⁶⁷⁵ Here Orderic associates the protagonist's alertness and consciousness with honesty.⁶⁷⁶ Raymond of Aguilers similarly places legitimacy emphasis on consciousness elsewhere in his narrative; Anselm of Ribemont comments that he was awake and vigilant when he saw his deceased comrade Engelrand.⁶⁷⁷ It is perhaps notable that these latter examples concern non-saintly visionary objects more akin to ghostly apparitions (though the implication is that Engelrand was a martyr). Alternatively, it may be the case that Guibert, Baldric and Robert chose to alter the consciousness of Stephen not because saintly vision was more common when in sleep, but in order to deal with the issue of there being other people present at the time. By describing Stephen as asleep, they emphasise the internal, mental nature of the apparition in a way reminiscent of Augustine's spiritual vision. Whatever the reason, the fact that all three of these authors chose to alter Stephen's state of consciousness reveals the importance of that designation to the appropriate representation of visions.

⁶⁷¹ BB, 3, p. 67. "Fratres et amici mei, audite uisionem r quam uidens uidi. Quam ne putetis fantasiam, uel somniorum ludificacionem, si mencior, meam uolo deleatis inpuenciam. Dum in ecclesia sancte Dei genitricis pernoctare decreuissem, pro nobis utcumque intercessurus, nescio uel uigilans uel semisopitus, nescio, Deus scit, dominum nostrum Iesum Christum uidi, nec tamen agnouit."

⁶⁷² BB, 3, p. 68: "Hos omnes aspicebam; neque, ut dictum est, homo dementatus, dominum meum sanctumque illud collegium agnoscebam."

⁶⁷³ OV 5, 9.10, pp. 98-100.

⁶⁷⁴ On the Hunt see Schmitt, *Ghosts*, pp. 93-121.

⁶⁷⁵ OV 4, 8.17, pp. 236-51.

⁶⁷⁶ Marcus Bull has considered Herlequin's Hunt in relation to understandings of the materiality of visions as derived from Augustine of Hippo's *De cura gerenda pro mortuis*, and the potential for visions to reflect varying understandings of the afterlife. See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, p. 198.

⁶⁷⁷ RA, p. 109: "Non insomnis quidem, sed uigilanter."; See Chapter 3, section 2.2.

The practicalities of vision are discussed elsewhere by Robert the Monk. In a dialogue between Bohemond of Taranto and Pirrus, who was responsible for the betrayal of the city of Antioch to the crusaders, it is discussed how the celestial army was seen by many at the battle outside Antioch on 28 June 1098. Having been asked where such an innumerable army might camp, Bohemond explained that the army was one of martyrs, who had come to fight the unbelievers on earth.⁶⁷⁸ Pirrus then asks how such an army might come by their white horses, shields and banners.⁶⁷⁹ Bohemond, admitting that this question is too great for his own understanding, defers to his chaplain, who explains that, when on earth, the otherwise imperceptible spirits of the righteous take up “bodies of air” (*aeria corpora*) so that they may be visible.⁶⁸⁰ It should not be wondered at that God who brought the essence of all things out of nothing should change matter as he pleases.⁶⁸¹ Bull has shown how the theory behind this passage can be traced to Augustine of Hippo’s *De cura gerenda pro mortuis*, insofar as it echoes the theologian’s argument that the dead do not take up physical bodies when they appeared to the living.⁶⁸²

It is while discussing the celestial army at Antioch that Baldric also engages with aspects of vision theory. He notes that not all were able to see the vision; the Lord reveals his secrets to whosoever he may choose. Thus, some were confused and some were shown their impending triumph.⁶⁸³ Baldric’s confident stance on the selective visibility of the divine may explain why he was content to portray Stephen as unsure whether he was asleep or awake at the time

⁶⁷⁸ RM, 5, p. 51: “Hii sunt qui pro fide Christi martirium sustinuerunt, et in omnem terra contra incredulos dimicaverunt.”

⁶⁷⁹ RM, 5, p. 52: ““Et si de celo veniunt, ubi tot albos equos, tot scuta, tot vexilla inveniunt?””

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.: “Cum omnipotens Creator angelos suos sive iustorum spiritus mittere disponit in terram, tunc assumunt sibi aeria corpora, ut per ea nobis innotescant, qui videri non possunt in spiritualia essentia sua.”

⁶⁸¹ RM, 5, p. 52: ““Nec mireris si omnipotens factor omnium transmutat materiam a se factam in quamlibet speciem, qui universa de nichilo adduxit in essentiam.””

⁶⁸² Bull also engages with the paradox which this line of thinking introduces, namely how the celestial knights, if they truly were immaterial, were able to look as though they were providing real military aid in the battle. See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp. 196-8.

⁶⁸³ BB, 3, p. 81: “Non tamen omnes id uidere potuerunt, sed quibus dominus uoluit archanum suum reuelauit. Reuelauit autem aliis ad confusionem, aliis ad instantis triumphis ostensionem.”

of his vision; if he was awake during the experience it did not necessarily follow that others present would also see the apparition.

Sight, whether through bodily, spiritual or intellectual means, was not the only way of perceiving the dead. Raymond of Aguilers' description of St Andrew's third visit to Peter Bartholomew is set in Peter's tent, this time whilst he was in the company of a certain Lord William Peter. Raymond notes that although William Peter had not seen the saint, nor his mysterious companion who had also appeared to Peter, he had heard the conversation and could vouch for Peter.⁶⁸⁴ This represents an opportunity, on Raymond's part, to offer the proof of William Peter's testimony to Peter Bartholomew's claims. It also reveals that it was considered theoretically viable for a vision to be perceptible to other present humans by sound alone. A similar logic is revealed in Gerald of Wales's *Itinerarium Kambriae*, in which he describes how "unclean" (*immundos*) spirits were known to have conversed with the inhabitants of a certain area of Pembrokeshire "not visibly, but sensibly" (*non visibiliter sed sensibiliter*).⁶⁸⁵ In the house of one man named Stephen these spirits would converse with those who happened to be visiting, declaring aloud that individual's misdeeds since birth, which they had formerly hoped to keep private.⁶⁸⁶ Raymond is not unusual in representing the otherworldly, divine or otherwise, as visibly imperceptible but audibly discernible. While we cannot know precisely how similar Raymond of Aguilers' understanding of vision theory was to that of, for example, Baldric, it adds a potential layer of implication to Stephen of Valence's consciousness at the time of his vision. It is possible that Guibert and Robert chose to have Stephen experience a strictly spiritual vision, whilst asleep, in order to minimise

⁶⁸⁴ RA, p. 71: "Et hæc dominus meus Willelmus Petrus audivit, licet non videret apostolum."

⁶⁸⁵ *Itinerarium Kambriae*, 1.12, p. 93: "In his autem Pembrochiaie partibus nostris accidit temporibus, spiritus immundos cum hominibus non visibiliter sed sensibiliter conversatos."

⁶⁸⁶ *Itinerarium Kambriae*, 1.12, p. 93: "In domo Stephani, majori miraculo, cum hominibus sermocinari consueverat; et conviciantibus ei, quod plerique ludrico faciebant, a nativitatis tempore gesta, quae minus ab aliis vel audiri vel sciri voluerant, palam improperabat."

potential challenges based upon the lack of corroborative evidence from those who were present at the time; the senses of the body played no part in spiritual perception.

2.2. The Functions of Visions in First Crusade Narratives

The number of visions contained in the narratives of the First Crusade outnumber those of the Second, Third and Fourth Crusades combined. This is the result of several factors: first, the transposition of the *Gesta Francorum*'s vision accounts into several derivative works necessarily increases the proportion of texts which engage with visions; second, the relative contemporary renown achieved by visionaries such as Peter Bartholomew and Stephen of Valence meant that a full treatment of the First Crusade required their inclusion (even in instances where an author clearly disagreed with their authenticity); third, such visions functioned in conjunction with the portrayal of the crusade as a divinely orchestrated undertaking as a whole. This latter fact meant that the inclusion of visions of revelatory significance appear less theologically jarring; the divine support which made the endeavour successful as a whole was also manifest in the proclivity of its participants to receive divine communications.

As outlined above, a revelatory vision represents a moment in which a divine truth might be communicated directly to a recipient. It is a process which requires no living intermediary, thus circumventing the regular Church hierarchy through which an individual might ordinarily interact with the godhead. It is the claim to divine truth which enables visions to function as epistemic devices in crusade narratives; divine justification transforms belief into knowledge. The utilisation of visions as a means of attributing divine authority to the concept of martyrdom in First Crusade narratives has been discussed by Morris, who coined the term “visionary insurance” for this function.⁶⁸⁷ The mechanics underpinning visionary insurance

⁶⁸⁷ C. Morris, ‘Martyrs on the Field of Battle before and during the First Crusade’, *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. D. Wood, *Studies in Church History* 30 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 93-105, p. 103.

are reliant upon the demonstrable truthfulness of the purported vision; the truly divine nature of the vision is integral to the sequence of logic required for justification. When approached as a whole, the visions of First Crusade histories reveal that authors were responding to varying sources of doubt and scepticism. The legitimacy weight of visions can be seen to be used in support of the following: an event or cause, which in this instance is usually the crusade itself; a concept or aspect of dogma (such as martyrdom); a particular relic; or an individual person. At the root of each of the following examples is the author's desire to associate his subject with the divine for legitimacy, and his use of visionary insurance to achieve this.

Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* contains the most elaborate examples of visions as devices for the representation of the First Crusade as divinely sanctioned. He frames the entire expedition as divinely ordained through his portrayal of Peter the Hermit.⁶⁸⁸ Albert's work begins with a description of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem taken by Peter at some point before 1095. One night, Peter's vigil in the Holy Sepulchre was interrupted when, exhausted, he fell asleep. Albert describes how the majesty of the Lord Jesus Christ was revealed to Peter in a vision.⁶⁸⁹ Christ commanded Peter to return home to tell his kindred of "the oppressions and wrongs inflicted on our people and this holy place" and to "stir the hearts of believers to the cleansing of the holy places of Jerusalem".⁶⁹⁰ Albert describes this vision as a "revelation wondrous and worthy of God" (*miram et dignam reuelationem*), thus identifying

⁶⁸⁸ On Peter the Hermit, see especially E. O. Blake and C. Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', in *Monks, Hermits, and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W. J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History* 22 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 440-53. On Peter the Hermit in relation to Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos* and apocalypticism, see J. Rubenstein, 'How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit', in *The Medieval Crusade*, pp. 53-69.

⁶⁸⁹ AA, 1.4, p. 6: "Interim tenebris celo circumquaque incumbentibus, Petrus orandi causa ad sanctum sepulchrum rediit, ubi sicut orationibus et uigiliis fatigatus somno decipitur. Cui in uisu maiestas Domino Iesu oblata est, hominem mortalem et fragilem sic dignata alloqui..."

⁶⁹⁰ AA, 1.4, p. 6: "...et in terram cognationis tue quantocius iter accelerabis, calumnias et iniurias populo nostro et loco sancto illatas reserabis, et suscitabis corda fidelium ad purganda loca sancta Ierusalem et ad restauranda officialia sanctorum."

the experience as undoubtedly divine in origin.⁶⁹¹ Were this experience, as portrayed by Albert, to be situated within Macrobius' schema, it would certainly be oracular in nature; the truth of the revelation is imparted by no less an authority figure than Christ. The more common – but similarly revelatory – *uisione* is used on more than one occasion, perhaps to reinforce the exalted nature of the experience. After the “vision” (*uisione*) had withdrawn, Peter reported what he had seen to the patriarch of Jerusalem. Again, Albert styles Peter's experience as a “vision of God” (*uisionem Dei*).⁶⁹² Peter received from the patriarch a “letter of embassy along with the seal of the Holy Cross”, and returned to Europe to preach the cause of Christ.⁶⁹³

In addition to situating the crusade upon firmly divine foundations, Albert returns to the legitimacy power of visions at moments of crisis in the narrative of the expedition. Albert's description of the privations experienced by the crusaders besieged within the city of Antioch in June 1098 is accompanied by an anecdote in which a cleric from Lombardy offered “great solace” (*magnum... solatium*) to the suffering by recounting a story which had been told to him by a priest before he set out for Jerusalem.⁶⁹⁴ In order that the cleric might encourage his audience to believe his story, he notes that this priest was known for his good reputation and excellent behaviour, and that he himself had known that priest from boyhood.⁶⁹⁵ These proofs also function outside the narrative to encourage confidence in the story. The pilgrim, later revealed to be a disguised St Ambrose, asked the priest about the journey that had stirred the leadership and people of so many kingdoms and why they all, with the same desire and

⁶⁹¹ AA, 1.5, p. 6: “...miram et dignam Deo reuelationem...”

⁶⁹² AA, 1.5, p. 6: “Qui in primo diei crepusculo processit a limine templi, patriarcham petiit, uisionem Dei sibi ex ordine aperuit, litteras legationis diuine cum sigillo sancte crucis requirit.”

⁶⁹³ AA, 1.5, p. 6.

⁶⁹⁴ AA, 4.38, p. 306.

⁶⁹⁵ AA, 4.38, p. 306: “In initio namque huius uie quidam sacerdos, uir boni testimonii et eximie conuersationis in Italie partibus manens, mihi a puericia notus...”

intention, sought the tomb of Jesus Christ and flocked together to the city of Jerusalem.⁶⁹⁶

The priest replied that opinions differed regarding the journey; some said that it came from God and Christ, others from the shallow minds of the Frankish leaders and the common people. Further, that those who had travelled through Hungary had been met with so many obstacles that it seemed to many that they would not be able to reach their intended destination.⁶⁹⁷ For these reasons, the priest concluded, his mind was still in doubt.⁶⁹⁸ The pilgrim advised the priest not to believe that the journey was undertaken in the spirit of “shallowness” (*leuitate*), but that it was inspired “by God, to whom nothing is impossible”.⁶⁹⁹ He added that whosoever should meet their death on this journey, as exiles in the name of Jesus and having abstained from avarice, theft, adultery and fornication, would without doubt be numbered among the martyrs of Christ in the court of heaven.⁷⁰⁰ The saint then revealed his identity to the priest, and assured him that in exactly three years’ time those remaining on the journey would, after many trials, achieve victory at Jerusalem.⁷⁰¹ Having said these

⁶⁹⁶ AA, 4.38, p. 306: “...quadam die solito more missam celebraturus ad diocesim sibi commissam solus carpebat uiam trans spacium cuiusdam agelli. Cui in affabilitatis obsequium peregrinus quidam affuit, de uie huius instantia requires, quid super hac adierit, aut quid primum sibi de hac uideatur, cum tot regna, tot principes et uniuersum genus Christianorum sub una intentione et desiderio ad sepulchrum Domini Iesu Christi et sanctam confluerint ciuitatem Ierusalem.”

⁶⁹⁷ Bernard Hamilton has interpreted this passage as a reflection of western European reactions to news of the crusade’s various early defeats in Hungary and Nicaea. See Hamilton, “God Wills It”, p. 90.

⁶⁹⁸ AA, 4.38, p. 306: “Diuersi siuersa super hac sentient uia. Alii dicunt a Deo et Deomino Iesu Christo hanc in omnibus peregrinis suscitatem uoluntatem, alii pro leuitate animi hanc Francigenas | primores et plurimum uulgas insistere, et ob hoc in regno Vngarie et aliis in regnis tot peregrinis occurrisse impedimenta, nec ideo intentionem illorum ad effectum posse pertingere. Unde et meus adhuc hesitat animus, diu huius uie desiderio tactus, et tota in ipsa intentione occupatus.”

⁶⁹⁹ AA, 4.38, pp. 306-8: “Non leuitate aut gratis huius uie credas fuisse exordium, sed a Deo cui nihil impossibile est dispositum...”

⁷⁰⁰ AA, 4.38, p. 308: “Et procul dubio inter martyres Christi in celi aula noueris eos computatos, ascriptos et feliciter coronatos, quicumque in hac uia morte preoccupati fuerint, qui in nomine Iesu exules facti, puro et integro corde in dilectione Dei perseuerauerint, et se ab avaricia, furto, adulterio, fornicatione continuerint.”

⁷⁰¹ AA, 4.38, p. 308: “Ab hodierna die tribus annis euolutis, scias Christianos qui superfuerint post multos labores ciuitatem sanctam Ierusalem et feliciter uictoriam de cunctis barbaris nationibus obtinere.”

things, St Ambrose vanished. According to Albert, those present agreed not to abandon the siege, but to live, die, and suffer all things for Christ's sake.⁷⁰²

This example reveals not only how visions performed a legitimatory function as part of a text, but also how they might fulfil the same role as part of the lived experience of crusade participants. In this anecdote, the faith of the bitterly demoralised audience of crusaders listening to the priest's story is restored. The idea that a vision as related orally could bolster the concept of crusade is not presented as an unusual one, and presumably the anecdote was framed in these terms for this reason. It would certainly be counterintuitive to present a story so sensitive to notions of believability in an alien setting. While this passage may not offer a window onto a historical moment in which a priest reassured the beleaguered crusaders at Antioch, it does shed some light on contemporary receptiveness to the principle behind the legitimatory power of visions beyond the written word. Indeed, the significance of the timescale given for victory at Jerusalem is only identifiable after the fact of the city's capture in July 1099; the ability of that phrase to function as indicative of the revelatory nature of the vision itself relies upon an audience's ability to apply hindsight. The epistemological function of visions was not restricted to demonstrations of the crusade's legitimacy, but was also applied in support of related concepts such as martyrdom for those who died on crusade.

Martyrdom on the First Crusade is a topic which has received considerable scholarly attention in recent decades.⁷⁰³ The fledgling notion that martyrdom could be achieved

⁷⁰² AA, 4.39, p. 308: "Audita hac uisione et promissione ex ueraci fratris relatione, uniuersi timore amittende presentis uite hactenus hesitantes, et fugitiuorum principum amissione turbati, spe et desiderio uite celestis accensi amodo fiunt stabiles, nec ultra aliquo metu mortis a confratribus et urbe se recedere fatentur, sed cum eis uiuere et mori, et omnia pro Christo sufferere."

⁷⁰³ On martyrdom and the First Crusade, see especially J. Flori, 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la première croisade', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34 (1991), pp. 121-39; J. Riley-Smith, 'Death on the First Crusade', in *The End of Strife*, ed. D. W. Loades (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 14-31; Cowdrey, 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade'; Morris, 'Martyrs on the Field of Battle'; S. Shepkaru, 'To Die for God: Martyrs' Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Narratives', *Speculum* 77 (2002), pp. 311-41; P. Buc, *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia, PA, 2015), esp. pp. 152-76.

through death in battle against the enemies of Christendom, an aggressive alternative form of martyrdom, was first popularly evidenced in the mid-eleventh century.⁷⁰⁴ It has been shown to have remained conceptually fluid for at least two further centuries.⁷⁰⁵ Starting here with the First Crusade, this chapter will go on to consider how visions continued to serve as insurance even in narrative histories of the Third and Fourth Crusades.

The clearest example of the visionary insurance of martyrdom in the corpus of First Crusade narratives relates to events surrounding the death of Anselm II of Ribemont, a northern French castellan.⁷⁰⁶ Both Raymond of Aguilers and Ralph of Caen record a vision allegedly experienced by Anselm the night before he was killed during the failed siege of ‘Arqah, which lasted from the February to the May of 1099. Anselm had surprised the priests one morning by calling them to him in order that he might confess his sins and beg God for mercy in the face of his imminent death, despite appearing to be in perfect health.⁷⁰⁷ Anselm explained that the previous night he had seen his comrade Lord Engelrand of Saint Pol, who had died during the siege of Ma’arrat-an-Nu’mān some months previously.⁷⁰⁸ Engelrand had informed the astonished Anselm that those who end their life in the service of Christ never die.⁷⁰⁹ As mentioned above, Anselm is depicted as awake.⁷¹⁰ Engelrand reassured Anselm that he should not be surprised at his beauty, because where he now lived was beautiful, and, having shown his new home to Anselm, he advised his erstwhile companion that tomorrow he himself would be shown to one even more beautiful. Thereupon, noted Raymond, Engelrand was “raised up” (*sublatus*).⁷¹¹ On the following day Anselm was struck by a stone

⁷⁰⁴ Morris, ‘Martyrs on the Field of Battle’, pp. 93-105. For notable exceptions to this rule, see pp. 93-4.

⁷⁰⁵ See C. Smith, ‘Martyrdom and Crusading in the Thirteenth Century: Remembering the Dead of Louis IX’s Crusades’, *Al-Masaq* 15.2 (2003), pp. 189-96; and Housley, *Contesting the Crusades*, pp. 41-2.

⁷⁰⁶ On Anselm of Ribemont, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 63-5, 74, 122-3, 199, 221.

⁷⁰⁷ RA, pp. 108-9.

⁷⁰⁸ On Engelrand of Saint Pol, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 204.

⁷⁰⁹ RA, p. 109: “Equidem non moriuntur illi, qui in Christi servicio vitam finiunt.”

⁷¹⁰ RA, p. 109: “Non insomnis quidem, sed vigilanter.”

⁷¹¹ Ibid.

during a melee. Upon his death he departed “to the place prepared for him by God”.⁷¹² The insinuation here is that Anselm, like Engelrand and his other comrades, who fought bravely and took steps towards their own spiritual wellbeing, would be rewarded with the crown of martyrdom.

This anecdote is included in more detail, and with some key differences, in the narrative of Ralph of Caen. Notably, Ralph is clear that Anselm was asleep when he experienced his vision. When he awoke, Anselm went to report what he had seen to Arnulf of Chocques, who Ralph refers to as a wise man.⁷¹³ Anselm explained to Arnulf that he had witnessed those martyred on the expedition entering heaven, and that he had been advised that he too would join them in heaven soon.⁷¹⁴ Ralph interrupts Anselm’s speech to point out that he had supplied details of one of the people in his vision to Arnulf; namely his name, manner and place and date of death.⁷¹⁵ Ralph does not provide these details, but it is reasonable to suggest that this was in fact a reference to Engelrand. This aside serves only as a form of proof that the people he had witnessed were undoubtedly those who had died on the expedition. As a precaution, Arnulf instructed Anselm to confess, receive the Eucharist, and process about the walls of the city. It was while carrying out these instructions that Anselm was struck by a falling stone, which “strewed his brains” (*sparsit... cerebrum*).⁷¹⁶ At this, “his spirit rose up to its promised blissfulness”.⁷¹⁷

Anselm’s vision and subsequent death serve, in both examples, not only as proof of the doctrine underpinning martyrdom, but as an exemplar of the spiritual state required in order to achieve it. It is this idea that an individual must meet certain spiritual requirements which

⁷¹² Ibid.: “Atque sic, ad locum sibi a Deo paratum migravit ad hoc seculo.”

⁷¹³ RC, 320, p. 90: “Is in meridie, ut est moris, cum lassos somnus ocellos summississet, somnium uidit, quod expectatus, adito sapienti uiro, indicatori meo Arnulfo indicauit.”

⁷¹⁴ RC, 322, p. 91: “Tu quoque in proximo, ne forte inuideas, ad nos conscendes.”

⁷¹⁵ Ibid.: “Nomenque et modum, locumque et diem obitus uiri recolebat.”

⁷¹⁶ RC, 323, p. 91.

⁷¹⁷ Ibid.: “Spiritus ad beatitudinem ascendit promissam.”

is revealed in Albert of Aachen's defence of the crusade, discussed above, in which St Ambrose specifies that those who die on the expedition having abstained from "greed, theft, adultery and fornication" would doubtless be counted among the martyrs in heaven.⁷¹⁸ While neither Ralph nor Raymond explicitly articulates the requirement for contrition and confession, Anselm's diligence in seeking and acting upon the advice of priests appears as an integral part in his qualifying for martyrdom.

By incorporating this anecdote into their histories, Raymond and Ralph may have been responding to contemporary ambivalence surrounding the principle of martyrdom for crusade participants or, more broadly, the sanctity of the crusade itself. It is noted at the beginning of Raymond's *Historia Francorum* that he wrote the work in order to counter the false allegations of those who, having deserted from the crusade during its various difficult periods, had returned to the West to spread what Raymond considered to be slanderous rumours.⁷¹⁹ Similarly, Ralph, having participated in crusade recruitment, would likely have been privy to popular anxieties such as would lead someone to question the legitimacy of crusade, and the truth behind claims that those who died a 'good death' during the undertaking received the crown of martyrdom. Anselm's vision should be interpreted within this broader context of contemporary uncertainty surrounding the doctrine of martyrdom.

The anxiety of what truly befell crusaders in death also surfaces in Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana*. Situated during Fulcher's treatment of Kerbogha's siege of Antioch in the summer of 1098, at a similar moment of desperation to that portrayed by Albert of Aachen when he provided the morale-boosting account of the priest's vision of St Ambrose, is an anecdote surrounding an attempted desertion. The Frankish crusader, having

⁷¹⁸ AA, 4.38, p. 308: "Et procul dubio inter martyres Christi in celi aula noueris eos computatos, ascriptos et feliciter coronatos, quicumque in hac uia morte preoccupati fuerint, qui in nomine Iesu exules facti, puro et integro corde in dilectione Dei perseuerauerint, et se ab avaricia, furto, adulterio, fornicatione continuerint."

⁷¹⁹ RA, pp. 35-6.

already descended part of the way down a rope from the city walls, is confronted by his deceased brother, who assures him not only that God would be with him in his travails, but that his companions who had died thus far on the expedition would also fight alongside him.⁷²⁰ This is an example of a more literal style of writing about the dead also evidenced in some crusade narratives; the dead brother is simply present and no explanation is offered concerning how this has occurred. Despite the absolute absence of terminology relating to visions or dreams, this episode still functions as visionary insurance that the crusade was God's will. This is achieved not only through the ability of the dead brother to be made visible, which implies that his soul is in paradise, but also by the contents of his message, which further implies that his fellow crusaders have been martyred and may therefore continue to offer support in death.

A third function of the visionary in narratives of the First Crusade is as proof of a relic's authenticity. Raymond of Aguilers' crusade narrative contains a relatively large number of visions. As discussed above, it is explicit in the *Historia Francorum* that Raymond was a passionate supporter of Peter Bartholomew and the relic of the Holy Lance. The visions of Peter which led to the discovery of the relic all function as proof of the authenticity of the relic at several levels. The fact that the information of the relic's whereabouts was communicated by the apostle Andrew in the company of Christ, that it was found to be located in the place anticipated and on the predicted day, all contributed to the atmosphere of authenticity surrounding the Holy Lance. Raymond incorporated further visions into his narrative which bolstered the reputation of the relic; indeed, if the number of these corroborative visions are relative to Raymond's perception of the scale of opposition to the Lance, it can be concluded that the relic and the narrative surrounding its discovery proved divisive in the period between the Lance's discovery and the completion of his work.

⁷²⁰ FC, 20.2, p. 246: "...astitit cuidam descendenti frater eiusdem iam mortuus, aiens illi..."

Adhémar of Le Puy's posthumous appearances in Raymond's history focus repeatedly upon his various punishments for doubting the authenticity of the Holy Lance when he was alive.⁷²¹ Raymond records that, two days after Adhémar's burial, he and St Andrew visited Peter Bartholomew. Peter reported Adhémar as having explained that:

I now reside in the heavenly hosts of St Nicholas, but because I hesitated to believe in the Lord's Lance, when, I of all people, should have accepted it, I was led into hell. The hairs on the right side of my head and one half of my beard were singed; and although I am not now chastised, I cannot see the Lord clearly until the full growth of my hair and beard returns.⁷²²

Adhémar's explanation for his punishment functioned as proof that the relic was authentic. Thus, Raymond employed another level of 'visionary insurance' to his defence of the Lance. The fact that Adhémar's intellectual vision was thought to have been damaged on account of his impiety reflects the influence of Augustinian vision theory upon Raymond's conceptualisation of such phenomena.

Raymond also includes visionary material more akin to conventional *translatio* narratives. He records that a priest named Peter Desiderius had approached him while at Antioch and told him that he had experienced a "vision" (*visione*) in which he had been commanded to go to the church of St Leontios, wherein he would find the relics of four saints.⁷²³ These relics needed to be taken with the army when they eventually proceeded to Jerusalem. Raymond records how he reported this story to the bishop of Orange and Count Raymond. Proceeding

⁷²¹ On the posthumous career of Adhémar in Raymond's narrative, see C. Kostick, 'The Afterlife of Adhémar of Le Puy', in *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, ed. P. Clarke and T. Claydon, *Studies in Church History* 45 (2009), pp. 120-9.

⁷²² RA, pp. 116-7: "Ego sum in uno choro cum beato Nicholao, sed quia de lancea Domini dubitavi, qui maxime credere debuisssem, deductus sum in infernum, ubi capilli mei ex hac parte capitis dextera, et medietas barbe conbusta est. Et licet in pena non sim, tamen clare Deum videre non potero, donec capilli et barba sicut ante fuerunt, michi succreverint." English translation is from Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum*, pp. 96.

⁷²³ RA, pp. 131-2. On Peter Desiderius, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, p. 216.

to the church of Leontios, accompanied by Peter, they approached the relics of Saints Cyprian, Epimachus, Leontios and John Chrysostom. There were also some unidentified relics in that place. Raymond himself urged them to leave the unknown relics where they were. However, the unidentified saint visited Peter the following day and demanded to know why they had left his relics behind. He revealed himself to be St George. It took one further visit from the saint before Peter agreed to return to collect his relics.⁷²⁴ In light of the above discussion of the relationship between credibility and the wakefulness of a visionary it is notable that Raymond is careful to identify the priest as “vigilant” (*vigilanti*) at the time.⁷²⁵ In this instance, the vision of the martyr saint to whom the relics belonged functions as proof of their identity. More broadly, this episode serves to strengthen the conceptual ties between the First Crusade and St George; the saint himself commanded that the crusader army should translate his relics. While such examples of visionary material in First Crusade narratives reveal much about its rhetorical utility, conceptualisation and representation, corresponding evidence for the Second Crusade is sparse.

3. The Second Crusade

There is a noticeable dearth of visionary material in the narratives of the Second Crusade. Aside from one brief reference in *DeL*, explored below, none of the Second Crusade texts analysed in this thesis discuss visions or dreams in association with crusading. The reason for this is unclear; dreams and visions were almost certainly part of the rhetorical lexicon of these authors. Helmold of Bosau, for example, includes several examples in his work, but only ever in association with Bishop Vicelin.⁷²⁶ As will be demonstrated below, however, an exploration of the broader themes contained in Helmold’s *Chronica Slavorum* reveals a

⁷²⁴ RA, pp. 131-4. Peter Desiderius’ visions are also discussed in Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 94.

⁷²⁵ RA, p. 133: “Cum vero sacerdos alias reliquias collegisset, et pannis atque pallio eas involvisset, in nocte quae secuta est, astitit ei vigilanti quidam iuvenis quasi .xv. annorum pulcherrimus valde.”

⁷²⁶ See also Chapter 2, section 4.2.

possible reason for the absence of crusade visions in this text. While it has been shown how the miraculous and marvellous was employed by certain of these authors, particularly by Odo of Deuil, it is notable that these do not stretch to incorporate accounts of visions.⁷²⁷ Of course, it may have been that there were simply no accounts of dreams or visions associated with the events of the Second Crusade, though it seems more likely that an awareness of the outcome of the expedition to the East and the 1147 Wendish campaign, in combination with the limited space that our authors appear to have been willing to dedicate to the undertaking, contributed to a disinclination towards the acquisition and inclusion of examples. Something can be gleaned of contemporary perspectives on the latter campaign from the exploration of visions situated externally to crusade narrative, however.

3.1. Visions and the Conversion Efforts of St Vicelin of Oldenburg

Helmold of Bosau reveals something of his perception of the 1147 campaign against the Wends through his representation of an alternative Christian influence on the Slavs elsewhere in his *Chronica Slavorum*. While visions do not feature in Helmold's consideration of the Second Crusade, they are utilised elsewhere in his work. For example, the section of Helmold's chronicle dedicated to the life and posthumous miracles of Bishop Vicelin of Oldenburg (c. 1090-1154) is punctuated with detailed accounts of visions and dreams which engage with a wealth of motifs seen in the vision accounts associated with the First Crusade. Helmold was undoubtedly familiar with Vicelin; he was part of the latter's community at Segeberg, and may have fled with Vicelin to Wippenthorp (later Neumünster) following Pribislav of Lübeck's destruction of Segeberg in 1138.⁷²⁸ In the words of Tschan: "Vicelin had profoundly influenced Hemold as a young man."⁷²⁹ Vicelin is identified by Iben

⁷²⁷ See Chapter 2, sections 4.3 and 4.4.

⁷²⁸ F. J. Tschan, 'Helmold's Life', in *The Chronicle of the Slavs* (New York, NY, 1966), pp. 19-26; S. Rossignol, 'Bilingualism in Medieval Europe: Germans and Slavs in Helmold of Bosau's *Chronicle*', *Central European History* 47 (2014), pp. 523-43, p. 528.

⁷²⁹ Tschan, 'Helmold's Life', p. 24.

Fonnesberg-Schmidt as one of the few who sought to facilitate the conversion of pagans through peaceful means in this period.⁷³⁰ Born in Hameln, Vicelin studied in Laon, northern France before returning to Saxony (c. 1125) in order to preach the gospel among the Abodrites. Following this commission he based himself at Faldera (1127) in order that he might preach among the nearby Wends. A house of regular canons was soon founded at Faldera (Neumünster), and also at Segeberg and Lübeck. In 1149 the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen appointed Vicelin as the bishop of the revived see of Oldenburg, which he presided over until his death in late 1154.⁷³¹

According to Helmold, Vicelin's visionary exploits include: appearing (*apparuit*) to a certain woman regarding withheld alms;⁷³² standing by (*astitit*) another woman in her sleep (*in sompnis*);⁷³³ appearing to an acquaintance of Helmold's in a vision (*in visione*), in which the bishop commented that he now rested with the "most famous" (*famosissimo*) Bernard of Clairvaux;⁷³⁴ and being seen by a woman named Adelburga "in a nocturnal vision" (*in visione nocturna*).⁷³⁵ This hagiographical material constitutes a *vita* of Vicelin internalised within the chronicle, the visions of which function to demonstrate Vicelin's sanctity.

Helmold's consistent representation of the missionary Vicelin as a saintly figure appears in stark contrast to his brief and disparaging consideration of the Wendish Crusade. Helmold concludes his account of the 1147 campaign thus:

⁷³⁰ I. Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147-1254* (Leiden, 2007), p. 49.

⁷³¹ Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades*, p. 50; R. A. Fletcher, *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (New York, NY, 1997), p. 446.

⁷³² HB, 1.78, p. 146.

⁷³³ HB, 1.79, p. 147: "Quod cum multis diebus ageret, sepe dictus pontifex virgini cuidam castae et simplici in sompnis astitit..."

⁷³⁴ Ibid.: "Hic post mortem pontificis necdum expletis triginta diebus audivit eum in visione dicentem repositam sibi requiem cum famosissimo illo Bernardo Clarevallensi."

⁷³⁵ Ibid.: "Grata profecto nec onerosa fiet devoto lectori unius adhuc rei descriptio, quam in laudem Dei et commendacionem pontificis nostri gestam multorum probat noticia."

Finally, when our men were weary, an agreement was made to the effect that the Slavs were to embrace Christianity... Many of them, therefore, falsely received baptism... Thus that great expedition broke up with slight gain. The Slavs immediately afterward became worse: they neither respected their baptism nor kept their hands from ravaging the Danes.⁷³⁶

Helmold's emphasis of Vicelin's sanctity and the inability of the crusade to achieve genuine conversion mirrors the usage of the miraculous and visionary in the *Chronica Slavorum*. Visions therefore represent one of the means by which Helmold was able to emphasise missionary conversion as correct action, in contrast to the forced conversion of the crusade. This is achieved through the ability of visions to demonstrate sanctity. The only Second Crusade narratives to employ this facet of the visionary as a component in the portrayal of that expedition concern the Lisbon campaign.

3.2. Visions and the Conquest of Lisbon

As outlined above, the narrative sources for crusader exploits in Lisbon contain the richest material relating to the miraculous for the Second Crusade. Further, and mirroring the use of visions in Helmold's chronicle, truly detailed visionary material can only be found in associated hagiographical material. In *DeL* visions are mentioned in association with a storm which the crusader fleet endured on the night of 29 May 1147. Raol portrays the storm as an agent of divine chastisement, through which God sought not to destroy the crusader army but

⁷³⁶ HB, 1.65, p. 123: "Ad ultimum nostris iam pertesis conventio talis facta est, ut Slavi fidem Christianam reciperent... Multi igitur eorum falso baptizati sunt... Taliter illa grandis expeditio cum modico emolumento soluta est. Statim enim postmodum in deterius coaluerunt; nam neque baptisma servaverunt nec cohibuerunt manus a depredacione Danorum." English translation is from Helmold of Bosau, *The Chronicle of the Slavs*, 1.65, pp. 180-1.

to reprimand it.⁷³⁷ God is simultaneously portrayed as protector of the army during the ordeal. Those on board the ships are described as having confessed their sins and sought atonement:

Thus it happened that divine grace passed no one by, and, indeed, that everyone congratulated himself upon receiving the singular privilege of a heavenly favour, to such an extent that it would be tedious to relate in detail the divine miracles which were revealed in visions.⁷³⁸

The suggestion that a full consideration of the “divine miracles” (*divina miracula*) and “visions” (*visionum*) would represent too great a deviation represents the employment of a motif; a technique used in order to emphasise the scale of the associated miraculous occurrences. Beyond this brief allusion, Raol does not incorporate visions into his defence of the legitimacy of crusader endeavours at Lisbon.⁷³⁹

The story of the miraculous restoration of speech to the two men on the future site of the church of São Vicente de Fora, as recorded by Raol and in various versions of the Lisbon Letter and discussed in the previous chapter, was later developed to incorporate a vision. The *Indiculum foundationis monasterii S. Vincentii* was written at the church, founded by Rhenish and Flemish crusaders, and has been tentatively dated to 1188.⁷⁴⁰ In the *Indiculum*, the two youths experienced the miracle whilst guarding the tomb of a certain “soldier of Christ” (*Christi militis*) named Henry.⁷⁴¹ The martyred crusader appeared (*apparante*) to them

⁷³⁷ *DeL*, p. 60: “Per totam igitur dominicę ascensionis noctem laborantibus, consors atque custos divina misericordia affuit, ut castigando castigaret et morti non traderet.”

⁷³⁸ *DeL*, pp. 60-1: “Idque adeo actum ut dispensatio divina nullum preteriret, imo etiam cęlestis beneficii singulare privilegium se accepisse unusquisque gratularetur, ut longum sit enumerare per singula quantis visionum imaginibus divina miracula patuerint.”

⁷³⁹ See Chapter 2, section 4.5.

⁷⁴⁰ *Indiculum foundationis monasterii S. Vincentii*, in *Portugaliae monumenta historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintumdecimum. Scriptores 1* (Lichtenstein, 1967), pp. 90-3; Lay, ‘Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry’, p. 19.

⁷⁴¹ *Indiculum foundationis*, 8, p. 92: “Factum est igitur ut duo juvenes ambo surdi, ambo muti a natiuitate, qui uidelicet in stolo cum ipsis uenerant francis, singillatim iuxta sepulchrum Christi militis henrici excubarent...”

carrying a palm frond, explicitly associating him with Jerusalem pilgrimage.⁷⁴² It is important to note that the *Indiculum* is the only source among those discussed here to provide detailed examples of visions. This is likely the result of the purpose of the *Indiculum*; one interpretation is that it was written in response to the removal of the remains of St Vincent to the city of Lisbon by Afonso Henriques in 1173.⁷⁴³ These visions would have therefore functioned to demonstrate the potency of its remaining relics, in the absence of those of its namesake, in order to secure São Vicente de Fora's stake in the devotional landscape of Lisbon.

The absence of visions in narrative renderings of the Second Crusade is thrown into sharp relief when compared to related hagiographical narrative. In the case of Helmold, this comparison appears to have been a deliberate element of the construction of Vicelin as a saintly missionary. Raol's *DeL* only employs the visionary to the point of echoing a motif, though it does succeed in creating the illusion of divine instrumentality without providing a specific anecdote. The remaining texts for the Second Crusade do not even attempt to engage with visions. This dearth does not represent an enduring downward trajectory for the conceptual association between crusading and the visionary; certain sources for the Third Crusade contain examples of saintly intercession in moments of crisis, revealing a continued desire to portray the crusades in terms of divine instrumentality at the turn of the thirteenth century.

⁷⁴² Ibid.: "... ipso ut fertur martire in efigie peregrini palmam ad scapulas deferentis, illis apparente..."

⁷⁴³ Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry', p. 19.

4. The Third Crusade

4.1. The Language of Visions in Third Crusade Narratives

The majority of explicit references to visions in association with the Third Crusade are found in the *Gesta Regis* and *Chronica* of Roger of Howden. Indeed, Roger's works contain a spectrum of terminology relating to visions and dreams, thereby providing an opportunity for any preferences in terminology and representation to be identified. Such analysis reveals that Roger portrayed visions in literal and formulaic terms. For example, in a vision of St Thomas of Canterbury, the saint "appeared" (*apparuit*), and then "slipped away" from before their eyes (*ab oculis eorum elapsus est*).⁷⁴⁴ Similarly, the Virgin Mary "appeared" (*apparuit*) and was later "torn from their eyes" (*avulsa est ab oculis eorum*).⁷⁴⁵ This latter passage is from Roger's later *Chronica*; a reworking of his *Gesta Regis*, in which the Virgin's departure takes a slightly different form. In his earlier work, Roger describes how Mary "ascended into the heavens" (*ascendit in coelum*), whereupon she was "hidden from their eyes" (*suscepit eam ab oculis eorum*) by bright clouds.⁷⁴⁶ The revised version removed the problem of precisely *how* the Virgin disappeared; she simply did. This is not the only occasion where Roger subtly alters the language used in describing the physicality of visions. In 1188 a Cistercian monk was alleged to have had a vision during his sleep, in which a man of "marvellous size" (*mirae magnitudinis*), dressed in white, delivered to him a prophecy in which it was commented that the womb of Henry II's wife would swell against him.⁷⁴⁷ The earlier version of this episode

⁷⁴⁴ *Chronica* 3, p. 43: "His itaque sub trina repetitione dictis, Beatus Thomas ab oculis eorum elapsus est, et statum cessavit tempestas, et facta est in mari tranquillitas magna." On this episode, see also Chapter 3, section 4.3.

⁷⁴⁵ *Chronica* 3, p. 119: "In nocte sequenti, dum milites et servientes multi de exercitu Christianorum vigilassent ante turrin Maledictam, circumfulsit eos lux de coelo, in qua apparuit eis Beata Virgo Maria, mater Christi..."; *Chronica* III, p. 120: "Beata vero Virgo Maria postquam sic locuta est, avulsa est ab oculis eorum, et simul cum illa recessit lumen quod circumfulserat illos." On this episode, see also Chapter 3, section 5.3.

⁷⁴⁶ *GR2*, p. 177: "His dictis beata Virgo ascendit in coelum, et nubes lucida suscepit eam ab oculis eorum."

⁷⁴⁷ *GR2*, p. 55: "Eodem anno quidam monachus ordinis Cisterciensis, vir videm religiosus et timens Deum, vidit visionem hujusmodi super Henricum regem Angliae: apparuit siquidem dormienti illi vir quidam mirae magnitudinis, decorus facie, vestibus albis indutus, et ait illi: 'Vide, lege haec de rege; Levavi

from the *Gesta Regis* is substantially different, with the exception of the words spoken in the vision itself, which were copied verbatim.⁷⁴⁸ The monk who received the vision is instead an abbot of great authority. Among other alterations, Roger changed the vision-specific language; the man “appeared” (*apparuit*) to the abbot in a dream (*in somnis*) in the *Gesta Regis*, but in the *Chronica* it was instead a “vision” (*visionem*) experienced in sleep (*dormientis*). The description of the individual seen in the vision was also altered, from that of an abbot dressed in white, to a man of wonderful magnitude with a handsome face, also dressed in white.⁷⁴⁹ While this could be argued to support the purported interchangeability of these terms, these alterations should rather be seen to represent a conscious change made in order to present the anecdote in terms which conveyed greater confidence. This reasoning assumes, however, the cultural currency of a dialogue in which visions (*visiones*) were of greater revelatory significance than dreams (*somnia*). It is unclear why Roger might have chosen to strengthen his representation of this vision in his *Chronica*; the vision itself is alleged to have taken place the year before Henry died, by which point it was abundantly clear that his relationship with his son Richard had been irreparably damaged. If the former version was penned when Henry still lived, then it might be the case that the version contained in the *Chronica* represents an amendment of that earlier episode in light of Henry’s fate.

signum meum super eum, venter uxoris suae intumescet contra eum, et in tormento tormentum patietur, et inter velatas velabitur.”

⁷⁴⁸ Ibid.: “Interim quidam vir religionis, abbas vero magnae auctoritatis, erat in transmarinis partibus, spiritum prophetiae habens in multis; qui quotidie in orationibus suis postulabat Dominum Jesum Christum ut ostendere ei dignaretur ad quem exitum rex Angliae deveniret de guerra, quae fuit inter illum et regem Franciae; sequenti autem nocte cum praedictus abbas in lecto suo quiesceret, media nocte jam praeterita, apparuit ei in somnis quidam vir religiosus, abbas indutus vestibis albis; et ait illi... His dictis, evanuit ab oculis ejus. Et abbas ille expergefactus, audita memoriae commendabat, considerans eventum rei.”

⁷⁴⁹ Ibid.

4.2. The Functions of Visions in Third Crusade Narratives

Visions can be seen to function as legitimatory in several of the Third Crusade narratives explored in this study. Of the functions performed by visions in First Crusade narratives, it is the visionary insurance of martyrdom which appears most clearly for the crusade of 1189-1192. Crusader martyrdom had begun to crystallise as a concept over the course of the First Crusade.⁷⁵⁰ Aside perhaps from allusions to Henry the Crusader in Portuguese sources, Second Crusade narratives do not contain material which engages with the visionary insurance of martyrdom. This is likely a reflection of the paucity of visionary material as a whole for that campaign, rather than representing a temporary lull in anxieties regarding the spiritual merit of crusade warfare.

Martyrs are discussed in varying degrees of detail in Third Crusade narratives. While Roger of Howden's texts contain the greatest number of references to visions in relation to the Third Crusade, martyrdom is not explored at any length. Brief but confident identification of crusade participants as martyrs can be found in the *Chronicon* of Richard of Devizes.⁷⁵¹ In contrast to these, both *IP1* and *IP2* engage with martyrdom, and to an extent visionary insurance, on a much greater scale. Visionary insurance can be seen to reemerge as a rhetorical device in the narrative histories of the Third Crusade in a marginally more assured way, which suggests that by the late twelfth century the importance of proving martyrdom on an individual basis had lessened somewhat. For example, the *HeFI* refers to those who, on the German expedition, had suffered from acute starvation and fallen behind in their weakened state to be beheaded by pursuing Turks as "martyrs of Christ" (*Christi martyres*).⁷⁵² Arnold of Lübeck also includes this anecdote in his *Chronica*; those members of the German

⁷⁵⁰ Riley-Smith, 'Death on the First Crusade', pp. 14-31.

⁷⁵¹ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 81: "Iubetur edici per cuneos ut in diem tertium acies ordinate sequantur refem, uel mori martirio uel uiribus expugnare Iurusalem." And on p. 84: "Captiui confessores nominis Christiani durum et diuturnum trahebant martirium."

⁷⁵² *HeFI*, pp. 79-80: "Qui etiam, dum non longe abessemus, ab hostibus nos consequentibus decollate Christi martyres efficiebantur."

expedition who no longer had the strength to walk fell upon their faces on the earth, that they might receive martyrdom in the name of the Lord at the hands of the pursuing Turks.⁷⁵³ In these instances, the deaths experienced by the crusaders is evocative of martyrdom as understood from the early Christian tradition, and was therefore perhaps less theologically challenging than other routes to martyrdom on crusade. Further, this is not to say that all of these texts reflect a theologically confident understanding of the doctrine; fragility and insecurity is still revealed. The methods used to lend divine legitimacy to the martyrdom of crusade participants resurface in the *Itinerarium*, but in a nuanced fashion. These are not the detailed vision accounts which guaranteed the martyrdom of Anselm of Ribemont in the narratives of Raymond of Aguilers and Ralph of Caen.

IP1 and *IP2* both represent rich sources for perspectives on crusader martyrdom, and Nicholson has recently surveyed the representation of Templar martyrs in these and other texts, suggesting that such anecdotes were likely generated in light of defeats prior to the Third Crusade in order to bolster recruitment.⁷⁵⁴ Both *IP1* and *IP2* engage with martyrdom. Rather than represent a theologically confident understanding of the doctrine, these repeated references instead reveal a conceptual fragility which is explicitly voiced on occasion. The compiler of *IP2* inserted an account of the winter famine of 1190-1191 into Book One, in which the merit of non-combative death is problematised:

On the basis of the evidence worthy of being recounted it is possible to judge the great extent of the famine, and see that for those who sustained it patiently in the flesh it could be reckoned as a form of martyrdom. But perhaps a murmur of

⁷⁵³ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, 4.11, p. 134: “Cumque vires ad ambulandum non haberent, ceciderunt in facies suas super terram, ut martirium pro nomine Domini susciperent. Inimici vero, irruentes super eos, sine omni miseratione in conspectu omnium eos trucidaverunt.”

⁷⁵⁴ H. J. Nicholson, “Martyrum collegio sociandus haberet”: Depictions of the Military Orders' Martyrs in the Holy Land, 1187-1291’, in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. S. John and N. Morton (Farnham, 2014), pp. 101-118, esp. p. 112.

doubt stands in the way of their receiving the grace of merits; for many unworthy deeds were committed under the pressure of necessity.⁷⁵⁵

This passage represents original material inserted into content derived from Ambroise's *Estoire*.⁷⁵⁶ It is therefore possible that this anecdote reflects a genuine contemporary uncertainty. Earnest assertions of martyrdom appear elsewhere in *IP2*; during a description of the arrival of reinforcements during the siege of Acre the audience is reassured that those "martyrs and confessors" (*martires et confessores*) truly were martyrs.⁷⁵⁷ It is interesting in this instance that the author chooses to specify that those individuals were both martyrs *and* confessors. The latter distinction is unusual in crusade narratives, and may reflect a belief on the part of the author that those who participated in the crusade but did not die during its course still merited heavenly reward. While believed to have been present on the Third Crusade, Richard de Templo did not put *IP2* together until much later. Nicholson has suggested that it was written in preparation for the Fifth Crusade, perhaps between 1216 and 1220, and that it therefore reflects the Third Crusade as it was seen by the following generation. Certainly, this concern can be seen in James of Vitry's consideration of the Fifth Crusade; while spilling much ink over the spiritual merit of non-combatative death on crusade, he never explicitly identified those who died of disease on the banks of the Nile in the winter of 1218-1219 as martyrs.⁷⁵⁸ Richard de Templo may well have been engaging with anxieties contemporary to the eve of the Fifth Crusade, but his imposition of such concerns onto his Third Crusade narrative was not necessarily anachronistic; not only might Richard have been

⁷⁵⁵ *IP2*, 1.73, p. 130: "Quae patienter pro carnis conditione sustinentibus non indigne reputatur pro martyrio... nisi forte gratiae meritorum obstiterit murmur pro scrupulo. Quoniam igitur, urgente necessitate, multa nonnunquam committuntur indigna..." English translation is from Nicholson, trans., *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 1.73, p. 131

⁷⁵⁶ Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 131, n. 281.

⁷⁵⁷ *IP1*, 1.31, p. 317: "Omnes hii et quam plures alii futuri martires et confessores applicantes numero coniuncti sunt fidelium... Vere quidem martires, quorum non minor pars in brevi decessit..."

⁷⁵⁸ M. Tamminen, 'Who Deserves the Crown of Martyrdom? Martyrs in the Crusade Ideology of Jacques de Vitry (1160/70–1240)', in *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Krötzl and K. Mustakallio (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 293–313.

calling upon his own past experiences as a Third Crusade participant, but *IPI*, written closer to the events it describes, also reveals a desire to defend the martyr status of several individuals.

IPI includes a lengthy account of the death of a Templar knight named Jacquelin de Mailly at the battle of the Spring of Cresson on 1 May 1187.⁷⁵⁹ According to *IPI*, Jacquelin was “not afraid to die for Christ”.⁷⁶⁰ When overwhelmed by the sheer number of his admiring and piteous adversaries, he sank to the ground as his soul departed in triumph to heaven with the palm of martyrdom.⁷⁶¹ One might expect the anecdote to end at this point. However, *IPI* continues to develop the events surrounding Jacquelin’s death. First, it is described how the men of Saladin’s army, led on this occasion by his son al-Afdal, believed that they had killed St George.⁷⁶² This was because the Templar had been riding a white horse and bore white armour and weapons.⁷⁶³ Lapina has discussed this anecdote in relation to the misinterpretation of empirical experience. Given the immediate context of the passage it is likely that this story functioned both as a device to ridicule Jacquelin’s enemy, and to strengthen Jacquelin’s claim to martyrdom through comparison with the warrior saint. *IPI* then goes on to describe how Jacquelin’s body was treated; the crowd sought to gain courage from contact with Jacquelin by placing dust which had been sprinkled over the body over their own heads. This imagery evokes two behavioural *topoi*: first, it is reminiscent of classical representations of grief, such as in Homer’s *Iliad* when Achilles mourned the death

⁷⁵⁹ This episode is also discussed by M. Bennet, ‘Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks, and Strong Women: Gender Definitions of Crusade?’, in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S. B. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 16-30; Holt, ‘Between Warrior and Priest’, pp. 185-203; and Nicholson, “‘Martyrum collegio sociandus haberet’”, esp. pp. 105-7. On the location of the battle of the Spring of Cresson, see D. Pringle, ‘The Spring of Cresson in Crusading History’, in *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur la croisades dédiées à Jean Richard: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 231-40.

⁷⁶⁰ *IPI*, 1.2, p. 248: “...mori pro Christo non timuit...”

⁷⁶¹ *IPI*, 1.2, pp. 248-9: “...ad celos feliciter cum palma martyrii triumphator migravit.”

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*

⁷⁶³ Lapina, *Warfare and the Miraculous*, p. 25.

of Patroclus;⁷⁶⁴ second, it is evocative of devotion to contact and secondary relics in the Christian tradition.⁷⁶⁵ Dust and soil removed from saints' tombs is considered to have been one of the earliest known types of contact relic, and instances of the use of these types of relic is evidenced in other sources contemporary to the writing of *IPI*.⁷⁶⁶ It does not necessarily follow, however, that this is a reflection of popular Christian devotion to Templar martyrs in the Latin East.⁷⁶⁷ It is more likely that this crowd was intended to be comprised of Jacquelin's victorious enemy, and that this anecdote functions to undermine the 'Gentiles' and to bolster the reputation of Jacquelin as a martyr.

There are two further accounts of Templar martyrdom in *IPI*, one of which engages with the concept of visionary insurance. The first follows a description of the execution of Templar prisoners after the battle of Hattin on 4 July 1187. *IPI* records that: "a ray of celestial light shone down clearly on the bodies of the holy martyrs during the three following nights, while they were still lying unburied."⁷⁶⁸ As discussed previously, this is described as the "miraculous power of divine mercy".⁷⁶⁹ The second describes the death of Gerard of Ridefort during the siege of Acre on 4 October 1189. Gerard had been Grand Master of the Templars from late 1184. According to *IPI*, Gerard had earned the "laurel wreath" (*lauream*) over the course of his military career, and could now be counted among the "college of martyrs"

⁷⁶⁴ Cf. Homer, *The Iliad*, 18.25-9, p. 295.

⁷⁶⁵ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?*, pp. 244-50.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 249. A woman has her sight restored to her as a result of the application to her eyes and mouth of turf taken from the spot where the crusade preacher Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury had stood to preach, Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol. VI*, 1.11, p. 83; dust taken from the tomb of Gil de Santarem was carried in a pouch by a Templar brother in Portugal, who twice used it to heal a man, *Vita Beati Aegidii ordinis praedicatorum*, p. 430 as cited by J. Schenk, 'Some Hagiographical Evidence for Templar Spirituality, Religious Life and Conduct', *Revue Mabillon* 22 (2011), pp. 99-119, p. 108, n. 34.

⁷⁶⁷ See B. Hamilton, 'Why Did the Crusade States Produce so Few Saints?', in *Saints and Sanctity*, ed. P. Clarke and T. Claydon, *Studies in Church History* 47 (2011), pp 103-11.

⁷⁶⁸ *IPI*, 1.29, p. 314: "'Absit' inquit, 'ut vertatur michi in obprobrium et templariis in scandulum, ut fugiendo dicar vitam servasse et commilitones meos cesos reliquisse.'" English translation is from Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 1.29, p. 79.

⁷⁶⁹ *IPI*, 1.5, p. 260. This episode is also discussed in Chapter 2, section 5.1, and chapter 4, section 5.1.

(*martirum collegio*).⁷⁷⁰ Nicholson argues that these stories, including the one regarding the death of Jacquelin, likely originated with the Templars.⁷⁷¹ This would help to explain the positive tone used in these representations, particularly given the association between the defeat at the battle of Hattin and sinfulness, as articulated in *Audita tremendi*.⁷⁷² Such accusations of sinfulness would presumably have been an impediment to their meriting the crown of martyrdom, though this is not the case here. In particular, the eulogy of Gerard is significant given his role in the instigation of the disastrous defeats at both Cresson and Hattin.⁷⁷³

These considerations aside, the light which shone about the unburied bodies of the Templar martyrs at Hattin implies the presence of divine grace and thereby functions as proof that the dead had achieved the requisite devotional state in order to achieve the crown of martyrdom. It is a motif which appears in other crusade narratives. For example, Alberic of Trois-Fontaines describes how the abandoned body of the Emperor Baldwin had been illuminated by light following his execution by the Bulgarian emperor Kalojan.⁷⁷⁴ A comparable example is found in the *HeFI*. In May 1190 a number of Frederick's watchmen witnessed a "remarkable and very clear sign" (*memorable præclarumque signum*).⁷⁷⁵ They watched a flock of the brightest white birds fly three times about the crusaders' tents before flying to the body of a certain dying man. They remained there until the man died, "seeking the upper

⁷⁷⁰ *IPI*, 1.29, p. 314: "Felix, cui tantam dominus gloriam contulit, ut lauream, quam tot bellis meruerat, martirum collegio sociandus haberet."

⁷⁷¹ Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 34, n. 34.

⁷⁷² Gregory VIII, 'Audita tremendi'.

⁷⁷³ P. Edbury, 'Gerard of Ridefort and the Battle of Le Cresson (1 May 1187): The Developing Narrative Tradition', in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2011), pp. 45-60.

⁷⁷⁴ ATF, p. 885: "...addidit supradictus presbiter Flandrensis, quod quedam mulier de Burgundia manens in Ternoia vidit de nocte quadam micare luminaria ad corpus occisi, et illud in quantum voluit honeste tradidit sepulture."

⁷⁷⁵ *HeFI*, p. 80: "Quadam etiam nocte contigit quosdam vigilum imperialium miserationis divinæ super exercitum suum peregrinorum memorabile præclarumque signum videre..."

ether”, before disappearing from sight.⁷⁷⁶ The bird, especially the white bird, was recognised as the form in which a soul might appear after death, or as a representation of the Holy Spirit.⁷⁷⁷ Both of these further examples utilise this related form of visionary insurance to associate the deceased with the divine in death, and by extension to make a statement about the condition of their souls.

The principles behind the visionary insurance of First Crusade narratives continue to be discernible in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In particular, the use of visions in the justification of martyrdom in crusade narratives of this period fits into a broader narrative of ongoing anxieties regarding the technicalities of the doctrine itself; concerns which Thomas Aquinas would attempt to address in the mid-thirteenth century.⁷⁷⁸

4.3. Visionary Intercession in Moments of Crisis

Many of the visions of First Crusade narratives occurred or came to light during moments of crisis. The clustering of visions, and indeed of the miraculous more generally, around descriptions of the siege and countersiege of Antioch suggest that these represent the major crises of the narrative; Stephen of Valence had fled to the church of the Blessed Mary in Antioch in fear, and Peter Bartholomew’s visions increased in urgency and frequency from December 1097 until he finally revealed his experiences on 10 June 1098, also in Antioch. The vision of St Ambrose included in Albert of Aachen’s narrative is also portrayed as offering solace to those besieged within the city.

⁷⁷⁶ *HeFI*, p. 80: “...circa primam namque noctis vigiliam viderunt agmen candidissimarum avium exercitum totum terna vice circumvolare ac post hæc tentorio imperiali simul appropriare et circa corpus cuiusdam pauperis extremum spiritum trahentis opansis alis paulisper in aëre se suspendere; quo etiam mortuo *alta ætheris petentes* eëdem aves subito nobis disparuerunt.”; Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, 1.142.

⁷⁷⁷ B. Hudson, ‘Time Is Short: The Eschatology of the Early Gaelic Church’, in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. C. W. Bynum and P. Freedman (Philadelphia, PA, 2000), pp. 101-23, p. 108; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, 2, 8.38, p. 112: “Signum est adventus Spiritus sancti columba.”

⁷⁷⁸ Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders*, pp. 72-4.

The crisis-moment visions of Third Crusade narratives occur in response to similar periods of emergency. Visions experienced at sea, usually during a storm, reflect the increase in maritime crusade transport in this period, thus allowing crusade narratives to engage with the pre-existing motif of saintly intercession at sea.⁷⁷⁹ Roger of Howden records such a vision in both his *Gesta Regis* and *Chronica*. On 6 May 1190, one part of Richard I's fleet, having set sail from Dartmouth towards Lisbon, was overtaken by a great storm which dispersed the fleet.⁷⁸⁰ During this storm, the martyr Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, "appeared" (*apparuit*) on three occasions to three individuals on board a single ship.⁷⁸¹ Thomas is described as having reassured those whom he had visited that Edmund the Martyr, Nicholas the Confessor and himself had all three been appointed by God as guardians of that fleet. Should those men on board guard themselves against sin and be diligent in confession, they would be granted a successful voyage.⁷⁸² These words having been repeated three times, and with another instance of Roger's preferred method for describing the termination of visions, Thomas "slipped away from their eyes" (*ab oculis eorum elapsus est*) and the storm ceased.⁷⁸³

The choice of saints is significant here; it was not dictated by the presence of particular relics on board the ship as in examples from Fourth Crusade texts, nor by the precedent of other,

⁷⁷⁹ On maritime crusade transport, see especially J. H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 112-34.

⁷⁸⁰ *Chronica* 3, p. 42: "...in sancta die Ascensionis Domini, hora tertia, arripuit illas tempestas valida et horribilis..."

⁷⁸¹ GR2, p. 117: "Dum vero tempestas saeviret, et omnes clamarent ad Dominum cum tribularentur, beatus Thomas Cantuariensis, martyr gloriosus, per tres vices visibiliter apparuit tribus personis qui erant in navi Londoniensi, in qua erant Willelmus filius Osberti, et Gaufridus Aurifaber cives Londoniae; dicens illis..."

⁷⁸² *Chronica* 3, pp. 42-3: "Notile terri; ego Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Beatus Edmundus martyr, et Beatus Nicholas confessor, constituti sumus a Domino custodes hujus navigii regis Angliae: et si himines hujus navigii se a pravis operibus custodierint, et de praeteritis poenitentiam egerint, Dominus dabit eis prosperum iter, et in semitis Ejus gressus eorum diriget."; and in GR2, p. 117.

⁷⁸³ *Chronica* 3, p. 43: "His itaque sub trina repetitione dictis, Beatus Thomas ab oculis eorum elapsus est, et statum cessavit tempestas, et facta est in mari tranquillitas magna."

more typical intercessors at sea.⁷⁸⁴ A particularly significant example of such popular intercessors, whose reputation in this regard increased in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was the Virgin Mary.⁷⁸⁵ It has already been shown how Mary acts as intercessor for Stephen of Valence and the crusaders at large in the majority of the First Crusade narratives.⁷⁸⁶ A particular association appears to have formed between the role of Mary as intercessor and saintly intercession at sea; six of the collected Marian miracles from Rocamadour, compiled 1172-1173, are examples of this.⁷⁸⁷ A further example of Marian aid at sea in an account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage of Henry the Lion in 1172 is discussed below. The importance of the Virgin as an intercessor in crusade narratives is also related to the increasing representations of crusaders as sinners, whose setbacks and defeats occurred on account of their sins. Mary, in her role as Mother of God rendered her as mediatrix *par excellence*.

Roger includes a Marian vision at a later point in his accounts of the Third Crusade, in a description of visionary relief experienced during the siege of Acre evocative of comparable events at Antioch in First Crusade narratives. It is possible that Roger sought to emphasise the similarities between the two protracted crusader sieges by incorporating comparable use of the miraculous into his account. Many are described as having witnessed a vision of the Virgin Mary during the siege of Acre during the night of 8 July 1191. These knights and men-at-arms witnessed a “light from heaven” (*lux de coelo*) in which “appeared” (*apparuit*) the Virgin Mary.⁷⁸⁸ Mary promised those present that the city would be delivered into their

⁷⁸⁴ Both St Edmund and St Nicholas are considered patron saints of mariners, and are seen to be conceptually linked on these grounds in texts beyond Roger’s. See R. Pinner, *The Cult of St Edmund in Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2015), pp. 188-92.

⁷⁸⁵ Ward, *Miracles*, pp. 132-65; Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, pp. 29-30; M. Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2009), pp. 130-8. On the origins of the association between the Virgin Mary and the crusades see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, pp. 103-4.

⁷⁸⁶ BB, 3, pp. 67-8; *GF*, 9.24, pp. 57-9; GN, 5.17, pp. 218-20; OV 5, 9.10, pp. 98-100; PT, pp. 98-100; RA, 8, pp. 72-4; RM, 7, pp. 67-8.

⁷⁸⁷ Bull, *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour*, 1.27, 1.31, 2.1, 2.28, 2.37, 3.1.

⁷⁸⁸ *Chronica* 3, p. 119: “In nocte sequenti, dum milites et servientes multi de exercitu Christianorum vigilassent ante turrin Maledictam, circumfulsit eos lux de coelo, in qua apparuit eis Beata Virgo Maria, mater Christi.”

hands in four days.⁷⁸⁹ As previously discussed, Mary was “torn” (*avulsa*) from before their eyes, and both she and the light that had surrounded her disappeared.⁷⁹⁰ It is then described how those who had witnessed the vision related it to the kings and leaders of the armies, which brought great rejoicing amongst the crusaders.⁷⁹¹ The promise of aid within a certain number of days is evocative of the promises made to Stephen of Valence at Antioch: St Andrew had promised aid in five days.⁷⁹² The accounts of Stephen of Valence’s vision also include an intercessory speech, made by the Virgin Mary to Christ on behalf of the crusaders.

The intercession of saints in moments of crisis therefore reemerges as a theme in several of the narrative histories of the Third Crusade. Certain examples are of saintly intercession at sea; a motif which could now be utilised in relation to crusading on account of the prevalence of maritime transportation. The positive portrayal of the Third Crusade in the texts which engage with visions suggests that their incorporation constituted part of this representation. Indeed, the only Second Crusade narrative to include a vision was Raol’s *DeL*; a text which was undoubtedly intended to represent the conquest of Lisbon in positive terms. As with the Second Crusade, a shortage of material need not be entirely limiting; illuminating examples can also be detected outside Third Crusade narrative. The exploration of some of these examples underscores the importance of looking beyond a restricted corpus of ‘crusade’ narrative for contemporary attitudes on the crusades.

⁷⁸⁹ *GR2*, p. 177: “Nolite timere! Ego sum Maria, Mater Domini nostri Jesu Christi: et Ipse misit me ad vos, ut dicatis regibus quod cessent a prosternatione murorum; et quarto die post istum dabit Dominus eis civitatem hanc.”; *Chronica 3*, p. 119: “Prae timore autem exterriti sunt custodes, et facti sunt velut mortui.’ At Beata Virgo blande consolabatur eos dicens: ‘Nolite terreri; propter salutem enim vestram misit me huc Dominus. Et cum crastina illuxerit dies, ite, et dicite regibus vestris ex parte Jesu Christi, Filii et Domini mei, et ex parte mea, ut cessant a prosternatione murorum civitatis hujus, quia quarto die post istum dabit eam Dominus in manu illorum.”

⁷⁹⁰ *Chronica 3*, p. 120: “Beata vero Virgo Maria postquam sic locuta est, avulsa est ab oculis eorum, et simul cum illa recessit lumen quod circumfulserat illos.”; *GR2*, p. 177: “His dictis beata Virgo ascendit in coelum, et nubes lucida suscepit eam ab oculis eorum.”

⁷⁹¹ *Chronica 3*, p. 120; *GR2*, p. 177.

⁷⁹² See Chapter 3, section 2.1.

Arnold of Lübeck considers the Third Crusade comprehensively in his *Chronica*. These sections of his work do not engage with the miraculous and its related themes. This is not the case for the rest of his work, however. There are several examples including two Eucharistic miracles⁷⁹³ and several visions.⁷⁹⁴ A further example is incorporated into his account of Henry the Lion's Jerusalem pilgrimage of 1172. It has been disputed whether Arnold accompanied Henry on his pilgrimage.⁷⁹⁵ It has also been a subject of debate whether or not this pilgrimage should indeed be considered a crusade; Peter Lock argues that it should not, as contemporaries did not view it as such.⁷⁹⁶ Arnold does, however, weave accounts of the miraculous evocative of crusade narratives into his description of this pilgrimage, which is notable in light of his omission of the miraculous from his description of the Third and Fourth crusades. This episode therefore represents an important case study in the investigation of how the miraculous can reveal previously unconsidered evidence about perspectives on crusading and non-crusading endeavours, and indeed the validity of this distinction.

Arnold begins the passage by noting that Henry had received both a ship and provisions for his journey from his cousin and former crusader Frederick Barbarossa.⁷⁹⁷ It was while progressing towards the Holy Land that a storm threatened both the ship and those on board. One man "of good conduct" saw the Virgin Mary while fast asleep, who reassured him that no harm would come to them on account of prayers invoking her aid from someone on the ship.⁷⁹⁸ It was later suggested that these prayers had been made by Abbot Henry, because "he

⁷⁹³ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, 1.14, p. 35, and 5.14, pp. 165-9.

⁷⁹⁴ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, 1.13, pp. 33-5, 3.3, pp. 71-5, and 7.12, p. 283.

⁷⁹⁵ Scior, 'Zwischen terra nostra und terra sancta', in *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck*, p. 150.

⁷⁹⁶ Lock, *The Routledge Companion to The Crusades*, p. 151. Jonathan Riley-Smith has recently included Henry's expedition in a discussion of inter-crusade Jerusalem pilgrimage. See J. Riley-Smith, 'An Army on Pilgrimage', in *Jerusalem the Golden*, pp. 104-16, p. 113.

⁷⁹⁷ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, 1. 6, p. 21: "Porro rex dedit ei navem firmissimam necessariis omnibus copiose ditatam, et ingrediens dux cum suis navigare cepit."; On the relationship between Arnold and Frederick, see J. R. Lyon, *Princely Brothers and Sisters : The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250* (Ithaca, NY, 2013), pp. 89-119.

⁷⁹⁸ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, 1.6, p. 21: "Erat autem ibi quidam bone conversationis, qui ob imminens periculum graviter anxiebat, et inter ipsas mentis et pelagi fluctuationes repente sompno

who sees in the spirit of God hears little but understands much”.⁷⁹⁹ Arnold confirms the revelatory status of the experience, noting that the “vision” (*visio*) did not deceive.⁸⁰⁰ The storm grew stronger and the ship was driven towards a skerry (*skere*), yet those rocks parted before them and they were able to sail through unscathed as the storm ceased.⁸⁰¹

The tradition of the Virgin Mary as intercessor and defender of the righteous has been discussed above. At its most straightforward, this vision account represents the employment of the motif of saintly intercession at sea in a manner which serves to lend divine authority to Henry’s pilgrimage. While it is incorrect to suggest that Arnold conceived of Henry’s pilgrimage as a crusade, it can be argued that he employed an intercessory vision evocative of earlier crusade narratives in order to add another layer of association to his representation of Henry. Exploration of this episode reveals that while Arnold may not have engaged with the miraculous in his account of the Third Crusade proper, he was certainly capable of utilising it in support of his patron’s exploits in the Holy Land. This vision account, located beyond crusade narrative, reveals how pilgrimage to the Holy Land could be constructed using the same narrative repertoire. The extent to which Arnold sought to directly contrast his representation of the Henry’s expedition with that of the Third Crusade is unclear. Greater transparency is evidenced in another vision account, again outside crusade narrative, which is clearly used to highlight the author’s perspective on contemporary crusading affairs.

depressus vidit astatem sibi virginem pulcherrimam, que dixit ad eum: *Times maris periculum?* Et ille: *Domna, inquit, clarissima, tenent nos angustie, et nisi Deus celi respexerit nos, quantocius peribimus.* Et illa: *Confide, inquit, quia non peribitis, sed propter orationes cuiusdam, qui in hac navi me invocare non cessat, ab instanti periculo liberi eritis.*”

⁷⁹⁹ Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, 1.6, p. 21: “Quod de quo dictum fuerit, quamvis expressum non sit, tamen qui viderat, de Heinrico abbate dictum sibi affirmabat, quia qui in Spiritu Dei videt, pauca quidem audit, sed plura intelligit.”

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid.: “Nec fefellit visio.”

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.: “Denique facto die invalescebant procelle, et navis in medio mari iactabatur fluctibus. Et inciderunt in periculum marinum, ut superius in Danubio, quod dicitur skere, et timuerunt naute vehementer. Erant autem ibi petre acutissime a dextris et a sinistris, et navis in medio. Cumque nimis turbarentur, aspexerunt naute lapides patentes quasi hostium, et direxerunt velum contra ipsum, et ecce cecidit spiritus procelle et siluerunt fluctus eius, et subito navis illesa pertransiit, et laudaverunt Dominum, qui mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit [1 Samuel 2.6].”

The *Expugnatio Hibernica* and *De principis instructione* of Gerald of Wales provide descriptions of visions which he himself experienced.⁸⁰² Gerald interpreted these events within the context of the political situation in the Holy Land, and his former king's reluctance to commit to his crusade vow. In recounting these experiences, Gerald offers a particularly rare opportunity for the investigation of how visions were rationalised and represented by a churchman at the turn of the thirteenth century. Presumably, there are fewer interpretative layers between the empirical experience and its narrative rendering than is usually the case in descriptions of visions. This particular vision account provides an example of how vision interpretation in narrative form might reflect contemporary attitudes towards political events.

According to Gerald, he experienced the vision while in attendance on Henry II at Chinon on 10 May 1189. In this "vision" (*visionem*), which occurred to Gerald as he slept (*in somnis*), he witnessed a crowd of people gazing up at the sky. Looking up himself, he saw a bright light breaking through the clouds, which then parted to reveal the heavens and a multitude within the heavenly courts.⁸⁰³ The language used by Gerald suggests that he sought to represent the experience as of visionary significance, although experienced during sleep. Gerald describes that he witnessed an armed host as they wrought destruction and slaughter upon their enemies: the inhabitants of the heavenly courts.⁸⁰⁴ Such was the sight, he adds, that those around him who also saw the violence fell to the ground on their faces. Continuing to watch, Gerald then witnessed the "bloodthirsty butchers" (*carnifices cruenti*) set upon "the Prince of the heavenly host" (*principem ipsum militiae coelestis*); having dragged him from

⁸⁰² Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol. V, Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. James F. Dimock (London, 1867), 2.30, pp. 369-72; *De Principis Instructione*, 3.16, pp. 264-7.

⁸⁰³ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 2.30, p. 369: "...nocte in somnis, et noctis hora quasi circa primum gallicantum, visus sum mihi videre turbam hominum multam, in coelum intuentem, et tanquam novum aliquid admirantem. Elevans igitur oculos, et suspiciens quidnam esset, vidi intra nubium quarundam densitatem clarissimae lucis splendorem erumpere; et statim, separatis ab invicem nubibus, tanquam inferiore hoc coelo ibidem ex parte reserato, oculorum acie per fenestram illam ad empireum usque transpenetrante, in multitudine multa curia illa coelestis apparuit..."

⁸⁰⁴ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 2.30, p. 369: "...intentatis ei undique armorum omnium generibus, in direptionem data, et tanquam hostibus ad mactandum exposita. Videas huic gladio caput, illi brachium amputari; illos sagittis eminus peti, illos lanceis cominus, illos sicis transpenetrari."

the throne the attackers then pierced Christ's right side.⁸⁰⁵ At this, Gerald heard a voice: "Woch, Woch, O Father and Son! Woch, Woch, O Holy Ghost!" He could not tell whether this utterance had come from above, or from those about him. At this point, the "terror of the voice and the vision" awoke Gerald from his sleep.⁸⁰⁶ Gerald was so terrified by what he had witnessed that he describes himself as overcome by fear. He sat on his bed in a stupor, such that he feared that he had become "deranged" (*dementire*).⁸⁰⁷ Having fortified himself by repeatedly making the sign of the cross, Gerald recovered his senses.⁸⁰⁸ Gerald describes how Christ's deprivation of his throne, removal from his kingdom, and suffering at the hands of his enemies, should be considered as an allegory for the current plight of the Holy Land:

Or rather, it may be supposed, that as his servants are now suffering in that Holy Land, which he, after so many miraculous signs of his corporal presence, consecrated by his own blood; sufferings, indeed, not on the cross, but in arms and the conflicts of war; so he willed that the passion which he now in some sort suffers in the persons of his servants should be set forth where he reigns above in co-equal majesty with the Father, and not on the cross.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁵ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 2.30, p. 370: "Completa igitur in brevi quasi de aliis cunctis victoria, principem ipsum militiae coelestis, tanquam in medio suorum et majestate sedentem, sicut depingi solet, carnifices cruenti communiter invadunt; et umbilico tenus a dextris illum a throno extrahentes nudato pectore, dextrum ei latus lancea confodiunt."

⁸⁰⁶ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 2.30, p. 370: "Et statim vox terribilis valde secuta est, in hunc modum; "Woch, Woch, Pater et Filius! Woch, Woch, Spiritus Sanctus!" Sed utrum desuper demissa, an a circumstanti populo prolata fuerit, hoc mihi datum est ignorare. Et sic mihi demum tam vocis hujus quam visionis terror experrecto somnum excussit."

⁸⁰⁷ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 2.30, p. 370: "Illum itaque testem invoco, cui nuda et aperta sunt omnia, quoniam me statim in strato residentem, et haec mecum anxie recolentem, tantus per dimidiam vel amplius horam, et tam vehemens carnis et spiritus horror invasit, quod fere extra me factus, a mente transire et dementire timebam."

⁸⁰⁸ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 2.30, p. 371: "Quid autem haec sibi visio velit, et quid portendere valeat, absque praesudicio paucis absolvam."

⁸⁰⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 2.30, p. 371: "Vel potius, sicut in terra illa sacra, quam post tot et tanta corporalis praesentiae suae sacramenta, demum proprio cruore consecravit, fideles sui, non in cruce nunc, sed armis et bellico certamine passi sunt, sic suam ipse passionem istam, quam in suis quodammodo nunc sustinet, ubi in majestate Patri conregnat, non in cruce voluit, sed in armis et bellico tumultu declarari." English translation is from Gerald of Wales, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis, containing The Topography of Ireland, and The History of the Conquest of Ireland*,

Henry II and Philip Augustus had made their crusade vows on 22 January 1188 at Gisors, in the presence of Archbishop Joscius of Tyre, over one year before Gerald experienced this vision while in attendance upon the ailing English king. The vision occurred after he had accompanied Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury on his tour of Wales during Lent 1188, on which he preached the Third Crusade. It is reasonable to suggest that Gerald's interpretation of the vision as allegorically related to the current situation in the Holy Land was influenced by his exposure to contemporary rhetoric relating to the crusade, and a genuine conviction on his part of the merit of crusading more broadly.

Further, Gerald situates his interpretation of the exclamation which he believed himself to have heard within the context of the crusade. According to Gerald the fact that the words were uttered in a combination of German and Latin indicated that the nations represented by those languages were the most forward in their planned involvement in the crusades, and "are the only people who with their princes take this affliction of our Saviour seriously to heart".⁸¹⁰ The mention of a German prince is undoubtedly an allusion to Frederick Barbarossa, whose forces had in fact departed from Regensburg on 11 May 1189, the day after Gerald experienced his vision. Who Gerald was alluding to as the Latin prince or princes, and further the subject of the implied criticism, is less obvious when this episode is considered in isolation. It is with reference to a recurrent theme from another of Gerald's works, *De instructione principis*, that it can be concluded that Gerald was criticising Henry's tardiness. The English king's delay, and ultimate failure, to fulfil his crusade vow by personally leading an expedition to aid the kingdom of Jerusalem formed a key component of

translated by Thomas Forester, and The Itinerary Through Wales, and The Description of Wales, translated by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, ed. T. Wright (London, 1905), p. 303.

⁸¹⁰ Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, 2.30, p. 372: "Quod ergo, inter tot linguarum genera, luguber ille planctus a Teutonica lingua coepit, et terminates est in Latinam, significare potest quod prae variis mundi nationibus, Teutonicae tantum et Latinae linguae populis, eorumque principi, Salvatoris injuria, sicut vindicate declarant maturation, molesta videtur." English translation is from Gerald of Wales, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p. 304.

Gerald's criticism of his rule. Bartlett notes that "the issue of the Crusade was important enough to play the central role it does in Gerald's drama of Henry II".⁸¹¹ Indeed, this importance is explicitly voiced by Gerald:

...immediately I fell from my whole hope, which before I had indulged, great as it was, with earnest desire; for I had hoped that he would deliver Israel in our day; and I call the Lord to witness that I had desired that thing with great earnestness, as well on account of the retention of the Holy Land, and the deliverance of it from the hands of the infidels, as on account of the honour of our own kingdom and nation. That same thing, also, the whole English people desired with the utmost earnestness.⁸¹²

It was in his *De instructione*, completed much later in Gerald's life, after the death of Henry, that Gerald was fully able to articulate this criticism. The theme is a recurrent strand throughout the work. Gerald compiles a battery of visions, miracles and marvels relating to the king, each of which adds to the idea that God was instrumental in punishing Henry in the final years of his life. Thus it can be concluded that the supernatural represents a literary means by which Gerald was able to criticise his erstwhile king, and one of the main reasons for which he was considered to be deserving of this condemnation was his failure to fulfil his crusade vow.

⁸¹¹ Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages*, p. 69.

⁸¹² *De Principis Instructione*, 2.26, p. 208: "His autem auditis, statim a spe decidi tota, quam ante quidem magnam et cum desiderio magno conceperam. Speraveram enim quod ipse diebus nostris redempturus esset Israel; et Deum testem invoco quoniam, tam propter terrae sacrae retentionem et ab impiorum manibus liberationem, quam ob regni quoque nostri et gentis honorem, illud magno opere concupiram. Id ipsum quoque totus Anglorum populus cum summa voluntate desiderabat." English translation is from Gerald of Wales, *Concerning the Instruction of Princes*, 2.26, p. 44.

5. The Fourth Crusade

While the chronicles documenting the Third Crusade contain the bulk of visionary material for that expedition, it is the hagiographical sources which offer the most visionary material pertaining to the Fourth Crusade. This still does not represent a large body of evidence. The two key vernacular narratives, those of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari, do not discuss visions. Nor does the Latin *Devastatio*. Only one reference to a crusade-related vision has been identified in the chronicles consulted. As will be discussed in this section, the visions of the associated *translatio* narratives employ the divine legitimation offered by such instances in their defences of key protagonists and the relics they acquired. Perry has shown that the miraculous represented part of these texts' rhetorical strategies.⁸¹³ It is surprising then to find that visions are used infrequently. Even Gunther's defence of Abbot Martin, arguably the most comprehensive example of the Fourth Crusade relic translation narratives, only details one vision in any length. When compared to the First Crusade narrative of, for example, Raymond of Aguilers, this dearth of visionary material is thrown into sharp relief, and emphasises the unique nature of the First Crusade histories in their detailed engagement with the visionary. Despite this, the exploration of Fourth Crusade narratives reveals that visions continued to be employed as part of rhetorical strategies, and that the authors of crusade narratives continued to look to Late Antique authorities for guidance on how to conceptualise and represent visions and dreams.

5.1. The Language of Visions in Fourth Crusade Narratives

As will be demonstrated below, Gunther of Paris' *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* reflects a particularly sophisticated engagement with dream theory. The lexis employed throughout the *Hystoria* can be confidently assessed for implied meaning. Gunther's text is unusual on this account. The only other text consulted here to engage with the visionary at any length is the

⁸¹³ Perry, *Sacred Plunder*.

translatio narrative attributed to the Anonymous of Langres. As will be shown, the Anonymous author takes a literal approach to visions similar to that adopted by Roger of Howden in his Third Crusade narratives.

The Anonymous of Langres and Gunther of Pairis reveal different understandings of the theory of visions in their texts. One particular area of difference is found in the language used both to identify the experience itself, and to portray the individual who received that vision. The issue of an individual's consciousness at the point at which they receive a vision is raised in the *translatio* narrative of the Anonymous of Langres. Walon, who had a vision of the saint whose relic he had acquired, is described as being in bed at night when he was overcome by a sudden horror and a "half-waking ecstasy" (*ecstasi semivigilans*).⁸¹⁴ Following this careful identification of Walon's state of consciousness, the author is consistent in using literal language regarding the vision; indeed he does not refer to it as such. Rather, Walon "sees" St Mammes "before him" (*vidit ante se*). When the vision ends, the saint "vanished from his eyes" (*evanuit ab oculis eius*). The author employs the same motifs repeatedly utilised by Roger of Howden discussed above; the figure of the vision is seen by the eyes of the body.⁸¹⁵

In contrast, Gunther of Pairis uses *visio* with an assured frequency. Gunther, who demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of Macrobius' schema, consistently presents allegorical dreams as experienced during sleep, and revelatory visions as experienced while awake. Constantine's allegorical vision – and Gunther does identify it as such – occurred when he was "asleep" (*dormiret*).⁸¹⁶ Martin's allegorical vision of his journey home similarly took place while he slept (*dormienti*).⁸¹⁷ In contrast, a certain Aegidius has a vision of angels

⁸¹⁴ Anonymous of Langres, 'Historia translationum', p. 31: "Non multum post, lectum ascendit; necdum ab ore eius orationis verba discesserant, et subito cecidit in eum horror quidam, et factus est quasi in ecstasi semivigilans..."

⁸¹⁵ See Chapter 3, section 4.1.

⁸¹⁶ GP, 16, p. 150.

⁸¹⁷ GP, 22, p. 170.

“not while sleeping but while wide-awake” (*non dormiens quidem, sed vigilans certissime*).⁸¹⁸ Gunther even defends against the apparent contradiction in his describing Constantine’s experience as a vision when it occurred during sleep. During one of his many poetic interludes, immediately preceding his discussion of Constantine’s vision, Gunther notes:

Many an image comes to us in the course of the night,
At the time when we take in dreams with full intensity,
Some are fantasies, called in Greek *fantasmata*;
If a dream betokens reality of indisputable events to any extent,
It is usually accorded one of two names: vision or prophetic dream.
I believe the vision that, I have often read, was seen by the king
Was such an image of the city’s promised splendour.⁸¹⁹

So the dream, once ratified by the outcome, is granted visionary significance retrospectively. While the Anonymous of Langres chose to employ what appear to have been common tropes of literal physicality in his representation of visions, Gunther was keen to demonstrate that he engaged critically with authorities on the subject, and reflected this in his subsequent portrayals of visions. On account of the unusual length at which he discusses the theory surrounding visions, it is unclear how representative his understanding of vision theory was even amongst his peers.

Chronicles which dip in and out of the events of the Fourth Crusade in their narratives are sparse in their utilisation of visions for these sections. Ralph of Coggeshall refers to a “certain

⁸¹⁸ GP, 22, p. 170; English translation is from Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 22, p. 120.

⁸¹⁹ GP, 15, p. 149: “Plurima noctivago nobis occurrit ymago,/ Tempore, dum plenis haurimus sompnia venis./ Quedam sunt fecte, Grecis fantasmata dicte./ Si qua notat verum vel certa negocia rerum,/ Voce solet duplici visum seu visione dici./ Talem premisse speciei credo fuisse/ Effigiem, regi quam visam sepe relegi.” English translation is from Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 15, pp. 100-1 [emphasis added].

vision” (*quadam visione*) which, it is alleged, helped to convince Pope Innocent III to grant the Cistercian Order immunity from the crusade tax.⁸²⁰ He does not, however, provide any detail about the vision beyond that it occurred and the eventual outcome.⁸²¹ All that might be discerned from this brief mention is that Alberic, himself a Cistercian, was lending divine justification to the Cistercian tax exemption, and cementing the association between the Order and the crusades.⁸²²

While Ralph’s brief allusion to a vision reveals little concerning how crusade narratives might engage with theoretical authorities, much can be gleaned concerning the influences on Gunther of Pairis’ conceptualisation and representation of visions. Gunther’s familiarity with Macrobian dream theory is strongly evidenced. That Gunther chose to engage with this theory in order to, in Francis Swietek’s words, “parade his erudition” suggests that the intricacies of such schemata did not represent common dialogue even in intellectual circles.⁸²³ Gunther, who in his *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* both defends the career of Abbot Martin of Pairis and displays his own learning, includes frequent elaborations which he would pursue even to the detriment of his narrative's flow. Consequently, the *Hystoria* is littered with not only allusions to scripture and to the literary works of such classical authorities as Homer, Virgil and Ovid, but with references to the philosophical works of Augustine and Orosius.⁸²⁴ Amongst the various other authorities whose work clearly

⁸²⁰ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 131: “Tandem vero domnus apostolicus, ordinis Cisterciensis singularem perpendens eminentiam, necnon et ex quadam visione admonitus, plenariam reconciliationis gratiam eis indulsit, et ab hujusmodi exactione quievit, orationum suffragia ab eis expetens.”

⁸²¹ Caesarius of Heisterbach incorporated a more detailed version of this story into his *Dialogus miraculorum*, in which it is included among various Marian miracles. See Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, 2, 7.6, pp. 7-8.

⁸²² William Purkis has shown that the version contained in Caesarius of Heisterbach’s *Dialogus miraculorum* is indicative of the centrality of crusading to the institutional memory of the Cistercian Order. See Purkis, ‘Crusading and Crusade Memory’, esp. pp. 119-20.

⁸²³ Swietek, ‘Gunther of Pairis’, p. 64.

⁸²⁴ Swietek, ‘Gunther of Pairis’, pp. 62-78; Andrea has also argued that, in emphasising his familiarity with classical works, Gunther sought to rival the *Historia Peregrinorum*, the Third Crusade narrative attributed

influenced Gunther's treatment of this topic is Macrobius, whose terminology Gunther adopted.⁸²⁵ Gunther appears to include a vision account originally found in Aldhelm of Malmesbury's *De virginitate* in order that he might demonstrate his acquaintance with Macrobius' dream theory.⁸²⁶ The discussion begins with a statement that the vision of a certain king, who is later revealed to be Constantine the Great, was indicative of great things, despite appearing insignificant and fleeting.⁸²⁷

Throughout the story, as throughout the entire work, Gunther consistently refers to the experiences as “visions” (*visiones*).⁸²⁸ Having fallen asleep one night Constantine saw an old woman who he was advised to revive through prayers by Pope Sylvester I, who also appeared to be present.⁸²⁹ She is then revealed to be a beautiful maiden, who Constantine adorns with a cape and diadem before his mother Helena also appears to him to inform him that the maiden was to be his eternally beautiful wife.⁸³⁰ It was only after seven days of fasting that Constantine received the correct interpretation of the vision; Sylvester appeared to him on the

to a monk from Salem, another of the monasteries which, like Pairis, was a daughter house of Lucelle. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople*, p. 35.

⁸²⁵ Swietek, 'Gunther of Pairis', p. 67.

⁸²⁶ Cf. Aldhelm of Malmesbury, *Prosa de Virginitate cum Glosa Latina atque Anglosaxonica*, ed. S. Gwara, CSSL 124A (Turnhout, 2001), 25, pp. 297-321. Another version of this vision can be found in an anonymous *Vita Beati Silvestri*, see Swietek, 'Gunther of Pairis', p. 66 n. 133.

⁸²⁷ GP, 15, p. 148: “Postea vero cuiusdam regis visionis occasione, de qua aliqua dicturi sumus, in eum quem nunc habet splendorem atque magnificenciam promotam est. Que visio licet brevis humilisque appareat, magne tamen cuiusdam rei fuisse prenunciam effectus subsequens declaravit.”

⁸²⁸ Gunther refers to the experience as a *visio* four times during the account of the vision itself. GP, 16, pp. 150-51.

⁸²⁹ GP, 16, p. 150: “Visio igitur illa, quam dicimus huic tante pulchritudini et glorie civitatis illius occasionem prestitisse, huiusmodi fuisse... Ubi dum nocte quadam regali stratu suffultus quiesceret ac dormiret, videbatur sibi videre aniculam quandam longevam valde et mortuam, quam et beatus Silvester papa, qui et presens adesse videbatur, dicebat ab eo certissime suscitandam.”

⁸³⁰ Ibid.: “Quam cum idem imperator facta oratione in iuvenulam quandam pulcherrimam suscitasset et illa casto amore suis aspectibus placuisset, induit eam regia clamide et cum dyadema suum capiti eius impressisset, mater eius Helena ei dicere videbatur: ‘Hanc, fili, habebis uxorem usque in finem seculi in hac pulchritudine permansuram.’”

seventh night and told him that the woman represented the city which, through his efforts, would come to be the queen of all the cities of Greece.⁸³¹

This example represents not the oracular or revelatory, but the allegorical class; the *somnium*. The truth of the dream, that the beautiful woman represented Constantinople, required interpretation and was presented allegorically. Gunther uses this example to challenge the assertion that those who believe that what is seen while they are “sleeping” (*dormientes*) is entirely illusory and devoid of truth are mistaken; mystery is contained in all things.⁸³² Gunther offers the example of Joseph’s dream in which his parents and brothers are represented by the sun, moon and stars as an example of how the great can symbolise the trivial, and Daniel’s dream of the kings as beasts for how the lesser might be indicative of the greater.⁸³³ While offering a more positive interpretation of the *somnium* than John of Salisbury, Gunther does not contradict him; Daniel and Joseph are John’s key exemplars as recipients of the ability to interpret allegorical dreams from God. This serves as a more transparent example of how schemata such as Macrobius’ might influence, and be reflected in, crusade texts. As the texts of the Anonymous of Langres and Gunther of Pairis have informed the above consideration of the language of visions in Fourth Crusade narratives, so a consideration of these two sources reveals how visions might be utilised in subtly different ways.

⁸³¹ Ibid., p. 151: “Cum ergo septem diebus ieiunasset, ipsa nocte septima apparuit ei beatus Silvester in visione dixitque ad eum: ‘Anus illa quam vidisti, civitas ista est, que iam quasi neglectu et senio defuncta per te in tantum decorem renovanda est, ut regina dicatur inter omnes Grecie civitates.’”

⁸³² GP, 15, pp. 148-49: “Quapropter falluntur hi, qui putant eorum que se dormientes videre putant, nullam esse distanciam, sed omnia vana esse et nullum prorsus in se continere misterium.”

⁸³³ Genesis 37.9 and Daniel 7.1-28; GP, 15, p. 148: “Sicut enim visione quandoque magnarum rerum longe minores designantur, quemadmodum in sompno Ioseph per solem et lunam et stellas undecim pater eius et mater et fratres undecim designati sunt, ita nonnumquam per infimas magne et celebres designari repperiuntur velud in visione Danielis, ubi per quasdam bestias regna potentissima legimus premonstrari.”

5.2. The Functions of Visions in Fourth Crusade Narratives

The following analysis will explore how Gunther of Pairis' *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* and the Anonymous of Langres' *Historia translationum* utilise the same rhetorical mechanism to achieve different ends. While visions represent part of Gunther's defence of Abbot Martin, emphasising divine approval of his relic theft, those of the *translatio* of the head of St Mammas are employed as proof of the relic's legitimacy. The two epistemological functions explored below are therefore the demonstration of the legitimacy of a protagonist, and of the authenticity of a relic.

Gunther of Pairis' *Hystoria Constantinopolitana* is unusual among Fourth Crusade narratives in moving its defence of Abbot Martin beyond the use of miracles to the specific use of visions; Conrad of Krosigk does not receive comparable treatment in the *GeH*, for example. While the Anonymous of Langres incorporates a vision into his *translatio* narrative, it will be shown here how the visions of Gunther's narrative perform subtly different functions; the Langres author sought to prove the identity of the relic through visions, and Gunther utilised visions to underscore the character of his patron, Martin.

Even if everything else were false (namely, the providential significance attributed to the historiated columns which Gunther had just described and which are discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis),⁸³⁴ Gunther notes, certain things provided clear proof that the miracles which were effected through the abbot at this time were inspired by "divine dispensation" (*divine dispensacionis*).⁸³⁵ On the third night before the abbot was due to embark upon his return voyage, a Bohemian cleric and friend of Martin's, named Aegidius, saw two angels praying on the spot where the relics were stowed. Gunther adds several caveats to prove the

⁸³⁴ See Chapter 4, section 5.1.

⁸³⁵ GP, 22, p. 170: "Libet insuper hoc loco huic nostre narrationi quedam inserere, que sola, si alia deessent, satis possent astruere ea, que per abbatem Martinum vel iam gesta diximus vel adhuc dicenda restant, de fonte divine dispensacionis ordinem accepisse."

miraculous nature of these events: first, Aegidius could only understand Martin when they both conversed in Latin; second, Aegidius knew nothing of the relics or their presence on-board the ship; third, Aegidius was wide awake at the time, and saw the angels clearly; and fourth, Aegidius' high moral character is outlined.⁸³⁶ Once the angels had finished their divine service, one encouraged the other to call upon God to place Abbot Martin and his companions under divine protection.⁸³⁷ The importance of this latter part of the miracle story becomes clear during Gunther's lengthy description of how Martin's return journey was presided over by divine clemency.

Martin, upon being told by Aegidius about his “vision” (*visionis*), divulges that he himself had also experienced a “vision” (*visionem*) that very night. In both instances, Gunther employs the term which points unequivocally to a vision of revelatory significance: *visione*. Given his aim in relating these anecdotes, his confidence in describing these visions as such is fitting. An interesting comparison between the two does arise, however, as Martin is described as “sleeping” (*dormienti*) at the time of the vision.⁸³⁸ Despite this, Gunther does not refer to Martin's experience as a dream; he refers to it only as a vision. As outlined previously, this was on account of Gunther's desire to emphasise the divine significance of that experience.⁸³⁹

It seemed to Martin as though he could see only clear sea between him and the village named Sigolsheim, which was close to his monastery. The sea appeared so calm that it occurred to

⁸³⁶ GP, 22, p. 170: “Tercia siquidem nocte antequam ipse Martinus sui reditus iter arriperet, quidam clericus admodum ei familiaris Egidius nomine natus de Boemia, cuius nullum verbum nisi Latine prolatum abbas ipse intelligere poterat, qui et ipse cum abate in eadem navi redire proponebat, non dormiens quidem, sed vigilans certissime, sicut ipse penitus affirmabat, vidit angelos duos in eodem loco, ubi sacre servabantur reliquie... ille vero, quid ibidem servaretur penitus ignorabat.”

⁸³⁷ Ibid.: “Facto autem illo divine veneracionis officio alter alterum exhortantes Deum obnixè precabantur, ut eundem virum, cui tanta bona presterat, cum omnibus, qui ei familiariter adherebant, sua defensione protegeret.”

⁸³⁸ Ibid.: “Cuius sancte visionis abbas percussus miraculo presertim propter hominis fidem, quem sanctum et veracem esse noverat, retulit et ipse aliam visionem, que ipsi dormienti eadem ipsa nocte occurrerat.”

⁸³⁹ See Chapter 3, section 5.1.

him that no ship could have feared shipwreck whilst sailing upon it.⁸⁴⁰ Gunther offers his interpretation of the vision (again, *visione*); that Martin's safe arrival from his journey across land and sea was directly attributable to “divine protection” (*divina... protectione*).⁸⁴¹ A return voyage safeguarded by the saint whose relics were being thus transported demonstrates that saint's active participation in the translation. The Anonymous of Langres also describes how the ship carrying the priest Walon of Dampierre, erstwhile custodian of the head of St Mammes, set sail under a propitious wind and full sails.⁸⁴² When a storm later arose and threatened the vessel and those on board, the bishop beseeched the saint whose relics he bore to intercede with God on their behalf.⁸⁴³ The sea returned to its former tranquillity immediately, such that all who witnessed it were amazed and rejoiced.⁸⁴⁴ Having thus presented both the angelic plea for and Martin's own prophetic dream of safe travels, as well as his own interpretation of the significance of these, Gunther moves on to narrate at length how subsequent events proved the revelatory significance of the portents. The outcome, Gunther asserts, is clear evidence of this.⁸⁴⁵ Thus, the author engages with the Macrobian concept of fulfilment as proof; a means by which visions were often retrospectively attributed divine origins.⁸⁴⁶ While Gunther focuses the epistemological power of the miraculous on

⁸⁴⁰ GP, 22, pp. 170-1: “Videbatur ei siquidem ab eo loco ubi tunc erat, Achone videlicet usque ad villam proximam claustro suo nomine Sigoltsheim nil aliud esse quam mare, sed adeo securum et tenue, ut in eo nec eciam navicula quantumlibet parva naufragium formidaret. Preterea ab eodem loco usque ad villam prefatam facta videbantur esse desuper in directum velut quedam tectorum umbracula, ut nec navigaturo nocere ullatenus prevaleret.”

⁸⁴¹ GP, 22, pp. 170-1: “Quam abbatis visionem nos modo sic possumus interpretari, quod ab illo loco usque ad cenobium suum licet inter multa terre marisque pericula, divina tamen protectione in reditu suo titum iter habiturus esset... sicut postmodum expressa rei veritas hoc ipsum approbavit.”

⁸⁴² Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, p. 31: “...navem ascendit, et prosperate vento, elevatis velis, duxit in altum.”

⁸⁴³ Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, pp. 31-2: “O beate Mamas, ubi est virtus tua? Patierisne caput tuum submergi in fluctibus, ut de cetero non videatur ab hominibus, nec ullatenus honoretur? Exsurge! Quare obdormis, domine? Exsurge et precare pro nobis Dominum! Ut per merita tua ab his periculis eruamur.”

⁸⁴⁴ Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, p. 32: “Vix orationem compleverat, et statim aura datur grata, et tranquillitas magna facta est, ita ut mirarentur omnes, et laudarent Dominum.”

⁸⁴⁵ GP, 22, p. 171: “...sicut postmodum expressa rei veritas hoc ipsum approbavit.”

⁸⁴⁶ See Chapter 3, section 1.

legitimising his narrative's key protagonist, the Anonymous of Langres employs it in a subtly different way.

As Perry has shown, authentication was a primary concern for the Anonymous of Langres; repeated efforts are made in the appropriate section of the *Historia translationum* to prove the provenance of a particular relic brought to Langres after the Fourth Crusade.⁸⁴⁷ There was no thief or act of sacrilege to be justified in this version of events; the relic had been in the possession of Garnier of Troyes as a result of what Perry has termed a “second-phase theft”, meaning that it was not acquired until after the crusaders left Constantinople.⁸⁴⁸ On Garnier's death the relic passed into the custody of the papal legate Peter Capuano, who in turn gave it to Walon when the latter appealed to the legate for permission to take the relic to the cathedral in Langres, as Garnier had wished.⁸⁴⁹ Thus, Walon is presented at several removes from the theft itself. The looting committed by the crusaders is even condemned in the text, as committed by those who “shamelessly” sacked the city on account of their “blind cupidity”.⁸⁵⁰ In contrast to the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, therefore, the *Historia translationum* was not required to defend a relic theft or the character of the perpetrator.

The miraculous events associated with the relic, while indirectly legitimising Walon as a worthy guardian, focus rather on proving that this truly was the head of St Mammes. The case put forward by the anonymous author is comprehensive; the relic was found with a silver band attached to it, clearly inscribed with the saint's name.⁸⁵¹ Further, it is described how

⁸⁴⁷ Perry, *Sacred Plunder*, pp. 88-92.

⁸⁴⁸ Perry, *Sacred Plunder*, p. 38.

⁸⁴⁹ Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, p. 28.

⁸⁵⁰ Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, p. 28: “Cum capta esset Constantinopolis, exultabant victores Latini capta preda, sicut qui invenerant spolia multa. Sed ceca cupiditas, que facile persuadet, ita manus eorum victrices victas tenuit, ut non solum ecclesias violarent, immo etiam vascula, in quibus sanctorum reliquie quiescebant, impudenter effringerent; aurum inde & argentum & gemmas turpiter evellent, ipsas vero reliquias pro nihilo reputabant.”

⁸⁵¹ Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, pp. 28-9: “Inter quas inventum est caput gloriosi martyris, nudum quidem, nisi quod circulus argenteus ipsi capiti circumductus erat, et supra in modum

Walon took the relic to the Greek monks from whom it had been taken in order that they might confirm its identity.⁸⁵² The text's casebook of evidence also included a vision account. One passage describes how Garnier, himself plagued by doubt, threatened the relic directly. If it did not prove its authenticity to him soon, he would not take it back to France with him.⁸⁵³ Shortly afterwards, Walon fell into the ecstatic state discussed above.⁸⁵⁴ A beautiful youth appeared to Walon, holding the head in question. The boy proceeded to chastise Walon before confirming that this truly was his head.⁸⁵⁵ Thus convinced, Walon received permission from Peter Capuano to return home with the relic.

The remaining proofs, and there are several, are miraculous rather than visionary: the saint responds favourably to Walon's appeals for help during a storm at sea; the relic is held responsible for the rescue of a village from a great fire; and it withers the hand of a sinful priest before restoring it to functionality upon the demonstration of adequate contrition.⁸⁵⁶ These later miracles function to communicate the relic's efficacy, and its acquiescence to its translation, and in this sense are more typical of the *translatio* genre. The vision account, on the other hand, performed the specific function of proving the authenticity of the relic itself. Only once this was achieved could the miraculous aspects perform their required function of demonstrating the saint's acquiescence to the translation.

crucis extensus, totum comprehendebat, in quo erat scriptum antiquis literis grecis... quod interpretatur *Sanctus Mamas*.”

⁸⁵² Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, p. 30: “Cuius abbas et monachi cum caput prolatum vidissent, lachrymantes ceciderunt in facies suas, et cum gemitu clamaverunt: ‘Ecce caput patroni nostri...’”

⁸⁵³ Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, pp. 30-1: “...unde frequenter cum lachrymis audebat dicere: ‘Nisi signum mihi ostenderit, numquam te in patriam meam portare curabo.’”

⁸⁵⁴ See Chapter 3, section 6.1.1.; Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, p. 31: “Non multum post, lectum ascendit; necdum ab ore eius orationis verba discesserant, et subito cecidit in eum horror quidam, et factus est quasi in ecstasi semivigilans...”

⁸⁵⁵ Anonymous of Langres, *Historia translationem*, p. 31: “‘Quid dubitas, modice fidei? Qui incredulus est, non prosperabitur via eius. Respice, et absque dubio firmiter teneas, quia hoc ipsum est caput meum, quod pro Christi nomine mihi abscissum fuit.’”

⁸⁵⁶ See Chapter 2, section 6.1.

6. Conclusion

It has been shown that the reflections of Augustinian and Macrobian approaches towards visions and dreams are mirrored in certain crusade narratives. Undoubtedly, the texts discussed reveal a spectrum of engagement with the relevant theory and conceptual dichotomies. The representation of the revelatory takes many forms, from the confident and literal of Roger of Howden to the tentative and nuanced of Baldric of Bourgueil, and this may well be a reflection of individual learning. The consistent alteration of the *Gesta Francorum*'s use of *visum* demonstrates the importance inherent in the lexis of divine communication. While the level of understanding or application may vary, the same authorities were being consulted on the theology of visions and dreams in the early thirteenth century as a century beforehand. Indeed, that such theories were sought out and reproduced in this period reveals the ambiguities surrounding contemporary understandings of visions and dreams. The need to consult and to reproduce authorities on visions is evidenced beyond crusade narratives, for example in the Macrobian schema of John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and of Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*. The visions and dreams of crusade narratives therefore represent another way in which the sources for the crusades reflect broader intellectual patterns.

It is certainly the case that contemporary attitudes towards the Second Crusade contributed to the dearth of visionary material contained in narrative accounts of that endeavour. Whether a reflection of a genuine absence of anecdotal evidence, or an authorial omission, that campaign does not appear to have been considered an appropriate narrative vehicle for the inclusion of such immediate episodes of divine instrumentality. Indeed, Raol's account of the conquest of Lisbon is the exception which proves the rule. Therefore, scrutiny of visions in crusade narratives does have the ability to reflect attitudes towards the crusades. The contents

of the visions themselves also have the ability to echo societal changes; the visions of Third Crusade narratives reflect the rise in maritime crusade transport.

The mechanism which underpins the ability of visions and dreams to function as proof is employed consistently and with a certain ubiquity in the narrative histories of the First Crusade. None of the subsequent crusades explored here can boast such a widespread engagement with the functionality of vision. Despite this, visions can still be seen to play a central role in the rhetorical strategies of certain later crusade narratives. Therefore, an awareness of how visions and dreams were rationalised and represented in these texts, even when they appear to be employed infrequently, is necessary for a fuller understanding of their intended purpose. It also provides a glimpse of the ways in which visions, as an important aspect of Christian doctrine, were understood to function by individuals who wrote about the crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Chapter 4: Signs and Augury

Miracles and visions were not the only means by which the godhead might communicate with human beings. While both of these types of phenomena could be interpreted as signs, so might any event or object; central to the status of sign was communicative potential. This chapter is concerned with the representations and functions of methods of divining events temporally past, present and future, and spatially near and far. This includes both theologically licit and illicit forms of precognition, such as astronomy, astrology, horoscopy, prophecy (Sibyllic and Joachimite), and scapulimancy. The phenomena behind the interpretations themselves will also be examined, including earthquakes, eclipses, and various forms of celestial activity. First, the grey area between licit and illicit means of reckoning in the eyes of the Late Antique and medieval Church will be explored through the consideration of key authorities. This will provide vital intellectual context for the exploration of the prophetic terminology. The remainder of the chapter will comprise a chronological survey of material pertaining to signs as discussed in crusade narratives. The analysis will focus in particular on how the sources engage with the boundaries between the sanctioned and the condemned, and on how signs function as part of these texts.

While Hamilton has used the signs of First Crusade narratives to investigate crusader anxieties surrounding the legitimacy of crusade,⁸⁵⁷ this chapter focuses on examples from across a broader chronological range as both narrative components and as sources for examining intellectual change. It will be shown that signs represent a key characteristic of crusade narratives in this period as a result of their epistemological utility, and of the ability of certain motifs to evoke representations of earlier events. Beyond their ability to mirror contemporary attitudes towards the crusading movement, it will be demonstrated how signs

⁸⁵⁷ Hamilton, ““God Wills It””.

can also reveal something of how religious ‘others’ and the Holy Land itself were perceived. Finally, it is argued that crusade narratives reflect changes to the intellectual landscape of western Europe in the twelfth century, and that on account of this, these texts represent important sources for its study in their own right.

1. Knowledge of the Heavens: Licit and Illicit Means of Reckoning

A majority of signs in crusade narratives pertain to celestial phenomena and their interpretation. An appreciation of contemporary attitudes towards, and authorities for, the practice of astronomy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can reveal additional layers of meaning when analysing textual examples. The continued attribution of significance to celestial phenomena, twinned with largescale changes to the intellectual landscape of western Christendom in this period, encouraged engagement with the ongoing debate surrounding the legitimacy of such practices; astrology represented a particularly challenging practice on account of its association with pre-Christian and Arabic scientific traditions.⁸⁵⁸ The ways in which Catholic theorists sought to negotiate these difficulties is manifested in several crusade texts, whether as explicit discussions of the legitimacy or otherwise of certain practices or as implicit within their representations. As narratives which necessarily include encounters between Christians and non-Christians, these texts represent an underexplored corpus of evidence for understanding the changing conceptual relationship between theologically illicit methods of prognostication, and the religious Other in this period. While Watkins has identified how signs were “commonly appropriated by chroniclers” in order to communicate a political point,⁸⁵⁹ the signs of crusade narratives extend our understanding of the utility of signs by revealing how they could constitute part of a broader rhetorical strategy. By

⁸⁵⁸ On Arabic learning and astrology in the western European intellectual tradition of the twelfth-century, see R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 116-31.

⁸⁵⁹ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, pp. 48-9.

overlooking the evidence of crusade texts in the past, scholars have disregarded a rich repository of material concerning the form and function of signs and augury in the intellectual landscape of twelfth-century western Europe.

The Ummayyad emirate (756-929), and later caliphate (929-1031), of Cordoba in Iberia had come to rival Baghdad as a centre for astronomical research at a time when the Islamic scientific corpus integrated and built upon Hellenistic, Persian, Indian and Jewish astrological traditions.⁸⁶⁰ As the eminence of Cordoban astronomers increased, other cities of the Iberian peninsula, including Seville and Toledo, were encouraged to become centres of astronomical science.⁸⁶¹ When the *taifa* of Toledo was brought under Christian rule by the forces of Alfonso VI of León-Castile in May 1085, it became an important locus for the translation of Arabic texts into Latin.⁸⁶² These translation initiatives reached their apogee in the twelfth century, and led to the incorporation of Greco-Arabic scientific learning into the Christian corpus of astrological knowledge.⁸⁶³

Iberia was not the only frontier route taken by this intellectual cargo into a Christian milieu; the cultural dialogue brought about by the crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the establishment of the states of the Latin East contributed to the increased exposure of western intellectual tradition to that of the Arab world.⁸⁶⁴ Astrology's implicit and inextricable ties to 'pagan' culture both past and present posed a considerable challenge to Church thinkers throughout late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Rooted in a Babylonian

⁸⁶⁰ On Iberia as a centre for astrological sciences in this period, see K. von Stuckrad, 'Interreligious Transfers in the Middle Ages: The Case of Astrology', *Journal of Religion in Europe* 1 (2008), pp. 34-59, pp. 39-40, and *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 124-6.

⁸⁶¹ Von Stuckrad, 'Interreligious Transfers', p. 46.

⁸⁶² See especially d'Alverny, 'Translations and Translators'. On the importance of Toledo as a center for Arabic-Latin translation, see C. Burnett, 'The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century', *Science in Context* 12.2 (2001), pp. 249-88.

⁸⁶³ On the events surrounding the surrender of Toledo in 1085, see Cobb, *The Race for Paradise*, pp. 68-70.

⁸⁶⁴ Von Stuckrad, 'Interreligious Transfers', p. 52.

past and entirely separate from any Jewish, pre-Christian, tradition, horoscopic astrology represented a vessel for the continuation of pagan traditions.⁸⁶⁵ Yet astronomy was taught in the universities of western Europe as part of the quadrivium, alongside arithmetic, geometry, and music. The related science of *computus* had played an important role in Catholicism for centuries as a means of time reckoning; the chief feast of the liturgical year was computed calendrically according to the lunar cycle, for example.⁸⁶⁶ The English monk the Venerable Bede (d. 735), in his *De temporum ratione*, had utilised the zodiacal method in his computation of the Church calendar in the eighth century.⁸⁶⁷ So, while the gaze of ecclesiastical criticism came to rest firmly upon what would in modern terms be considered judicial astrology, its relationship with this science was complicated.

The modern terminological distinction between astronomy and astrology does not translate directly back onto the Latin terms *astronomia* and *astrologia* as they were understood in the twelfth century. It is not unusual to see *astronomia* and *astrologia* used interchangeably or with varying degrees of subtlety in medieval texts. Broadly speaking, in the twelfth century, *astronomia* indicated aspects of the science which were calculated using an instrument, such as an astrolabe or quadrant.⁸⁶⁸ *Astrologia*, by contrast, could be used to denote both natural astrology on the one hand, which sought to understand the nature of things as God's creation and incorporated meteorology and medical astrology, and superstitious (or what modern scholars refer to as judicial) astrology on the other, which was concerned with horoscopic predictions regarding the subtleties of the human life course.⁸⁶⁹ The former, theoretically licit form of *astrologia* corresponds to our modern understanding of the science of astronomy.

⁸⁶⁵ N. Champion, *The Great Year: Astrology, Millenarianism and History in the Western Tradition* (London, 1994), p. 353; S. Page, *Astrology in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 2002), p. 7.

⁸⁶⁶ Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales*, pp. 104-5.

⁸⁶⁷ Page, *Astrology*, pp. 41-2.

⁸⁶⁸ C. Burnett, 'Adelard, Ergaphalau and the Science of the Stars', in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century* (London, 1987), pp. 133-45, p. 138.

⁸⁶⁹ Von Stuckrad, 'Interreligious Transfers', p. 49.

The term astronomy is used in this thesis to denote both astronomy and natural astrology, while astrology corresponds to judicial astrology, as this dichotomy most closely reflects the twelfth-century distinction between the theologically licit and illicit.

By the twelfth century the condemnation of astrology had a long history. Augustine of Hippo assessed the validity of interpreting celestial phenomena as portents and signs, and sought to demonstrate that scripture did not represent a source for the legitimisation of judicial astrology:

We, too, deny the influence of the stars upon the birth of any man; for we maintain that, by the just law of God, the free-will of man, which chooses good or evil, is under no constraint of necessity. How much less do we subject to any constellation the incarnation of the eternal Creator and Lord of all! When Christ was born after the flesh, the star which the Magi saw had no power as governing, but attended as witness... Christ was not born because the star was there; but the star was there because Christ was born.⁸⁷⁰

Augustine's consideration of how the Star of Bethlehem should be interpreted reveals the nature of several anxieties. A key issue was that the concept of the predetermined life course central to judicial astrology was incompatible with the principle of mankind's free will and, by extension, God's omnipotence.⁸⁷¹ Isidore of Seville echoed Augustine's conclusions in his influential treatise, the *Etymologiae*:

⁸⁷⁰ Augustine of Hippo, 'Contra Faustum Manichaeum', *PL* 42, 2.5, cols. 212-3: "Et nos quidem sub fato stellarum nullius hominis genesim ponimus, ut liberum arbitrium voluntatis, quo vel bene vel male vivitur, propter justum iudicium Dei ab omni necessitatis vinculo vindicemus: quanto minus illius temporalem generationem sub astrorum conditione credimus factam, qui est aeternus universorum Creator et Dominus? Itaque illa stella quam viderunt Magi, Christo secundum carnem nato, non ad decelrum dominabatur, sed ad testimonium famulabatur... non ideo Christus natus est quia illa exstitit, sed ideo illa exstitit quia Christus natus est." English translation is from Augustine of Hippo, *NPNF* 2.5, p. 158.

⁸⁷¹ V. I. J. Flint, 'The Transmission of Astrology in the Early Middle Ages', *Viator* 21 (1990), pp. 1-27, p.

⁸⁶⁹ Von Stuckrad, 'Interreligious Transfers', p. 49.

Astronomy concerns itself with the turning of the heavens, the rising, setting, and motion of the stars, and where the constellations get their names. But astrology is partly natural, and partly superstitious... It is natural as long as it investigates the courses of the sun and the moon, or the specific positions of the stars according to the seasons; but it is a superstitious belief that astrologers (*mathematicus*) follow when they practice augury by the stars, or when they associate the twelve signs of the zodiac with specific parts of the soul or body, or when they attempt to predict the nativities and characters of people by the motion of the stars.⁸⁷²

In this work, Isidore condemned astrology, yet recognised the utility of portents and medical astrology. Thus, both Augustine and Isidore, two of the most influential authorities on the subject for the duration of the early and central Middle Ages, implicitly undermined their own denunciation of judicial astrology by accepting that, while illicit, judicial astrology was not incorrect.⁸⁷³

Ongoing efforts to reconcile Christianity and astrology hint at the continuing practice of the latter. That the Dominican friar and scholar of Aristotle Thomas Aquinas was writing treatises which engaged with these issues demonstrates how astrology continued to be culturally relevant by the later thirteenth century.⁸⁷⁴ Processes of classification were undoubtedly hindered by the fluidity of definition and contradictory nature of the treatises on the subjects (as demonstrated by Augustine and Isidore). Considerations of the boundaries

⁸⁷² Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 3.27: “Inter Astronomiam autem et Astrologiam aliquid differt. Nam Astronomia caeli conversionem, ortus, obitus motusque siderum continet, vel qua ex causa ita vocentur. Astrologia vero partim naturalis, partim superstitiosa est. Naturalis, dum exequitur solis et lunae cursus, vel stellarum certas temporum stationes. Superstitiosa vero est illa quam mathematici sequuntur, qui in stellis auguriantur, quique etiam duodecim caeli signa per singula animae vel corporis membra disponunt, siderumque cursu nativitates hominum et mores praedicare conantur.” English translation is from Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 3.27, p. 99.

⁸⁷³ Campion, *The Great Year*, pp. 347-8.

⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 352.
⁸⁶⁹ Von Stuckrad, ‘Interreligious Transfers’, p. 49.

between licit and illicit astrology were also considered relevant for inclusion in some crusade narratives, examples of which will be examined in detail below.

Astrologers could be found at the heart of intellectual and political establishments throughout the central and late Middle Ages.⁸⁷⁵ The career of the philosopher Adelard of Bath (d. c. 1152) is a pertinent example, not only of the political role of astrology, but of the influence of Arabic learning upon intellectuals in the twelfth century.⁸⁷⁶ After studying at Tours, Adelard became further exposed to Greek and Arabic intellectual traditions while visiting southern Italy, Sicily and Antioch.⁸⁷⁷ It was while he was living at Monte Cassino that he translated twenty Arabic medical texts.⁸⁷⁸ As an independent mathematician and astronomer in western England in the 1120s, Adelard produced Latin translations of two Arabic works on astronomy and three on astrology.⁸⁷⁹ His last known work is his treatise on the astrolabe, dated to circa 1150, which was dedicated to the future Henry II of England, who appears to have been his patron at the time.⁸⁸⁰ It has even been suggested that Adelard applied his astrological skills during the Anarchy.⁸⁸¹ While astrology had emerged as the most problematic of the astronomical sciences incorporated into the western European tradition in the early and central Middle Ages, it remains in evidence in the texts. Representations of the practitioners of astrology are variable, suggesting that conceptualisations of astronomy and astrology were highly subjective.

Astrology represented only one of a range of means by which the future might be predicted.

Non-celestial natural phenomena, that is, events which occur in line with the propensities

⁸⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 353.

⁸⁷⁶ D. Metlitzki, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (London, 1977), pp. 26-30.

⁸⁷⁷ M. Gibson, 'Adelard of Bath', in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. C. Burnett (London, 1987), pp. 7-16, pp. 11-2.

⁸⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 12.

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 13. On Adelard and the dissemination of Arabic astrology beyond clerical and into courtly spheres in the twelfth century, see von Struckrad, *Locations of Knowledge*, p. 132.

⁸⁸⁰ Ibid., pp. 7-16, p. 7; C. Burnett, 'Adelard of Bath', in *Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, ed. T. F. Glick, S. J. Livesey, and F. Wallis (London, 2005), pp. 5-6.

⁸⁸¹ Campion, *The Great Year*, p. 353.

⁸⁶⁹ Von Struckrad, 'Interreligious Transfers', p. 49.

instilled in them by God at Creation, could also be interpreted as communicative.⁸⁸²

Similarly, phenomena which occurred in apparent contradiction of these innate qualities were also open to interpretation. John of Salisbury discusses the legitimacy of different omens at length in his *Policraticus*:

Although I assert that all omens are meaningless and credence should not be given to augury, I do not condemn the authenticity and value of those signs which have been conceded by divine ordinance for the guidance of man. In manifold ways indeed [Heb. 1.1] God instructs his creatures; now by the sound of the elements, now by signs of animate and inanimate nature he makes manifest what is to come in accord with what he knows to be expedient for the elect. Certain preceding signs foretell the coming of storms or of fine weather, that man who is born for toil [Job 5.7] may in accord with these regulate his activities.⁸⁸³

John appears to be drawing a distinction between the vanities of ‘augury’ and the divine origin of ‘signs’. In parallel to Augustine and Isidore’s consideration of astrology, John concedes that while augury is not strictly incorrect, it is meaningless and heed should not be paid to its predictions:

Such manifestations, for reasons with which physicians are acquainted, do indeed pertain to some extent to him who is subject to them. We grant this provided they

⁸⁸² For a discussion of *seminales rationes*, see Chapter 2, section 2.1.

⁸⁸³ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, p. 74: “Non tamen, licet omina uana esse fidemque auguriis asseram non habendam, ideo signorum quae a dispositione diuina ad erudiendam creaturam concessa sunt fidem et fructum euocauo. Multipharie siquidem multisque modis suam Deus instruit creaturam, et nunc elementorum uocibus nunc sensibilibus aut insensibilium rerum indiciis, prout electis nouerit expedire, quae uentura sunt manifestat. Futuras itaque tempestates aut serenitates signa quaedam antecedentia praeloquuntur, ut homo, qui ad laborem natus est, ex his possit exercitia sua temperare.” English translation from *Interreligious Dialogue*, trans. Pike, pp. 57-8.

be not supposed to impede or to promote the activities of others any more than do silly charms or certain amulets worn by the superstitious.⁸⁸⁴

Signs, on the other hand, were scripturally authorised. John refers to the Gospel of Luke: “That astounding things of this sort happen in such cases are generally signs no one will doubt who recalls and believes the promise of the Gospel that ‘There shall be signs in the sun and in the moon and in the stars’.”⁸⁸⁵ He elaborates on the types of omen it is acceptable to pay attention to, including the weather, the colour of the moon, and signs from the earth, such as earthquakes.⁸⁸⁶ Events which appear to violate natural law might still be fruitfully interpreted, though John is careful to point out that nothing occurs in contradiction to God’s will.⁸⁸⁷ For example, the eclipse at the crucifixion could not have been strictly natural, John explains, as it “took place on the day before the fourteenth moon”.⁸⁸⁸ Theoretical knowledge of eclipses, including that a solar eclipse can only naturally occur on a new moon, came to the medieval West via the works of Pliny and Isidore of Seville.⁸⁸⁹ The latter clearly sets out the causes of solar and lunar eclipses in his *Etymologiae*:

An eclipse of the sun occurs whenever the moon, on the thirtieth lunar day, comes to that line where the sun travels, and by interposing itself before the sun, conceals it. Thus to us the sun appears to vanish when the orb of the moon is set before it... An eclipse of the moon occurs whenever the moon runs into the

⁸⁸⁴ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, pp. 71-2: “Haec tamen ex causis quas phisici nouerunt aliquatenus ad eum pertinent circa quem fiunt. Esto, dum aliena opera impedire aut promouere non queant, sicut nec inania carmina aut superstitionis quaedam ligaturae.” English translation is from John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, trans. Pike, pp. 55-6.

⁸⁸⁵ Luke 21.25; John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, pp. 89: “Quae uero huiusmodi stupore digna in his contingunt, plerumque signa esse non ambigit quisquis euangelicae promissionis fideliter meminit, cum scriptum sit: erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis.” English translation is from John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, trans. Pike, p. 71.

⁸⁸⁶ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, pp. 74-5.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 89. English translation is from John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, trans. Pike, p. 72.

⁸⁸⁹ I. Draelants, ‘Le Temps dans les Textes Historiographiques du Moyen Âge’ in *Le temps qu’il fait au Moyen Age: phénomènes atmosphériques dans la littérature, la pensée scientifique et religieuse*, ed. J. Ducos and C. Thomasset (Paris, 1998), pp. 91-138.

⁸⁶⁹ Von Stuckrad, ‘Interreligious Transfers’, p. 49.

shadow of the earth. The moon is thought not to have its own light, but to be illuminated by the sun; hence it disappears if the earth's shadow comes between it and the sun... This happens to the moon on the fifteenth lunar day.⁸⁹⁰

The existence of such natural explanations certainly did not mean that eclipses were ignored by witnesses. According to Richard of Devizes, a solar eclipse occurred on 23 June 1191:⁸⁹¹

Those who do not understand the causes of things marvelled greatly that, although the sun was not darkened by any clouds, in the middle of the day it shone with less than ordinary brightness. Those who study the working of the world, however, say that certain defects of the sun and moon do not signify anything.⁸⁹²

Watkins has discussed this passage in his consideration of Richard's "epistemological pragmatism", concluding that his focus on demystification reveals how challenges to Augustinianism are evidenced beyond the immediate influence of the schools.⁸⁹³ Regarding function, Richard appears to be using the knowledge associated with eclipses, or the lack thereof, as a means to disparage the credulous while simultaneously demonstrating his own erudition: eclipses need not be significant in every instance. Bartlett has identified how the

⁸⁹⁰ Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 3.58-9: "Eclipsis solis est, quotiens luna trigesima ad eandem lineam, qua sol vehitur, pervenit, eique se obiciens solem obscurat. Nam deficere nobis sol videtur, dum illi orbis lunae opponitur... Eclipsis lunae est, quotiens in umbram terrae luna incurrit. Non enim suum lumen habere, sed a sole inluminari putatur, unde et defectum patitur si inter ipsam et solem umbra terrae interveniat. Patitur autem hoc quinta decima luna eo usque." English translation is from Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, 3.58-9, p. 103.

⁸⁹¹ The eclipse of 23 June 1191 is also documented by Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, *MGH SSRG* 31 (Hanover, 1955), 1.10, p. 4.

⁸⁹² Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*: "Mirati sunt qui causas rerum nesciunt; nullis obstantibus soli nubibus, medio die solis radios solito lucere debilius, sed hii quos agitat mundi labor dicunt solis et lune defectus facere aliquid non significare."

⁸⁹³ Watkins, *History and the Supernatural*, pp. 35-8.

⁸⁶⁹ Von Stuckrad, "Interreligious Transfers", p. 49.

ability to predict eclipses has contributed to narratives of societal and cultural superiority and rationality.⁸⁹⁴ Richard's scorn of a section of English society is an example of this.

Natural explanation did not necessarily undermine the potentiality for significance, however. Natural phenomena and events which deviated from the usual course of nature were accepted means by which God might communicate for the benefit of his creatures. The interpretation of such signs was licit according to John of Salisbury. Conversely, he condemned methods of prediction pertaining to the delusion of augury. According to John, astrology is just one of a variety of superstitions. The types of "magician" (*magi*) John identifies include "soothsayers" (*aruspices*), "astrologers" (*mathematici* or *horoscopi*), "dream interpreters" (*conectores*), and "fortune tellers" (*sortilegi*).⁸⁹⁵ As will be discussed below, these terms are employed at varying points in the corpus of crusade narratives explored here, and consequently John's work represents an important reference text for understanding the sorts of practices alluded to in these works, and therefore their broader implications. As John himself was writing in the twelfth century, his work represents a particularly pertinent example of how means of reckoning might be conceptualised in this period.

2. The First Crusade

As discussed in Chapter 2, the First Crusade is portrayed as miraculous in its own right in its narrative histories. It follows therefore that these representations include frequent reference to phenomena and events interpreted as divine communications. Like miracles and visions, signs also demonstrate divine instrumentality in earthly affairs, and it will be shown below how they were employed in this capacity as part of authors' rhetorical strategies.

⁸⁹⁴ Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural*, pp. 52-61.

⁸⁹⁵ John of Salisbury, *Political Treatises*, p. 574.

2.1. Augury and Signs in First Crusade Narratives

The changeable nature of the line which was drawn between theoretically licit and illicit means of reckoning the future is reflected in several of the narrative sources for the First Crusade. That certain authors argue a case for the legitimacy of signs within their crusade histories reveals a contemporary lack of clarity surrounding the theology of signs. The interpretation of phenomena as signs is discussed at some length in Guibert of Nogent's history of the First Crusade. The crusade is consistently portrayed as an event of divine origin, and as a fulfilment of divine will through the Franks. Guibert demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of signs and the theology behind their interpretation, and incorporates a discussion of invented significance and incorrectly interpreted phenomena into a discussion similar to his criticism of falsified relics in his *De pignoribus sanctorum*.⁸⁹⁶ This passage reveals how the interpretation of natural phenomena as signs could be problematised, though as ever with Guibert one must take the limited circulation of the *Dei gesta* into consideration when assessing how representative it might have been.

Guibert criticises those who desire to see signs everywhere. He briefly describes how, one day when he was living in Beauvais, it was popularly acclaimed that a cross had appeared in the sky, though the author himself asserts that the clouds had formed no such shape.⁸⁹⁷ Thus the audience is cautioned against the immediate and reactionary interpretation of signs, and indeed Guibert's text may well reflect a real propensity towards the enthusiastic interpretation

⁸⁹⁶ Guibert of Nogent, 'De Pignoribus Sanctorum'; On Guibert's attitude towards the cult of saints, see especially C. Morris, 'A Critique of Popular Religion: Guibert of Nogent on *The Relics of the Saints*', in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. G. J. Cuming and D. Baker, *Studies in Church History* 8 (1972), pp. 55-60; and Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities*, pp. 70-5.

⁸⁹⁷ GN, 7.32, p. 330: "Testor deum me, Belvaci per id temporis constitutum, vidisse ad se versum obliquatas aliquantulum die media nubes, ut vix quippiam maius quam aut gruis aut speciem viderentur pretulisse ciconiae, cum ecce crucem celitus sibi missam urbanae passim voces conclamavere frequentes." Stackrad, 'Interreligious Transfers', p. 49.

of perceived signs. Rubenstein has interpreted this episode as a genuine reflection of an atmosphere of hysteria.⁸⁹⁸

As Richard of Devizes represents the science of eclipses to be the preserve of an intellectual elite, so Guibert considered the interpretation of true signs to have been the preserve of the educated few. Despite his criticism of falsely attributed significance, Guibert remained a firm believer in the significance of signs; he even counterbalances his criticism of false signs with a defence of true signs. In an echo of Augustine, Guibert argues that the Magi would not have known that Christ was to be born or that he would be both God and man had they not considered the “lofty light” (*superni luminis*) that showed them the way.⁸⁹⁹ This defence is included after the discussion of several signs, each of which is interpreted within the context of the First Crusade and serves to reinforce his representation of the crusade as divinely predestined. The anxiety evidenced by Guibert’s defence of signs can also be detected in his consideration of other means of reckoning.

A tension is revealed in Guibert’s use of prophecy as a means by which to situate the First Crusade within a framework of divine predestination, however. This is derived from the inextricable ties between allegedly superstitious practices and eastern, non-Christian intellectual traditions. Generally speaking, astrology and augury represent means of othering in these texts, and can therefore be viewed as part of the broader western European discourse in which ‘Saracens’ are portrayed as pagan idolaters.⁹⁰⁰ The role of astrology in this caricature would be challenged over the course of the twelfth century through increased

⁸⁹⁸ Rubenstein, ‘How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit’, pp. 60-1, and in *Armies of Heaven*, p. 47.

⁸⁹⁹ GN, 7.27, p. 321: “Intueamur et Magos, qui cum natum regem, et hunc ipsum deum et hominem, syderis editi repentina dispectione sensissent, quibus esset regnaturus pariter etiam noverant, sed ubi esset, prefata scientia nisi superni luminis indiculo scire non poterant.”

⁹⁰⁰ See especially Flori, ‘La Caricature de l’Islam’, passim; and J. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, NY, 2002), pp. 105-34. A useful survey of key scholarship on medieval European representations of Islam can be found in M. Pages, ‘Medieval Roots of the Modern Image of Islam: Fact and Fiction’, in *Bridging the Medieval-Modern Divide: Medieval Themes in the World of the Reformations*, ed. J. Mulderon (London, 2013), pp. 23-44.

exposure to and engagement with astrology. Augury, however, continued to evoke the classical Roman idolatry central to ‘paganising’ representations of Islam. While John Tolan has situated certain First Crusade narratives within this framework of othering,⁹⁰¹ the following analysis will discuss important exceptions to this rule, beginning with an example from Guibert’s *Dei gesta*. These exceptions engage in a type of mediated othering which enables representations of Muslim prophecy to be incorporated into a narrative as legitimate prognostications. The exploration of these examples broadens our understanding of how the authors of crusade narratives were able to manipulate motifs to serve the purposes of their texts.

Despite their association with augury and paganism, and likely on account of the links between the Arab world and natural sciences, prophecies of non-Christian origin appear to have held a particular authority. On account of this, they were particularly useful devices for authors who, like Guibert, sought to underscore the importance of the First Crusade. Guibert concedes that knowledge of the stars was “thinner and less plentiful” (*tenuior... et rarior*) among westerners than easterners, where the science had originated.⁹⁰² Having stated this, he goes on to describe how a prophecy existed among the *gentiles*, whereby they had predicted that the Christian people would one day subjugate them. However their skill in the art of reading the stars was incomplete, and therefore the expected date of this prophecy had not been calculated.⁹⁰³ The implication appears to be that, had it been correct, it would have corresponded to the events of the First Crusade. Guibert portrays the prophecy as one which

⁹⁰¹ Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 109-20. On Christian perceptions of Muslims in First Crusade texts, see especially A. Holt, ‘Crusading Against Barbarians: Muslims as Barbarians in Crusades Era Sources’, in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. A. Classen (Berlin, 2013), pp. 443-56; and N. Morton, *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 2016).

⁹⁰² GN, 7.26, pp. 318-9: “...quod scientia scilicet astrorum, quae apud Occidentales quo tenuior extat et rarior, eo apud Orientales, ubi et originem habuit...”

⁹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 319: “...continuo usu ac frequenti memoria magis fervere cognoscitur, evidens idem gentiles prognosticum se accepisse testantur, et iam dudum ante infortunia ipsa prescierant quia a christiano populo subigerentur, sed artis ipsius peritia ad integrum instrui non poterant, quo ista tempore complerentur.”

was renowned in the East; the elder Robert of Flanders is said to have encountered a “holier Saracen” (*sanctioris Sarracenum*) while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, who had explained that a council had been held to discuss that same portent.⁹⁰⁴ Presumably the identification of this particular Muslim as ‘holier’, in combination with his identification of the practice as being of eastern origin, contributed to Guibert’s representation of this prediction as a legitimate one.

In instances where a prediction of Muslim origin is of benefit to the author’s narrative, as with the portent that predicted Christian victory in the East in Guibert’s *Dei gesta*, it is common to find phrases which indicate that the individual was particularly wise. This form of mediated othering enables the individual’s predictions to appear legitimate. Another important example of this motif occurs during a conversation alleged to have taken place between Kerbogha, atabeg of Mosul, and his mother, in which Kerbogha is advised not to engage the Christian army in combat. The anecdote, originally included in the *Gesta Francorum*, has until recently been largely ignored as ‘camp gossip’ of no real utility to the historian.⁹⁰⁵ Hodgson has demonstrated how valuable the story of Kerbogha’s mother is to an understanding of how non-Christian women and motherhood was perceived and represented in crusade narratives.⁹⁰⁶ Hodgson has identified the role of Kerbogha’s mother as a soothsayer within this, suggesting that it was her otherness which made her role as an intelligent, religiously informed woman more believable.⁹⁰⁷ While the ascription of superstition does function to designate the other, it can also perform a function in its own

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid.: “Hospitabatur tunc comes isdem apud aliquem gravioris evi et expertioris ingenii vitaeque, quantum ad eos, sanctioris Sarracenum, cui Servus Dei usitatus erat vocabulum.”

⁹⁰⁵ Rosalind Hill describes the episode as ‘camp gossip’ in *GF*, p. xvi; Yuval Noah Harari has discussed this episode in relation to the status of the *Gesta Francorum* as an ‘eyewitness’ narrative, Harari, ‘Eyewitnessing’, pp. 89-90.

⁹⁰⁶ N. Hodgson, ‘The Role of Kerbogha’s Mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade’, in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S. B. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 163-76 and *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 190-6.

⁹⁰⁷ Hodgson, *Women*, pp. 190-6.

right. It is argued in what follows that Kerbogha's mother represents an example of the holier Saracen motif, and that as a result of this her otherness is partially suspended in order to validate her predictions.

According to both the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia*, the atabeg's mother had gained knowledge of the impending crusader victory by gazing "upon the stars of heaven" and by "shrewdly speculating and thoroughly examining with inquisitive mind the planets of the skies and the twelve signs of the zodiac and countless omens".⁹⁰⁸ Despite the description appearing similar to the superstition that Augustine so condemned, the impression given in these texts is not condemnatory. Her otherness appears lessened through her familiarity with Christian scripture, with which she engages throughout her speech.

In his version of this conversation, Robert the Monk develops the prophetic imagery substantially.⁹⁰⁹ Kerbogha's mother describes oracles as having cast lots, scrutinised the entrails of animals, and she herself as having "examined the courses of the stars, the seven planets and the twelve signs, in my wisdom with the astrologers... I have cast lots with the soothsayers".⁹¹⁰ Robert's version of her speech also includes references to Old Testament scripture.⁹¹¹ While the version provided by Baldric of Bourgueil does associate Kerbogha's mother with augury, he does not go to the same lengths as Robert. She is attributed with the ability to foretell future events (*futurorum presaga*) and knowledge of the stars gleaned from the study of the constellations. She is also described as a "soothsayer" (*sortilegi*) learned in many disciplines. Conversely, and in an echo of Old Testament descriptions of Isaac and Job,

⁹⁰⁸ PT, p. 95: "...in qua spiculando atque ingeniose rimando respexi in celorum astra, atque ingeniando sagaciter ac mente sedula scrutando celorum planetas, ac in xii polorum signa, sive in sortes innumeras..." English translation is from Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, 7, p. 71; also in *GF*, 9.21, p. 55.

⁹⁰⁹ RM, 6, pp. 61-5.

⁹¹⁰ RM, 6, p. 63: "'Cum astrologis siderum cursus, VII scilicet planetas et XII signa, sapienter contemplata sum, et quidquid phisiculari potest cum aruspices, extis et armis pecudum. Cum sortilegis sortes temperavi, et omnia in unum corcordant, gentique Francorum victoriae titulos prenuntiant...'" English translation is from Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, trans. C. Sweetenham, 6.12, pp. 156-7.

⁹¹¹ Particularly to Deuteronomy (10.17, 32.30, 39 and 41-2) and Exodus (23.20-23).

she is also described as “old and full of days” (*senex et plena dierum*), emphasising her wisdom.⁹¹² Guibert of Nogent discusses the episode at length. In the *Dei gesta*, Kerbogha’s mother bases her advice upon the same prophecy discussed above, and detailed later in Guibert’s text, that the Christians would subjugate the “Gentiles”.⁹¹³ Here, she is described as having tested that prediction using her skills in astronomy.⁹¹⁴ Particularly striking is Guibert’s description of her advice to Kerbogha as “miraculous” (*miraculo*), and the numerous allusions to scripture inserted into her speech.⁹¹⁵ Guibert therefore goes to the greatest lengths to mediate the otherness of Kerbogha’s mother. Notably, the story only appears in texts which are known to have drawn upon the *Gesta Francorum* or its derivatives, though the narratives of Raymond of Aguilers and Fulcher of Chartres, which hint at an intertextual connection with the *Gesta Francorum*, do not include the scene.

Jacqueline de Weever has identified a similar “erasure of alterity, of otherness” in her exploration of representations of Saracen women as heroines in *chansons de geste*.⁹¹⁶ While de Weever was able to identify such erasures even in fourteenth-century verse, the motif of the wise or holy Saracen in association with prophecy is not evidenced in the Latin prose narratives pertaining to the later crusades. Rather, outside First Crusade narratives any association between Muslims and the prediction of the future is resoundingly negative.

Walter the Chancellor, who wrote the *Historia Bella Antiochena* around two decades after the

⁹¹² BB, 3, p. 64: “Erat senex et plena dierum [Genesis 35.29 and Job 42.16], utpote centenaria et presaga futurum. Colligebat etiam multa mulier sortilega de constellationibus, et gemiculorum non erat ignara, et multarum disciplinarum erat conscia.”; Cf. OV 5, 9.10, p. 96: “Erat enim senex utpote centenaria et futurorum presaga. Colligebat etiam multa de constellationibus mulier sortilega: et gemiculorum multarumque disciplinarum conscia.” Scriptural allusions in Baldric’s version of her speech includes reference to 1 Kings 8.41 (BB, 3, p. 64).

⁹¹³ GN, 5.12, p. 215. Cf. GN, 7.26, p. 319.

⁹¹⁴ GN, 5.12, p. 215: “Ego etiam, astronomicam disciplinam diligentiori intentione disquirens innumerarumque sortium coniecturas attendens, equa omnium collatione edidici quia a christianis hominibus nos esset omnino necesse devinci...”

⁹¹⁵ GN, 5.11, pp. 212-4. Scriptural allusions include references to Matthew 15.16, Isaiah, 49.26, Psalms 20.13, 78.6, 81.8, 112.3-4, Romans, 8.15, 9.25, and Genesis 18.10 and 14.

⁹¹⁶ J. de Weever, *Sheba’s Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (London, 1998) p. xxv.

capture of Jerusalem by the First Crusade, declared that the “sultan of Khorasan” (by which he probably meant the Seljuk sultan Ghiyath ad-Din Muhammad) had heeded “the auguries of sun and moon” when planning the invasion of northern Syria in 1115.⁹¹⁷ Walter repeats this imagery later in the narrative, noting that Bursuq’s forces awaited “the augury of the crescent moon” while in the region of Shaizar.⁹¹⁸

It is significant that both Orderic Vitalis and William of Tyre chose to either amend or omit this anecdote in their own narratives of the First Crusade. Orderic, writing nearly four decades after the events of the First Crusade, significantly condenses the story. Any direct speech available in Orderic’s sources is excised, which in turn removes any of the implied positivity surrounding the character of Kerbogha’s mother achieved through the use of allusion to Christian scripture. She is simply a centenarian and a prophetess knowledgeable of the horoscopes.⁹¹⁹ Writing a further forty years after Orderic, William of Tyre omits the episode from his narrative altogether. In marked contrast, he includes an instance of alleged witchcraft during his treatment of the siege of Jerusalem, which he drew from Raymond of Aguilers’ history.⁹²⁰ At the point at which the city’s defenders realised that they could not prevail against the Christian siege machinery, “two witches” (*duas... maleficas*) were brought out onto the walls in order that they might render the siege machine powerless through their “magic incantations” (*magicis carminibus*).⁹²¹ Although engaged in this enchantment, they

⁹¹⁷ Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896), 1.2, p. 66: “Interrogati Persiam gaudere ob ruinam et interitum Syriae publice respondent referuntque soldanum Corocensem, a sole et luna acceptis auguriis, totius Persiae exercitum mandare et ipsam Syriam, a Deo derelictam signo terrae motus cum aliquantulo inhabitantium residuo suo dominio ex facili posse subici profecto confirmare.”

⁹¹⁸ Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, 1.3, p. 90: “...crescentis lunae augurium exspectabant...”

⁹¹⁹ OV 5, 4.10, p. 96: “Erat enim senex utpote centenaria et futurorum presaga. Colligebat etiam multa de constellationibus mulier sortilega, et geniculorum multarumque disciplinarum conscia.”

⁹²⁰ RA, p. 149: “Quod cum duę mulieres petrariam unam de nostris fascinare vellent, lapis de eodem tormento viriliter excussus, mulieres carminantes cum tribus puellis parvulis illisit, atque animabus excussis incantationes avertit.”

⁹²¹ WT1, 8.15, pp. 406-7: “Erat sane nostris exterius una inter ceteras machina, que saxa miri ponderis in urbem multa violentia et impetu immittebat horribili, que stragem in populo civium proficere, duas adduxerunt maleficas, ut eam fascinarent et magicis carminibus redderent inpotentem.”

and the three girls who attended them were struck by a millstone which had been flung by the same machine. Crushed, their lifeless bodies fell from the walls.⁹²² As part of William's text, this anecdote functions at several levels. That the Muslim men had to call upon women when they themselves had failed to defend the city functions to emasculate them. Further, the event symbolises the superiority of the Christian God over the superstitious and flawed beliefs of their enemy. Here, both women and superstition are employed as motifs to undermine. The alteration and omission of the story of Kerbogha's mother over the course of the twelfth century suggests that the mediating aspect of its earlier versions became somehow problematic and ultimately dispensable. Indeed, such representations were in the minority, and most representations of non-Christian means of reckoning in crusade narratives relied upon a prevalent discourse of the pagan Saracen. However, one First Crusade narrative constructs the entire endeavour using pre-Christian motifs.

Ralph of Caen's education was firmly grounded in classical literature and history, and he appears to have been keen to parade this fact; his *Gesta Tancredi* includes references to Virgil, Ovid, Livy, Caesar, Lucan and Sallust, among others.⁹²³ This occurs at the expense of language which ascribes events to divine will; the language of the heroic epic supercedes that of divine association in Ralph's attempts to eulogise the focus of his work. This results in some intriguing considerations of signs in the *Gesta Tancredi* which employ classical motifs of augury despite what other near-contemporary sources might suggest about their illegitimacy in the eyes of the Catholic Church.

Having described the crusader entry into Antioch, Ralph relates an episode unique among the narratives of the First Crusade. The crusade leaders, having met for dinner one evening, were

⁹²² WT1, 8.15, p. 407: "Que dum suis prestigiis instarent super murum et incantationibus, repente ex eadem machina molaris immissus utramque illarum cum tribus puellis que illarum gressum fuerant comitate, obrivit et excussis animabus de muro inferius deiecit exanimas."

⁹²³ Bachrach and Bachrach trans., *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen*, pp. 4-5.

suddenly taken aback by Bohemond's behaviour: he had drawn his sword, and declared that he would cut one of the candles, which was much larger than the others in the room, in half with a single blow. Having done what he had boasted Bohemond and the others present watched as both halves of the candle reignited spontaneously.⁹²⁴ Many came to witness the "wonder" (*mirabile*). However, the flame on the piece of candle that had remained standing went out suddenly. Ralph comments that this was a "sad augury" (*augurium triste*) because the wax and the flame had not become exhausted together at once. As a result, the "soothsayers" (*aruspices*) predicted that though there was hope that Bohemond would have offspring in the future, they would soon pass away.⁹²⁵ Ralph then quotes Virgil's *Aeneid*, before commenting that Virgil said other things which served as a prophecy regarding the death of Bohemond the Younger.⁹²⁶ Ralph uses the Latin epic as an authority in a way which mirrors the use of scripture in other crusade sources, and indeed in the Latinate textual output of western Europe more broadly at that time. The event is described as a "wonder" (*mirabile*), a "prodigy" or "omen" (*prodigium*), and an "augury" (*augurium*), and the interpretation of the event is allegedly that of "soothsayers" (*aruspices*); the latter three all being traditionally associated with superstitious practices. Rather than reflecting Ralph's own understanding of the mechanics of the supernatural, it is more likely that this represents a stylistic veneer applied by Ralph onto the narrative of the First Crusade in order that he might engage with the heroicising language of the pre-Christian epic. Despite Ralph's nuanced approach to representing signs, his consideration of these themes remains instructive for the

⁹²⁴ RC, 239, p. 66: "Fit itaque cereus unus duo, quod dictum est mirabile, ardens, ardentis: ardet, quae ardens deciderat, pars superior; ardet inferior, quae fixa astabat, neminis manu admoto igne, per se accensa."

⁹²⁵ RC, 241, p. 66: "Quia uero ocius euanuit, qui succreuerat, igniculus, sobolis quidem aruspices promittunt spem future, at mox transiturae."

⁹²⁶ RC, 241, p. 66: "'Ostendent, aiunt, terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra Esse sinent', et cetera, quae subdidit Mantuanus; quae nos in nece Boamundi iunioris uidimus completa."; Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6, lines 869-70, as made available at <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/vergil/aen6.shtml> (Accessed: 24 August 2016): "Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra esse sinent."

following exploration of how First Crusade texts utilised themes pertaining to means of reckoning.

2.2. The Functions of Signs in First Crusade Narratives

The First Crusade is unique among the crusades discussed in this thesis insofar as it is the only crusade with a preponderance of positively interpreted signs. These signs are usually of an astronomical nature, and more broadly function to situate the endeavour within a framework of divine predestination. This legitimates the crusade and its participants as instruments of divine will. On an individual level, and much like miracles, such phenomena might be incorporated into a text with or without an accompanying interpretation of their significance. This does not mean that those events narrated without interpretation fail to communicate meaning; the interpretation of the audience is often anticipated. That an event should be interpreted as the author intended relies both upon the immediate narrative context of the anecdote, and upon a cultural dialogue in which certain phenomena might be interpreted in certain ways. Interpretation, when it is incorporated into the narrative itself, can be that of a witness or of a non-witness. Similarly, the author himself might function as witness and/or interpreter. To complicate matters further, conflicting interpretations might be offered without resolution. The following will consider interpretation, lack of interpretation, and conflicting interpretations in order to demonstrate the breadth of ways that signs and their significance are considered and utilised in narrative histories of the First Crusade. The first of these loose categorisations to be explored here concerns individuals attributed with interpretative authority.

The phrase *scientia astrorum*, or “knowledge of the stars”, is used by Guibert for the science of reading and interpreting the movement of the celestial bodies.⁹²⁷ Individuals attributed

⁹²⁷ GN, 7.26, pp. 318-9: “...quod scientia scilicet astrorum, quae apud Occidentales quo tenuior extat et rarior, eo apud Orientales, ubi et originem habuit...”

with such skills appear to have been looked to for reliable interpretation in the event of a potential sign; their knowledge qualified them as interpretative authorities and their interpretations as more than superstition. While it may be the case that this merely represents a motif by which an author might seek to encourage confidence in the significance attributed to a sign in his narrative, there are examples where the authority is named and his role in the interpretation of the sign cannot be ruled out.

There is a notable clustering of interpreted signs around descriptions of the siege and countersiege of Antioch between October 1097 and June 1098, many bearing similar characteristics. The prevalent motif is of a reddening of the sky, though events described in similar terms are situated across the period of the crusaders' engagement at Antioch. The earliest example is from Raymond of Aguilers's narrative. Raymond, who was present at Antioch, records a red sky which was seen "on the third day before the Kalends of January".⁹²⁸ It is also unique among the versions of the red sky motif considered here in that it is interpreted negatively. The description is presented as part of Raymond's account of the suffering experienced by the crusaders during the initial eight-month siege. Immediately after a description of an earthquake, that typical ill-omen, Raymond records that the sky turned red in the north during the first watch of the night, as though dawn were coming. It is interpreted as a chastisement from God which did not succeed in wresting the minds of many from sinful occupations.⁹²⁹ It was at this time, Raymond continues, that Adhémar of Le Puy prescribed fasts, prayers, alms, and processions so that the current tribulations experienced by the

⁹²⁸ RA, p. 54: "Interea terremotus factus est magnus in Kalendas ianuarii."

⁹²⁹ Ibid.: "Namque in prima vigilia noctis ita cælum rubicundum a septentrione fuit ut quasi suborta aurora diem deferre videretur. Et licet hoc modo exercitum suum Deus flagellaverit, ut lumini quod in tenebris oriebatur iatenderemus, tamen ita quorundam mentes cece et precipites erant ut neque a luxuria, vel rapina revocarentur."

crusaders might be ended.⁹³⁰ In this instance the interpretation is given without mention of the responsible party.

The red night sky over Antioch is also described by so-called theologically refined narratives of the First Crusade. Robert the Monk describes a comet which was seen in the sky the morning after the crusade army entered the city (3 June 1098). The comet gave off a reddish glow, and it was with this sign in the sky that the army entered Antioch as dawn returned. Robert explains that this heralded change within the *regnum*.⁹³¹ That change appears to have been the crusader conquest of the city of Antioch. Robert does not specify whose interpretation this was; it could represent an interpretation imposed upon this event at any point between its occurrence and its commitment to parchment.

That the credibility of an interpretation might be of concern to an author is revealed in Guibert's crusade narrative. The red sky is one of several signs discussed by Guibert; he describes it as like a fire which was visible in the night sky during the siege of Antioch (October 1097-June 1098). Guibert's version is unusual as the red light took the form of a cross.⁹³² "Some of the wise men there related the fire to future battles, and said that the appearance of a cross was a sign of certain salvation and victory to come. We do not call this an error, for many witnesses confirm this testimony."⁹³³ Here Guibert employs three methods intended to add legitimacy to the sign's interpretation: first, that the sign's meaning was deduced by "wise men" (*sapientium*); second, that the sign itself had multiple witnesses; and

⁹³⁰ Ibid.

⁹³¹ RM, 5, pp. 54-5: "Nec reticendum quoniam sub illa nocte cometa, quae regni mutationem praesignat, inter alia caeli sidera rutilabat, et suae lucis radios producebat; et inter Septentrionem et Orientem igneus rubor in caelo coruscabat. His evidentibus signis in caelo radiantibus, et aurora terris lucem referente, exercitus Dei portas Antiochiae intravit..."

⁹³² GN, 7.35, p. 333: "Preterea, dum in obsidione Antiochena morantur, astruit, nisi fallor, noctu rutilum in modum ignis super exercitum emicuisse iubar et speciem haud ambigua forma pariter exhibuisse crucis."

⁹³³ Ibid.: "Quod quique illic sapientium incendium ad bella retulere future, ubi tamen esset – quod crux videretur innuere – certa salus et successura victoria. Hoc non refellimus, id plane uberrimis testimoniis approbatur, hoc, inquam, rimarum plenus poterit tacuisse Parmeno." English translation is from Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks*, 7, p. 157. Cf. EA, p. 18, and *HeFI*, p. 62.

third that Guibert appears to have been evoking a recognisable motif in describing the light as shaped like a cross. The motif of the cross in the sky had significant precedent: most famously in the *Vita Constantini* of Eusebius (d. c. 340), a story described by Constable as having been “well known” in the Middle Ages.⁹³⁴ In the *Vita Constantini*, a cross of light was seen in the sky by Constantine and his army.⁹³⁵ Constantine later had a vision of Christ, in which he was instructed to fashion his battle standard (the Labarum) in the shape of that sign. By using this imagery, Guibert places the crusade within a tradition of divinely sanctioned warfare.

Raymond and Robert describe another celestial phenomenon visible to the crusaders at Antioch. When Robert describes a great fire which had been visible in the sky at Antioch before it fell into the Turkish camp the night after the Holy Lance was recovered (14 June 1098), he notes that it symbolised that the wrath of God had come from the West in the form of the Christian army.⁹³⁶ Had these interpretations been made in the immediate aftermath of the phenomenon being witnessed, it would reveal an assured confidence in the future of the expedition on the part of its protagonists. While it is much more likely that these represent interpretations formed after Antioch was secured, or even after Jerusalem was conquered the following year, the anecdote serves to create an atmosphere of confidence in the historical moment in which the sign was witnessed. Robert was certainly aware of this function; during his account of the Christian embassy to Kerbogha at some point between 24 and 28 June,⁹³⁷ the author has one of the Christian ambassadors Herluin explain to Kerbogha that the fire

⁹³⁴ G. Constable, ‘The Cross of the Crusaders’, in *Crusaders and Crusading*, pp. 45-92, p. 84. For a useful summary on Eusebius, his life and works, see T. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Chichester, 2014), pp. 9-13.

⁹³⁵ Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. A. Cameron and S. G. Hall (Oxford, 1999), 28.2, p. 81.

⁹³⁶ RM, 7, p. 69: “...quia ignis de celo descendens ira Dei erat; quia vero ab occidente venerat...”

⁹³⁷ On the dating of the embassy to Kerbogha and the significance of this, see Asbridge, ‘The Holy Lance’, pp. 15-6.

which fell amongst their tents the previous night was a message from God.⁹³⁸ Thus Robert places the interpretation's origin at or soon after the moment that it was witnessed.

Raymond also describes the falling star: a great star appeared one night over the city before it split into three parts and fell into the Turkish camps.⁹³⁹ Strengthened by these signs, the crusader army waited with anticipation for the fifth day and the coming of God's mercy in the form of the recovery of the Holy Lance (from which it can be assumed that the star was seen around 9 June). Again, the sign is represented as reassuring witnesses and other protagonists through a contemporary interpretation in their favour.

Both Raymond and Robert are careful to portray these signs as indicative of God's will, and in this they are representative of the majority of signs in these sources. Important exceptions are contained in Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*. Having described how the crusader army had prepared to sally out of Antioch to meet Kerbogha's army on 28 June 1098, Ralph of Caen suddenly takes his narrative back to the previous night. He describes how a certain man had beseeched the army to rise quickly because the stars heralded their imminent victory.⁹⁴⁰ Ralph goes on to explain that this man had learnt as a child to read the order of the stars and what they "portend" (*portendant*). Ralph then embarks upon a brief discussion of the constellations and signs of the zodiac, including Leo, Gemini and Orion. Ralph is engaging with horoscopic imagery here, and in doing so reflects the influence of various non-Christian classical authors upon his writing style.⁹⁴¹ The individual who was, according to Ralph, schooled in reading the stars had adequate interpretative authority to be taken seriously on

⁹³⁸ RM, 7, p. 71: "...quoniam ipsius Dei nostri certam inde habemus legationem."

⁹³⁹ RA, p. 74. "Eo tempore contigerunt nobis plurime revelationes, per fratres nostros, et signum in celo mirabile vidimus. Nam stella quedam maxima per noctem super civitatem stetit, que post paulum in tres partes divisa est, atque in Turcorum castris cecidit."

⁹⁴⁰ RC, 266, p. 73: "Surge, age, surge cito, quid signa polumque moraris? Celitus ecce micat uictoria, suspice stellas: ante sequebatur, modo quae preceedit, at illa, quae nunc retromeat, nunc usque, Arnulfe, preibat. Surge, ducesque ciens, in prelia coge, pericli si quicquam est, obses teneat, cremat aut crucifagar, et coniux et uterque parens et gnatus uterque!"

⁹⁴¹ See Chapter 4, section 2.1.

account of this. Arnulf of Chocques, in many ways a controversial character, is then also described by Ralph as having been instructed in the art of reading the stars.⁹⁴² Whether or not Arnulf (or indeed Ralph) himself perceived the portents within a divine context or not is unclear; he is not presented thus by Ralph, who studied under the instruction of Arnulf in Caen. Arnulf, chaplain to Robert of Normandy during the First Crusade, went on to become the patriarch of Jerusalem for a brief period in 1099, then again in 1112-1115 and 1116-1118.⁹⁴³ It is difficult to imagine that Arnulf, who in turn received his education from none other than Lanfranc at Caen in the 1060s, was not acquainted with the contemporary theology of signs, or at least with the negative connotations of zodiacal reckoning.⁹⁴⁴ It is likely that Arnulf, to whom Ralph dedicated his work, was the source of this anecdote, and one can therefore presume that Ralph's classical portrayal of the episode was not displeasing to his former tutor.

Ralph of Caen is unusual in omitting nods to divine power during his discussion of signs, and this is representative of the approach taken in the *Gesta Tancredi* as a whole. He pushes his discussion of signs in the opposite direction by associating them with horoscopic and therefore technically illicit practices. As discussed above, this is part of Ralph's representation of the First Crusade as an epic, and should not be seen as representative of his personal understanding of signs.

Arnulf was not unusual as a churchman in possession of a level of *scientia astrorum*: according to Orderic Vitalis, Bishop Gilbert of Lisieux, an "elderly physician" (*senex*

⁹⁴² Arnulf of Chocques is described by Hamilton as having been "able and in some respects devout, [but] not without his critics". For more details of Arnulf's career, see B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980), esp. pp. 61-4.

⁹⁴³ Bachrach and Bachrach, trans., *The Gesta Tancredi*, pp. 1-2.

⁹⁴⁴ D. S. Spear, 'The School of Caen Revisited', *The Haskins Society Journal* 4 (1992), pp. 55-66.

medicus), had a comprehensive knowledge of the stars.⁹⁴⁵ The bishop would often plot the course of the stars through the heavens. One night, at around the time of the Council of Clermont in November 1095, he beheld a particular “prodigy of the stars” (*prodigium astorum*) and brought it to the attention of Walter of Corneilles, who was on watch while the others at court were asleep. Gilbert asked Walter if he could see the “sign” (*signum*). Walter confirmed that he could, but was unable to tell what it “portends” (*portendat*). Gilbert advised that, in his opinion, it prefigured the migration of peoples to other kingdoms. The implication here is that Gilbert had interpreted the sign as portending the expedition to Jerusalem, thus framing the crusade within a context of divine predestination.

Whoever was responsible for the interpretation of a sign, the inclusion of that meaning within the narrative renderings of the First Crusade serves to situate the endeavour within a framework of divine will, thereby supporting the theological underpinnings of the entire expedition. Interpretation did not need to be provided in order for a sign to communicate significance, however.

It is common for natural phenomena to be incorporated into chronicles without interpretation or elaboration.⁹⁴⁶ Such examples of ostensibly objective reportage were not necessarily void of meaning; often meaning is implied, or can be detected on account of the surrounding narrative. Undoubtedly such implied meaning would also depend upon traditions in which certain events indicated specific things. For example, John of Salisbury notes that a destructive lightning bolt is an ill omen, and that earthquakes represent grave tidings.⁹⁴⁷ Certainly, such traditions would have been manifold and contradictory: Albert of Aachen

⁹⁴⁵ Gilbert Maminot was bishop of Orderic’s own diocese. Marjorie Chibnall has suggested that while it is unlikely that Orderic ever conversed with Gilbert at any length, stories about him may have circulated at Orderic’s monastery. This story is one of the examples which she uses to support this argument. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis*, p. 186.

⁹⁴⁶ Ward, *Miracles*, p. 207.

⁹⁴⁷ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, 1.13, pp. 68-70.

describes how an earthquake occurred “in affirmation” (*affirmatione*) of the popular response to Peter the Hermit’s message, and that it should be interpreted as “predicting nothing other than” the mobilisation of armies from the kingdoms of the Franks and of Lotharingia, as well as from the German and English lands and from the kingdom of the Danes.⁹⁴⁸ Nonetheless, just because a natural phenomenon is described without interpretation does not mean that the author did not intend it to be recognised as a sign by his audience.

The mysterious reddening of the sky at Antioch discussed by Raymond, Robert and Guibert is also documented by Fulcher of Chartres. After his description of the expulsion of the women from the camp and of the widespread famine, Fulcher records a “marvellous redness” (*ruborem mirabilem*) as having been visible in the sky, as well as a great stirring of the earth.⁹⁴⁹ In contrast to the other accounts, Fulcher does not offer any interpretation, nor is God directly referred to as the party responsible. Fulcher also reveals a reluctance to incorporate interpretations of signs elsewhere in his work. For example, his description of a brilliant white sword which appeared in the sky over Heraclea and pointed towards the East is not accompanied by an interpretation.⁹⁵⁰ William of Malmesbury follows Fulcher’s lead by including a description of the “sign in the sky” (*signum in caelo*) without any further elaboration.⁹⁵¹ The implication is that the sword represented the crusader army as it advanced eastwards, though this is voiced by neither author; ultimately, the interpretation of such episodes was dependent upon individual familiarity with traditions of understanding.

⁹⁴⁸ AA, 1.5, p. 8: “In quorum affirmatione terremotus magnus factus est, nil aliud portendens quam diuersorum regnorum iter moturas legions, tam ex regno Francie quam Lotharingie, terre Theutonicorum, simul et Anglorum, et ex regno Danorum.”

⁹⁴⁹ FC, 15.16, p. 244: “. . . tunc temporis vidimus in caelo unum ruborem mirabilem, insuper sensimus terrae motum magnum, qui nos pavidos reddidit omnes.”

⁹⁵⁰ FC, 4.1, pp. 203-5: “Vidimus in caelo signum, quoddam, quod alburno splendore fulgens apparuit in modum ensis figuratum, cuspide versus Orientem protento. sed quod futurum promittebat nesciebamus, sed praesentia et futura Domino committebamus.”

⁹⁵¹ WM, 4.358, p. 630: “Inde ergo per Antiochiam Pisidiae et Iconium urbes Eracleam uenere; ibi signum in caelo uiderunt modo ensis fulminei figuratum, mucrone uersus orientem protento.”

Baldric of Bourgueil also discusses signs which he refrains from interpreting. Having described how many people chose to take the cross, Baldric goes on to comment that many reported “signs from heaven” (*diuinitus... signa*).⁹⁵² Undoubtedly, these signs are understood to have been divine in origin. Baldric records that on the day before the Nones of April in 1095 a “hail” of countless stars was seen to fall over France.⁹⁵³ Baldric does admit that stars have been known to have fallen thus from heaven, therefore suggesting that this event was not unusual enough to be necessarily considered a sign. Baldric makes it clear however that he wanted it to be considered as such by his audience. While he does not speculate about what the phenomenon “portended” (*portenderit*), he does note that the mysteries of God are unknown.⁹⁵⁴ The use of this phrase, while representing a more general motif of humility in the face of God’s creation, also functions as a prompt for the audience to consider for itself what the significance of this event might have been. That the falling stars are included within a work dedicated to the narration of the First Crusade, and occurred soon after the Council of Piacenza (1-7 March 1095), where Pope Urban received a plea for aid from the Byzantine emperor, and only months before Urban gave his symbolic sermon at the Council of Clermont (27 November 1095), all encourage a reader to interpret the phenomena in the context of the crusade. Thus Baldric is able to utilise the falling stars as a sign that God had preordained the crusade without venturing to offer an interpretation himself. That this was the intended meaning is confirmed when Baldric’s version is compared to that of Orderic Vitalis,

⁹⁵² BB, 1.6, p. 141: “Nimirum pro his agendis dicunt quedam diuinitus contigisse signa, que nos omnino non ignoramus uera.”

⁹⁵³ *Grando* can be translated figuratively as meaning ‘multitude’, however given the immediate context (i.e. Baldric’s discussion of these stars as having fallen), I believe the literal translation of ‘hail’ or ‘hailstorm’ to be more accurate. BB, 1.6 pp. 140-1.

⁹⁵⁴ BB, 1, p. 11: “Anno siquidem ab incarnatione domini millesimo nonagesimo quinto, pridie nonarum Aprilium, feria quarta, luna uigesima quinta, uisus est ab innumeris inspectoribus in Galliis tantus stellarum discursus, ut grando, nisi lucent, pro densitate putarentur. Opinabantur etiam quidam eas cecidisse; nos tamen de earum occubitu nichil temere praesumimus affirmare. Nouimus tamen, ueritate testante, quia quandoque stellae cadent de celo. De discursu autem uel earum coruscationibus, si quis hesitat, uel nobis credat, uel annalibus nostris, in quibus id notatum repperiet, saltem adquiescat. Quid autem concursus iste precipue portenderit minime diffinimus, presertim cum nobis nondum datum sit nosse mysterium Dei. Sed per parabolas et quasdam competentias motui stellarum Christianitatis motum comparabant.”

who used the former's work for certain sections of his chronicle. Orderic records how a shower of stars, beheld by many in France in April 1095, could have been mistaken for hail had they not shone so brightly.⁹⁵⁵ In a diversion from Baldric, however, Orderic develops the anecdote by commenting that many were alleged to have interpreted the event as an indication of the imminent fulfilment of Scripture: namely, that the sixth seal of the Apocalypse had been opened and that the stars would fall from heaven.⁹⁵⁶ It is significant that Orderic does not explicitly align himself with that interpretation. Writing nearly forty years after these events, Orderic maintains a tone of reportage in his description of this particular sign. Rubenstein has argued that such apocalyptic interpretations of signs are indicative of a popular contemporary conceptualisation of the present as the End Times: "The words of prophecy had become the language of current events."⁹⁵⁷ As part of Orderic's representation of the First Crusade, at least, the evocation of apocalyptic discourse certainly serves to enhance the crusade's significance as a part of sacred history. Such language is also evidenced in Ekkehard of Aura's crusade narrative.

Ekkehard dedicates much of his crusade narrative to signs which occurred around the time that the First Crusade was preached. His tone is thick with eschatology: the crusade represented an important step in the route to the End Times. According to him, during the times of the emperors Henry IV and Alexius of Constantinople, nation was rising against nation as foretold by the Gospel. This apocalyptic atmosphere was charged with the occurrence of earthquakes, famine, pestilence, and great signs from heaven which occurred

⁹⁵⁵ OV 5, 9.2, p. 8: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oXC^oV^o indictione iii pridie nonas Aprilis, feria iiii, luna xxv in Galliis ab innumeris inspectoribus uisus est tantus stellarum discursus: ut grando nisi luceret pro densitate putarentur."

⁹⁵⁶ OV 5, 9.2, p. 8: "Multi etiam stellas cecidisse opinati sunt: ut scriptura impleretur quæ dicit, quia quandoque stellæ cadent cælo." Cf. Revelation 6.13.

⁹⁵⁷ Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, p. 44.

all around the world.⁹⁵⁸ Ekkehard notes that he is unable to list all of the relevant episodes and so chooses the “most useful” (*utilissimum*).⁹⁵⁹ This is an interesting example of the *topos* of examples too numerous to relate, discussed above.⁹⁶⁰ In this instance, utility appears to be the ability for a particular sign to demonstrate the eschatological significance of the crusade. Ekkehard’s signs are included without immediate interpretation, but succeed in communicating the perceived eschatological significance of the crusade more than any other First Crusade narrative through the construction of an atmosphere of change. More intriguing still is the fact that several of the signs related by Ekkehard are alleged to have been witnessed by him in early October 1096: he saw a comet in the likeness of a sword in the southern sky;⁹⁶¹ he also witnessed “bloody clouds” (*nubes... sanguineas*) coming together from both the East and the West; and on another occasion, at midnight, Ekkehard and many others observed fiery torches flying through the air from the North.⁹⁶² Having related these experiences, Ekkehard moves on to include several signs witnessed by acquaintances of his, including Siggerius the priest’s account of two horseman who fought in the sky and Gaius the priest’s description of a sword “of marvellous length” (*mirae longitudinis*) which was lifted to imperceptible heights by a sudden wind.⁹⁶³ As discussed above, Ekkehard also includes a longer discussion of celestial horsemen witnessed at this time. This latter anecdote does

⁹⁵⁸ EA, p. 12: “Tempore Henrici IV, imperatoris Romani et Alexii Constantinopolitani, juxta præsagium evangelicum, surrexit undique gens contra gentem, et regnum adversus regnum, et terræ motus magni errant per loca, et pestilentia et fames, terrorsque de caelo, et signa magna; et quia jam in omnes gentes evangelica tuba justii judicis adventum præconabatur, ecce etiam totum circumquaque mundum signa prophetata portendentem universalis ecclesia contemplatur.”

⁹⁵⁹ EA, p. 18: “Præterea signum in sole, quod præscriptum est, visum, multaque quæ tam in aere, quam in terriis portent apparuerunt, ad hujusmodi exercitia non paucos antea torpidos excitaverunt, e quibus aliqua hic interseri duximus utilissimum, cuncta vero longissimum.”

⁹⁶⁰ Cf. OD, 1, p. 10.

⁹⁶¹ EA, p. 18: “Nam et nos cometen in plaga meridiana stantem, suumque splendorem in obliquum gladii more protendentem tunc circa nonas octobris vidimus.”

⁹⁶² Ibid.: “Nubes quoque sanguineas, tam ab Occidente quam ab Oriente surgentes, sibi invicem in cæli centro concurrentes, rursumque mediis fere noctibus a Septentrione igneos exurgere splendores, plerumque etiam faculas per aerem volitantes vidisse nos testibus plerisque comprobamus.”

⁹⁶³ Ibid.: “Eodem tempore G. presbyter, qui nunc sub monachica professione nobiscum pro primogenitis asini debitum ovinum Christo persolbit, hora quadam meridiana cum duobus comitibus in silva deambulans, gladium miræ longitudinis venti vertigine, ignotum unde levaretur, in sublime deferri vidit, et quousque visum altitude celaret, tam fragorem auribus, quam metallum oculis discrevit.”

reveal something of how it was received, at least by Ekkehard, who notes that some of the marvellous knights were seen to bear the sign of the cross, and were therefore identified as crusaders. This elaboration is unnecessary; the context of the signs discussed by Ekkehard makes it clear that he intends that these events be interpreted in direct relation to the preaching of the cross, its enthusiastic reception and the divine nature of the expedition itself. The eschatological aspect of Ekkehard's discussion of signs emerges again following his description of the celestial battle: a woman, who was pregnant for two years, eventually gave birth to a son who could already speak; animals were born with two heads; and mares gave birth to foals with the teeth of three-year-old pack horses.⁹⁶⁴ Thus all of creation exerted itself that potential participants might be roused by these signs.⁹⁶⁵ Here multiple signs lacking individual interpretations combine on account of their narrative context to create a comprehensive defence of the enterprise as a divine undertaking. Yet it is by no means guaranteed that a sign, either as lived experience or as presented in text, will be interpreted consistently or correctly. Examples where authors present various interpretations in order to supersede them with what was considered to have been the correct one exemplify this.

An author might relate several interpretations of a single event. A descriptive account of a sign in the sky is provided by Albert of Aachen after his account of the victory at Antioch and the activities of Baldwin at Edessa. All those who were on watch that night witnessed this "wondrous vision" (*uisio mirifica*). The stars, at first grouping together and shining brightly, then circled the heavens before breaking up. Those who witnessed it were much afraid, rousing those who slept so that they too could witness the marvel. Albert presents several of the interpretations allegedly offered by those witnesses. However the true meaning of the

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid.: "Quid referam temporibus ipsis mulierem quamdam, duobus annis continuis imprægnantem, tandemque dirupto utero filium loquentem fiduisse; itemque infantulum per omnia bimembrem, alterum vero capite bino, agnellos quoque aliquos binis capitibus exortos fuisse, pullos etiam equarum dentes majores, quos equinos vulgo appellant, quosque nonnisi trimis caballis natura concedit, in ipso partu protulisse?"

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid.: "His et hujusmodi signis tota creatura in Creatoris se militia cohortante..."

vision, according to Albert, transpired to be far better: the leaders who had become scattered after victory at Antioch reunited and continued their journey towards Jerusalem.⁹⁶⁶ Thus Albert presents incorrect interpretations of signs in order to supersede them with what had emerged as the ‘correct’ one based upon the events which followed. This reveals how multiple analyses of a single event would circulate simultaneously, and also emphasises a particular characteristic of signs as discussed by Hamilton: signs, unlike most visions, could be witnessed by an unlimited audience, each with equal facility for interpretative agency.⁹⁶⁷

Albert’s description of contemporary responses to another sign indicates that witnesses did not necessarily utilise this agency. As the army drew closer to Jerusalem an eclipse occurred which turned the moon blood red. Those with knowledge of the stars comforted the fearful, explaining that the portent was a good one for the Christians: it portended the destruction of the Saracens. Should an eclipse of the sun occur, however, it would spell disaster for the Christians.⁹⁶⁸ This anecdote appears to corroborate what Ralph’s account of Arnulf of Chocques and the knight and Guibert’s version of the red light over Antioch both seem to suggest: namely that individual participants credited with knowledge of astronomy were looked to by their companions for interpretations of signs. While it is quite possible that this reflects a genuine propensity to look to those who claimed intellectual authority in this regard, it can be more confidently concluded that these authors chose to portray the signs as interpreted by a knowledgeable individual in order to encourage confidence in that interpretation. This would mean that the interpretation could in reality have been that of the author simply presented through an alleged authority, or genuinely derived from another

⁹⁶⁶ AA, 5.25, pp. 366-8.

⁹⁶⁷ Hamilton, “God Wills It”, p. 95.

⁹⁶⁸ AA, 5.43, p. 398: “Ibidem eclipsis lune que quintadecima erat in colorem sanguinem tota usque ad medium noctis commutate, omnibus id perspicentibus timorem non modicum afferret, nisi a quibusdam quibus noticia astrorum patebat hoc solamen redderetur. Dicebant nempe non hoc portentum malum omen Christianorum esse affuturum, sed defectionem lune et eius sansuineam obscuritatem interitum Sarracenorum proculdubio ostendere. Solic uero eclypsi noxium Christianorum esse portentum affirmabant.”

individual who was in turn either known as an authority or was represented as such for purposes of credibility.

It is significant given the important role of signs in the crusade narratives of Guibert of Nogent, Baldric of Bourgueil and Robert the Monk (and indeed in the participant narratives of Fulcher of Chartres and Raymond of Aguilers) that the only discussion of signs or augury in the *Gesta Francorum* occurs during the description of the conversation between Kerbogha and his mother, discussed above.⁹⁶⁹ While it has already been shown how these three works refined the *Gesta Francorum*'s treatment of miracles and visions,⁹⁷⁰ in the case of signs it is an augmentation. Signs, as another tool for situating the events of the crusade within a divine context, were inserted into the *Gesta Francorum*'s narrative of the crusade from external sources. Their inclusion in these monastic texts represents a confident departure from the *Gesta Francorum*. The impact of representations of the First Crusade which feature signs is evidenced in their use in the narratives of later crusades.

3. The Second Crusade

As with the miraculous and marvellous more broadly, there are fewer examples of signs in Second Crusade narratives than in First Crusade narratives. As has been explored above, the negative reception of that endeavour by contemporaries profoundly affected the employment of the miraculous as a rhetorical strategy. Signs, as instances of divine communication, are necessarily used in contexts believed to have been of sufficient import to necessitate their inclusion. The dearth of material relating to signs in Second Crusade texts indicates a reluctance to perceive, or at least to represent, that failed expedition as meriting the provision of signs from God. When signs do appear, their function is nuanced. The following section

⁹⁶⁹ The only other episode in the *Gesta Francorum* which might be interpreted as a sign is the description of celestial knights during the battle of Antioch (*GF*, p. 69), which is discussed in Chapter 2, section 4.4.

⁹⁷⁰ See Chapter 2, section 3.1, and chapter 3, sections 2.1-2.

will consider how the use of signs in Second Crusade narrative histories reflects contemporary attitudes to that crusading endeavour, and the role that these examples play as part of its narrativisation.

3.1. Augury and Signs in Second Crusade Narratives

Of the Second Crusade narratives explored here, the legitimacy of various means of reckoning is explored only by Otto of Freising, and by his continuator Rahewin. Otto's reluctance to discuss the Second Crusade at any length is often quoted, and his brief mention of relevant events certainly does not stretch to the discussion of signs in any detail. While he does briefly allude to the signs and portents seen around the time of the First Crusade, he excuses himself from elaboration by noting that they "have been recorded by others".⁹⁷¹ It is revealed elsewhere in his works that Otto was in possession of a sophisticated understanding of the theology of signs. He discusses the legitimacy of prophecy on several occasions in his universal history, the *Chronica sive historia duabus civitatibus*, often drawing from late antique Christian sources.⁹⁷² For example, in his discussion of the Old Testament Joseph, son of Jacob, Otto quotes Paulus Orosius, a student of Augustine of Hippo. He describes how Joseph was the first to have the ability to interpret "dreams" (*somniorum*) and "prodigies" (*prodigiorum*).⁹⁷³ The ability to decipher prophecies and signs is presented as a skill that was divinely bestowed upon an individual. For example, Elijah and Elisha are described as having had their ability to interpret "miracles" (*miracula*), "prodigies" (*prodigiorum*) and "signs" (*signorum*) directly granted to them by God on account of their virtuous lives.⁹⁷⁴ Therefore it

⁹⁷¹ OFC, 7.7, p. 316: "Signa vero ac prodigia caelo terraque circa haec tempora visa, tam scisma regni quam iter Hierosolimitanum portendentia, ab aliis posita sufficiant." English translation is from Otto of Freising, *The Two Cities*, trans. C. C. Mierow (New York, 1928), 7.7, p. 411.

⁹⁷² Otto's sources are discussed in detail in Mierow. *The Two Cities*, pp. 23-46.

⁹⁷³ OFC, 1.14, p. 78; Orosius, *Historiae Adversus Paganos*, 1.8, as made available at <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/orosius.html> (Accessed: 26 July 2016).

⁹⁷⁴ OFC, 1.29, p. 100: "Inter quos in regno Israel Helyas et Helyseus floruerunt, qui eximiis vitae meritis caelum claudere ac rursus aperire, mortuos suscitare, regibus imperare ac innumera prodigiorum ac signorum miracula facere a Domino meruerunt."

cannot be argued that Otto was unable, on grounds of unfamiliarity, to discuss issues surrounding signs and prophecy; indeed, he appears keen to represent himself to the contrary.

Otto's discussion of prophecy elsewhere in his *Chronica* reveals an anxiety surrounding the legitimacy of certain means of reckoning. For example, after his consideration of the prophecies of Hosea and Isaiah, he includes a passage on the Erythraean Sibyl and her acrostic prophecy regarding Christ's incarnation, passion and second coming.⁹⁷⁵ Otto pre-emptively addresses any reservations regarding the legitimacy of Sibylline prophecy by stating that Augustine came to believe that she, and others of the 'Gentiles', did belong to the City of God.⁹⁷⁶ Throughout the *Chronica*, Otto identifies the Gentiles as citizens of Babylon, or the earthly city (and later, Rome), juxtaposing the community of the good, citizens of the City of God, of Jerusalem, and of the Church. By designating the Erythraean Sibyl as belonging to the City of God, Otto clearly incorporates Sibylline prophecy within the realm of the legitimate.⁹⁷⁷

Towards the end of the work, in the eighth book, Otto states that not only have prophetically inspired individuals from among "our" (*nostrum*) people foreseen the destruction of the world, but some of the 'Gentiles', relying on human faculties, were able to "dream" (*somniaverunt*) and thus prophesy it.⁹⁷⁸ Further, and in another nod to the legitimacy of Sibylline prophecy, it is noted that the Sibyl had clearly referred to the final fire and judgement, and therefore her

⁹⁷⁵ OFC, 2.4, pp. 112-4; Mischa Hooker has demonstrated how Augustine came increasingly to view Sibylline oracles as a legitimate, if albeit inferior, form of prophecy, and that this therefore became the prevalent view in the Middle Ages. See M. Hooker, 'The Use of Sibyls and Sibylline Oracles in Early Christian Writers', PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 2007, esp. pp. 343-97.

⁹⁷⁶ OFC, 2.4, p. 112: "Quam ex scripturae suae testimoniis ad civitatem Dei pertinuisse, sicut et Iob et plures alios ex gentibus, Augustinus velle videtur."

⁹⁷⁷ On Otto's 'philosophy of history' see Mierow, trans. *The Two Cities*, pp. 61-72.

⁹⁷⁸ OFC, 8.8, p. 598: "Quam seculi per ignem exterminationem non solum nostri prophetico spiritu veridice predixerunt, sed et quidam ex gentibus humana subnixi ratione phisicis opinionibus somniaverunt."

predictions parallel those of the Christian tradition.⁹⁷⁹ That Sibylline prophecy was an accepted means of reckoning in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is also reflected by its use in literary defences of the Fourth Crusade, discussed below.⁹⁸⁰ In the prologue to the fifth book of his chronicle, Otto discusses how knowledge of such subjects as arithmetic, astronomy and philosophy was passed between pre-Christian civilisations over time. God enabled certain men to “foresee” (*previdere*) and, “as if dreaming” (*quasi somniare*), to be “divinely inspired” (*divinitus inspirati*).⁹⁸¹ Otto adds that one need not rely on the prophecies of such men, as the failure of the world is evident to all.⁹⁸² From all of this it is clear that Otto was highly conversant with the theory of signs, making their absence in his account of the Second Crusade all the more conspicuous. For the First Crusade, signs represented a diversion, but they are still alluded to, which in itself serves to communicate a measure of divine instrumentality. For the Second Crusade, however, it appears that Otto was either unaware of any such events, was aware but considered them irrelevant, or chose not to include them on account of the failure of the expedition.

The conceptual linkage of practices considered akin to soothsaying and the Islamic world is evidenced in Rahewin’s continuation of Otto’s *Gesta Frederici*. In the final book of his continuation, Rahewin describes how Frederick was informed in a letter given to him by a “prophetic counsellor” (*divino monitore*) that an elderly, one-eyed and foul-faced individual would come to Frederick’s court with twenty disciples.⁹⁸³ The stranger would be either a Spaniard, an Arab or a Saracen, from which it can be assumed that Rahewin was indicating that the man would be Muslim. He was also believed to be “far superior to his predecessors in

⁹⁷⁹ Ibid.: “Sed et Sybilla in prophetia de Christo habita ultimi huius incendii extremique iudicii manifeste meminit.”

⁹⁸⁰ See Chapter 4, section 5.1.

⁹⁸¹ OFC, 5, prologue, p. 374: “Quarum rerum providere et quasi somniare divinitus inspirati homines causas potuere.”

⁹⁸² Ibid.

⁹⁸³ OFGF, 4.45, pp. 284-5.

accursed wiles and the poisoner's arts" and that he lived in contempt of death.⁹⁸⁴ The stranger and his followers wanted to profit and acquire fame through the murder of Frederick, which they would achieve by offering poisoned gifts.⁹⁸⁵ Having been thus informed, Frederick had the "magician" (*malefici*) crucified.⁹⁸⁶ God is described as Frederick's "preserver" (*conservatori*); Frederick is a direct beneficiary of divine favour.⁹⁸⁷ The powers of the Muslim *malefici* are rendered impotent in the face of Frederick's superior adviser, who appears to employ a means of reckoning deemed legitimate within a Christian context. This episode reads differently from the 'holier Saracen' motif seen in First Crusade narratives: this caricature is entirely negative, and functions only for the benefit of Frederick's reputation as a Christian ruler.⁹⁸⁸

3.2. The Functions of Signs in Second Crusade Narratives

When signs do occur in Second Crusade sources, their focus is nuanced: they no longer serve to demonstrate the crusade's eschatological significance. They remain a means by which God might communicate; however the messages are no longer the victorious and hopeful signs of victory demonstrated in First Crusade narratives. It does not necessarily follow that the signs of Second Crusade narratives represent an unprecedented turn towards the negative; rather, the signs of First Crusade narratives should be viewed as a concentration of unusually positive signs born of the unique circumstances generated by that campaign. The following analysis will show that contemporary perceptions of the Second Crusade are reflected in the

⁹⁸⁴ OFGF, 4.45, p. 284; English translation is from Otto of Freising, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa*, 4.45, p. 277.

⁹⁸⁵ OFGF, 4.45, p. 284: "Non multo post a quodam divino monitore litteras imperatori allatas accepimus, quendam venisse in Italiam sive Hispanum sive Arabum Sarracenum, aetate senem, facie deformem et luscum, discipulos vel socios pene XX habentem, malis consiliis et arte venefica prioribus multo potentiores eumque mortis contemptorem, pariter cum suis sequacibus magnum se munus consecutos arbitantes, si gloriam et nomen sibi perpetuum principis sanguine comparassent. Preciosa ipsum quasi munuscula laturum, medicinas, anulos, gemmas, frena, calcaria, venenatis furfuribus circumlita, adeo violenter et efficaciter toxicata..."

⁹⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸⁸ See Chapter 4, section 2.1.

form and function of signs as discussed in crusade narratives. In a continuation of the pattern revealed in previous chapters, it will also be discussed here how the sources for the concurrent crusading endeavours in Portugal represent a textual oasis of positivity and divine intervention. These are exceptional, however. Even positive portrayals of the Second Crusade, such as Odo of Deuil's *De profectione*, engage with signs as primarily communicative of defeat and divine punishment.

The only sign discussed by Odo of Deuil in *De profectione* occurs towards the end of the fourth book. The French and German armies had left Constantinople and proceeded into Asia Minor in the autumn of 1147 without the French king, who was still engaged in negotiations with Manuel Komnenos. The crusaders witnessed a solar eclipse “in the form of half a loaf of bread” (*in forma dimidii panis*) for a great part of the day.⁹⁸⁹ Odo records varying interpretations from among the French army; it was feared initially that the eclipse signified the betrayal of their king by the Greeks.⁹⁹⁰ This is revised with the benefit of hindsight: the French contingent later discovered that the sign had signalled the misfortune of the German army instead, who had advanced ahead of the French and had been attacked by Turks. Odo explains that the “celestial portent” (*caeleste prodigium*) should be interpreted as a manifestation of this betrayal, and that the French and German armies comprised the light of one sun, being of the same faith. The darkened half of the sun had represented the German defeat and retreat as a result of Greek betrayal, whereas the light half demonstrated how the French army continued towards its destination.⁹⁹¹ Thus Odo offers his own retrospective

⁹⁸⁹ OD, 4, p. 82: “...solem in forma dimidii panis magna diei parte conspiceret...” This episode is also discussed in Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural*, pp. 63-5.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid.: “Cum igitur exercitus dimisso rege procederet et solem in forma dimidii panis magna diei parte conspiceret, verebatur ne ille qui super alios fide lucebat, dilectione fervebat, spe superna tenebat proditione Graecorum aliqua portione sui luminis privaretur”

⁹⁹¹ Ibid.: “Sed aliud accidit aequae dolendum; imperator enim Alemannorum, a duce suo proditus et in concavis montibus clam relictus, multis suorum iaculis Turcorum confossis milibus retrocedere compulsus est, sicut postea referemus. Quod postquam didicimus quid significaret, caeleste prodigium rectius exposuimus, dicentes nostrum regem et Alemannum esse unum solem, quoniam unius fidei lumine

interpretation of the sign, superseding that allegedly made by those who witnessed it. The implications of either explanation are ultimately the same: first, the insinuation that God desired to warn the crusader army of Greek betrayal via celestial portent; and second that this warning would be offered at the expense of the Greeks, therefore indicating that divine approval lay on the side of the Catholic Church. Odo makes it clear in his work that he considered the Greeks to be at least partially responsible for the failure of the undertaking, and his use of signs to denigrate the Byzantine emperor should be viewed in light of this.

In contrast to many of the analyses of heavenly signs from narrative histories of the First Crusade, the message that the sign communicated, both in its alleged initial and revised interpretative form, was unquestionably negative. The benefit which could be taken from it was that God had chosen to communicate this misfortune to them. The eclipse described by Odo is believed to have been the same one which is recorded as having occurred on 26 October 1147. As this event is datable, other interpretations of the same phenomenon can be identified for comparison. The same solar eclipse is described in the *Annales Magdeburgenses* within the immediate context of the crusading events of that year, perhaps with an awareness of that specific German defeat, and is also interpreted negatively. It is stated how the sun was visible in the shape of a sickle and a terrible darkness covered the world, denoting a time of human bloodshed.⁹⁹² A similar interpretation of the event can be found in the *Annales Sancti Iacobi Leodiensis*, believed to have been written c. 1174.⁹⁹³

coruscabant, et hunc lucere dimidium et dimidii circuli radios abscondisse, quando, rege fervore solito tenente cursum, Alemanni retrocedebant.”

⁹⁹² ‘Annales Magdeburgenses’, *MGH SS* 16, p. 188: “Eodem anno 5. Kal. Novembris eclipsis solis ferme die medio horribili caligine mundum obtexit, adeo ut circulus in modum falcis videretur, ipsum qui eo tempore fundebatur humani generis sanguinem designans.”; F. R. Stephenson, *Historical Eclipses and Earth’s Rotation* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 418. This eclipse is also mentioned in the ‘Annales Palidenses’, *MGH SS* 16, pp. 48-98, p. 83; and the ‘Annales Brunwilarenses’, *MGH SS* 16, pp. 724-8, p. 727.

⁹⁹³ ‘Annales Sancti Iacobi Leodiensis’, *MGH SS* 16, pp. 632-83, p. 641: “Kalendas Novembris in dominica solis deliquium a tertia pene hora diei usque in plenam sextam erubescete sole videre tantum sanguinem christianorum qui fundendus erat.”

While the interpretations offered in Odo's crusade narrative and in the annals represent clear deviations from several parallel episodes found in First Crusade narratives, it is notable that the only other specific reference to a solar eclipse in First Crusade sources also has negative connotations. In Albert of Aachen's *Historia Ierosolimitana* those who had some knowledge of the stars assured the witnesses of a lunar eclipse that they only need worry should a solar eclipse occur, as that would indeed spell disaster for the Christian contingents.⁹⁹⁴ It is likely therefore that the crusade narratives of Odo and Albert are participating in a broader cultural dialogue described by Bartlett as a "persistent set of beliefs, according to which an eclipse was caused either by the incantations of magicians or by monsters devouring the heavenly bodies."⁹⁹⁵

By contrast, the signs of Raol's *DeL* are interpreted positively, and function to situate his account within a context of divine predestination. Lay has used Raol's omission of the healing miracle included in the letter of Duodechin to argue that Raol was himself reticent about the validity of the Lisbon conquest.⁹⁹⁶ As mentioned above, the sheer volume of other allusions to divine instrumentality and support makes this conclusion problematic; while Raol himself may indeed have harboured doubts about the legitimacy of the conquest of Lisbon, the text itself points more clearly to an anticipated ambivalence on the part of the audience.⁹⁹⁷

In his description of notable landmarks which the fleet passed on its way south down the coast of Portugal he notes how one could see a stone bridge comprised of multiple arches extending out into the sea. Twenty four of these arches could be seen where two years

⁹⁹⁴ AA, 5.43, p. 398: "Ibidem eclipsis lune que quintadecima erat in colorem sanguinem tota usque ad medium noctis commutate, omnibus id perspicentibus timorem non modicum afferret, nisi a quibusdam quibus noticia astrorum patebat hoc solamen redderetur. Dicebant nempe non hoc portentum malum omen Christianorum esse affuturum, sed defectionem lune et eius sansuineam obscuritatem interitum Sarracenorum proculdubio ostendere. Solis uero eclypsi noxium Christianorum esse portentum affirmabant."

⁹⁹⁵ Bartlett, *The Natural and the Supernatural*, p. 58.

⁹⁹⁶ Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry the Crusader', pp. 16-7.

⁹⁹⁷ See Chapter 2, section 4.5.

previously none were visible. According to Raol, an associated prophecy was related to the crusaders by an old man from the locality: should the mysterious arches ever be revealed it would signify that “the destruction of the heathen and the end of idolatry in Spain would be at hand”.⁹⁹⁸ Charles Wendell David notes in his edition that he was unable to find any explanation for the “curious passage”.⁹⁹⁹ Though the origins of this story may be unreachable, some interesting observations may be teased from consideration of its use in Raol’s account. The conquest of Lisbon is turned into a constituent part of the Christian reconquest of Iberia, itself an important factor in demonstrating the legitimacy of the diversion of crusader manpower intended for the East. By choosing to include this passage Raol establishes *Hyspania* as a frontier for legitimate Christian warfare and reconquest against Islam. This is achieved through the suggestion that this was predestined.

Raol’s representation of the conquest of Lisbon as divinely sanctioned is comprehensive and includes signs of a celestial nature more akin to signs found most commonly in crusade narratives. A “wonderful sign” (*signum admirabile*) appeared to the crusader fleet as it entered the estuary of the Tagus.¹⁰⁰⁰ A great white cloud, travelling with the fleet from “parts of Gaul” (*Galliarum partibus*), clashed with clouds speckled with black which came from the mainland.¹⁰⁰¹ The opposing clouds collided in a manner reminiscent of battle lines. The celestial encounter which ensued is described in military terms; the cloud with which the crusaders associated emerged victorious, having either destroyed or dispersed its adversary.¹⁰⁰² Raol is placed amongst the witnesses of the sign, and it is noted how “we

⁹⁹⁸ *DeL*, pp. 64-5: “Ibi vero pons lapideus ex multis arcibus ostenditur, in mari protensus, ex quibus viginti quatuor arcus qui ante biennium non apparuerant iam apparent. Inde relatum est a quodam gentis illius antiquissimo vaticinatum ut dum pontis illius arcus emergerent, destructionem gentium finemque idolatrię in Hyspania imminere.”

⁹⁹⁹ *DeL*, p. 64, n. 1.

¹⁰⁰⁰ *DeL*, p. 88: “Nobis vero portum intransibus signum admirabile in aere visum est.”

¹⁰⁰¹ *Ibid.*: “Nam ecce a Galliarum partibus nubes candide magne nobiscum venientes, nubibus quibusdam magnis nigredine conspersis a continenti venientibus concurrere vise sunt...”

¹⁰⁰² *DeL*, pp. 88-90: “...atque in modum acierum ordinarum sinistris cornibus inter se iunctis admirabili impetu confligere, quedam in modum velitum, dextra levaque impressione facta, in aciem resilire, quedam

exclaimed” (*nobis acclamantibus*) that “our cloud” (*nubes nostra*) was the victor.¹⁰⁰³ Those present are further recorded as having cried out: “Behold, God is with us!”¹⁰⁰⁴ Thus this occurrence is interpreted immediately as evidence of God’s active involvement in the endeavours of the crusader army.

Not all of the signs in *DeL* are so positive. One ill omen corroborates the theory that Raol was responding to concerns about the merit of the crusaders’ actions in Lisbon. Following a description of the various contingents’ preparations of siege machinery, Raol describes a “portent” (*prodigiale*), or, more literally, an “unnatural thing”.¹⁰⁰⁵ One Sunday, a priest discovered that the Eucharistic bread for that day’s mass was “bloody” (*sanguineum*).¹⁰⁰⁶ Upon instructing the loaf to be cleaned, the priest discovered that the bread was permeated throughout with blood. Raol compares the bloodied host to flesh, which cannot be cut without the presence of blood.¹⁰⁰⁷ He also appears keen to present this as a public occurrence, describing how the bread itself was divided up into bloody pieces and was able to be seen for days after the city was captured.¹⁰⁰⁸

Miracles of the bleeding host functioned, from the late eleventh century, as proof not only of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but as a form of punishment.¹⁰⁰⁹ Their rise in

ut adytum invenirent ceteras girare, quedam ceteras penetrare easdemque penetrates ad modum vaporis inanire, quedam sursum quedam deorsum levare, nunc pene aquis contigue nunc ab oculis in sublime ferri. Cum tandem nubes magna a nostris partibus veniens omnem aeris impuritatem secum tahens, ut ad modum azoli purissimi circa hanc videretur, ceteras omnes a continenti venientes impetus sui reprimens, quasi victrix coram se predas agens, aeris sola precipitatum tenuis, ceteris omnibus vel inanitis vel si qua paucula remanserit apud urbem visa est confugere...”

¹⁰⁰³ *DeL*, p. 90.

¹⁰⁰⁴ *DeL*, p. 90-1: “Ecce nubes nostra devicit! Ecce nobiscum Deus! Dispera est hostium potentia! Confusi sunt, quoniam Dominus dissipavit eos!”

¹⁰⁰⁵ *DeL*, p. 134: “Omnibus ad hec agenda intentis, prodigiale quid a parte Flandrensiu, evenire contigit.”

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Ibid.*: “Die namque dominica post expletionem misse sacerdos panem benedictum [vidit] sanguineum...”

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Ibid.*: “...quem dum cultello purgare iuberet, inventus est adeo cum sanguine permictus, ut caro que numquam sine sanguine potest incidi.”

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Ibid.*: “Divisus vero postea per frustra in huiusmodi specie etiam post urbis captionem multis diebus visus est.”

¹⁰⁰⁹ G. J. C. Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden, 1995), pp. 315-20; C. W. Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe*

popularity has been related by Caroline Walker Bynum to the twelfth-century enthusiasm for holy matter and animated materiality.¹⁰¹⁰ Permanent host transformations (*Dauerwunder*) were occasionally stored with relics.¹⁰¹¹ The change undergone by the Lisbon host appears to have been at least semi-enduring: it was visible to the public for “many days” (*multis diebus*) in a way reminiscent of the treatment of relics. Beyond its representation, the function of the Lisbon host miracle also appears similar to these later *Dauerwunder*, which were commonly perceived to have occurred in response to some abuse done against God. Raol continues that the common understanding of the prodigy was that the Flemings, a wild and untamed people, had not resigned their thirst for human blood and material goods despite ostensibly endeavouring in the name of religion and pilgrimage.¹⁰¹² By identifying the Flemings as the recipients of God’s wrath, Raol distances the Anglo-Norman contingent from the aspects of the conquest which received criticism.

This portent functions to prepare the reader for the behaviour of the Germans and the Flemings during the looting of the city of Lisbon; a theme to which *DeL* frequently returns. Raol later notes how those men were in possession of “an innate covetousness of possessing”.¹⁰¹³ In a similar way to both of the signs from *DeL* discussed above, the bloodied host reveals a certain anxiety surrounding the actions of certain members of the crusade army and the impact that this behaviour might have upon contemporary reception of their diversion to Lisbon *en route* to the Holy Land. Lay has argued that this emphasis upon the personal motives of the crusaders suggests that warfare against the Muslims was not considered

(New York, NY, 2011), p. 144. Peter Browe collected over one hundred twelfth- and thirteenth-century Eucharist miracles in P. Browe, *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1938).

¹⁰¹⁰ “It was the decades around 1100 that saw not only a new enthusiasm for some of the older forms of holy matter – an enthusiasm triggered partly by access to relics from the Holy Land made possible by the crusades – but also the appearance of new kinds of animated materiality.” Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, p. 21.

¹⁰¹¹ C. W. Bynum, *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007), p. 183-4, and *Christian Materiality*, p. 144; Snoek, *Medieval Piety*, p. 318.

¹⁰¹² *DeL*, p. 134: “Quidam vero hoc interpretantes aiebant gentem illam ferocem et indomitam, alieni cupidam, licet tunc sub specie peregrinationis et religionis, sitim sanguinis humani nondum deposuisse.”

¹⁰¹³ *DeL*, pp. 170-1: “Colonenses vero et Flandrenses quibus semper habendi innata cupiditas...”

meritorious in and of itself.¹⁰¹⁴ Given the need therefore to demonstrate the place of the conquest of Lisbon within the broader context of just war in this period, it is likely that Raol employs the host miracle in order to tackle the potentially jeopardising effect that German and Flemish greed might have.¹⁰¹⁵ The miracle is represented as a sign of divine wrath in response to behaviour from which Raol was able to disassociate the Anglo-Norman contingent, and hence Hervey de Glanvill.

Signs could therefore communicate defeat or victory in Second Crusade narratives, and function more broadly as indicative of divine association as implied through the provision of the sign itself. While the signs of the Second Crusade are few in comparison to the First Crusade, they would form an even less important component in the narrativisation of the Third and Fourth Crusades.

4. The Third Crusade

The signs of Third Crusade narratives are few. The only victorious signs contained in the texts consulted here concern Frederick Barbarossa's expedition, a pattern of the usage of the miraculous reflected elsewhere in this thesis.¹⁰¹⁶ Even descriptions of victories, such as the successful albeit protracted siege of Acre between August 1189 and July 1191 and the reconquest of Jaffa in September 1191, are not accompanied by accounts of signs denoting the coming victory. However, texts which include treatments of the Third Crusade, or themes related to it, engage with issues surrounding signs and augury in interesting and complex ways. In what follows it will be shown how these works reflect an exposure to Greco-Arabic intellectual traditions, and the ways in which this was absorbed into and informed the

¹⁰¹⁴ Lay, 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry', p. 15.

¹⁰¹⁵ A version of this miracle is discussed in the *Indiculum*, in which the bread is traced to a store of stolen grain which had been intended, at the bequest of a dying crusader, for distribution among the needy. Any reference to Germans or Flemings is removed. See *Indiculum*, 9, p. 92.

¹⁰¹⁶ See Chapter 2, section 5.1., and 5.3.

framework of licit and illicit means of reckoning will be discussed. A hitherto unexplored facet of the functionality of signs will also be analysed through the examples provided by an author who, in the words of Nancy Partner, “forgot to be medieval”.¹⁰¹⁷

4.1. Augury and Signs in Third Crusade Narratives

Both licit and illicit means of prophecy feature in narrative histories of the Third Crusade, and appear to fall along the lines identified previously: namely, that the only legitimate form of prophecy is the interpretation of omens which can be identified as divine communications. In the third chapter of *IPI*, which introduces the character and history of Saladin, it is described how he had consulted a “Syrian soothsayer” (*Suriani vaticinio*) regarding his own future. The soothsayer suggested to Saladin that he would obtain a vast kingdom and that he would rule over Damascus and “Babylon” (presumably meaning Cairo).¹⁰¹⁸ The author frames this as a formative moment which fuelled the young Saladin’s ambitions. The association between Saladin and superstitious practices made here forms part of the representation of him as “the great persecutor of the Christian name”.¹⁰¹⁹ As above, this relatively straightforward example of the use of superstition in the representation of a perceived Other contrasts with the examples contained in First Crusade narratives, in which mediated attitudes towards otherwise illicit means of reckoning are demonstrated. While the consultation of prophetic authorities contributes to a negative portrayal of Saladin, the opposite is achieved by a comparable representation of Richard I of England.

¹⁰¹⁷ Partner, ‘Richard of Devizes’.

¹⁰¹⁸ *IPI*, 1.3, pp. 250-1: “His cuiusdam Suriani vaticinio in spem regni adductus ab illo futurum audierat, ut Damasci et Babilonis dicione potiretur.”

¹⁰¹⁹ *IPI*, 1.3, p. 249: “Verum ut tantus christiani nominis persecutor cupide posteritati plenius innotescat...” This is aligned with other contemporary representations of Saladin following the battle of Hattin and the conquest of Jerusalem. See for example Gregory VIII, ‘Audita tremendi’, p. 6. It contrasts, however, with another prevalent representation of Saladin as noble, evidenced in various *chansons de geste* and in Ambroise’s *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, also a participant narrative of the Third Crusade. See M. J. Ailes, ‘The Admirable Enemy? Saladin and Saphadin in Ambroise’s *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*’, in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. N. Housley (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 51-64.

The pursuit of information about one's own future was not in itself sinful, or at least, Richard's meeting with the renowned Calabrian abbot and theologian Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202) does not appear to have been used to discredit the king. According to Roger of Howden, who was travelling to the Holy Land with Richard, the English king met Joachim at Messina soon after Christmas Day 1190, shortly before departing for the Holy Land. While Richard's interview with Joachim is often mentioned, little has been said of what the encounter suggests about contemporary attitudes towards prophecy, or of the implications of the association between Richard and Joachim.

Joachim was a controversial figure both in life and for centuries after his death; he was "a man with two reputations".¹⁰²⁰ On the one hand, he was a man with acute spiritual vision renowned for his exegesis on the Apocalypse and theses on the patterns of history. On the other hand, his views on the dual procession of the Holy Spirit and his three-*status* model of history were posthumously condemned by the papacy on two occasions: first by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, when Peter Lombard's trinitarian doctrine was upheld; and again in 1254 during the so-called 'scandal of the Eternal Evangel'.¹⁰²¹ Joachim's understanding of the nature of the Trinity – that the Spirit was derived equally from the Father and the Son – was inextricably linked with his three-*status* model of history. Each *status* corresponded to an aspect of the Trinity. History could only progress into the final age of the Spirit once the Antichrist had been defeated. Inherent within the third and final *status*, that of Spiritual Intelligence, was a challenge to the Latin Church as an institution, as the *ecclesia activa* would be replaced by the *ecclesia contemplativa*.

¹⁰²⁰ M. Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London, 1976), p. 28.

¹⁰²¹ Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore*, p. 26; E. R. Daniel, 'The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore's understanding of history', in *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachimism* (Farnham, 2011), 2, pp. 469-83, reprinted from *Speculum* 55 (1980), pp. 469-83.

Joachim's expositions on the Apocalypse and the concordances which he identified between figures in the Old and New Testaments (for example, Isaac and Jacob are identified with John the Baptist and Jesus Christ),¹⁰²² and in turn with his own contemporaries (for example, Bernard of Clairvaux as Moses)¹⁰²³ appear to have been what drew Richard to him; Richard sought to be placed (and for his crusade to be placed) within Joachim's schema. The interview with Joachim is not only an example of contemporary acceptance of Joachim's ideas, but demonstrates that Roger considered Richard's desire to seek out Joachim's advice to have been an indicator of Richard's diligence as king. Richard was not the only individual who sought out Joachim on account of his reputation as a prophet of the Apocalypse. In 1184 he was asked by Pope Lucius III to interpret Sibylline prophecies, and in 1198 Adam of Persigny sought him out in order to discuss his prophetic gift.¹⁰²⁴

According to Roger Joachim possessed the "spirit of prophecy" (*habens spiritum propheticum*) and was capable of foretelling things to come. His knowledge of Scripture was manifest in his exposition of the visions of St John.¹⁰²⁵ The ascription of the prophetic spirit appears to be a reference to Joachim's interpretation of John's visions in Revelation, from which the phrase itself is drawn: "it is the Spirit of prophecy who bears testimony to Jesus."¹⁰²⁶ Joachim is undoubtedly portrayed in a positive light here; as a recipient of prophetic vision and as an interpreter of history according to God's orchestration. It would appear that Richard wanted Joachim to place the Third Crusade within his eschatological

¹⁰²² E. R. Daniel, 'Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse', in *Abbot Joachim of Fiore*, 4, pp. 72-88, p. 79, reprinted from *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (London, 1992), pp. 72-88.

¹⁰²³ E. R. Daniel, 'A New Understanding of Joachim: The Concords, the Exile, and the Exodus', in *Abbot Joachim of Fiore*, 5, pp. 209-22, p. 218, reprinted from *Gioacchino da Fiore tra Bernardo di Clairvaux e Innocenzo III: Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti (San Giovanni in Fiore, 16-21 September 1999)*, ed. R. Rusconi (Rome, 2001), pp. 209-22.

¹⁰²⁴ Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore*, pp. 2, 24.

¹⁰²⁵ *Chronica* 3, p. 75: "...habens spiritum propheticum, et ventura populo praedicebat, misit pro eo, et liventer adiebat erba prophetiae illius, et sapientiam et doctrinam."; GR2, p. 151; B. Whalen, 'Joachim of Fiore, Apocalyptic Conversion, and the "Persecuting Society"', *History Compass* 8(7) (2010), pp. 682-91.

¹⁰²⁶ Revelation 19.10: "Testimonium enim Iesu est spiritus prophetiae."

framework. Joachim's response to Richard, as presented by Roger, includes a brief exposition of the twelfth chapter of Revelation. Saladin is identified as the penultimate, or sixth, head of the red dragon; the sixth great persecutor of the Church. Joachim continues that Saladin would soon (*in proximo*) be defeated, though this was dependent upon Richard's perseverance.¹⁰²⁷ Notably, the predicted victory is postponed in the version contained in Roger's later work, the *Chronica*, presumably on account of the crusade's failure to capture Jerusalem or to defeat Saladin. It is thought that it was this failure which led Joachim to conclude that the temporal arms of the crusade were insufficient in the face of apocalyptic oppressors.¹⁰²⁸

Unaware of how controversial a figure Joachim would become, Roger wove his king's encounter with the abbot into his narrative in order to situate Richard and his crusade at a crucial point in history's progress towards the Apocalypse. Joachim's predictions were a product of careful consideration of Scripture, and as such were viewed by many contemporaries as licit in the same way as the interpretation of signs; both involved the interpretation of divine communications. This episode might lead one to speculate about how Richard perceived his own role in eschatology, and whether he saw himself, as did so many others, as the fated Last Emperor.¹⁰²⁹ More broadly this example reveals how a more unusual means of reckoning, scriptural exposition, might be perceived and represented as legitimate while also contributing to the overall rhetorical strategy. It is unusual to see active inquiry into the future represented in such positive terms, however.

¹⁰²⁷ *Chronica* 3, p. 75-86; *GR2*, pp. 151-5.

¹⁰²⁸ Emmett Randolph Daniel uses Roger's description of this encounter to suggest that Joachim had conflicting views of Islam in the late twelfth century; Islam was both a growing threat, but one which could theoretically be defeated by crusade. Any wavering on Joachim's part was soon ended by the Third Crusade's failure to defeat Saladin or recapture Jerusalem. See E. R. Daniel, 'Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades', in *Abbot Joachim of Fiore*, 11, pp. 127-54, reprinted from *Traditio* 25 (1969), pp. 127-54.

¹⁰²⁹ On the prophecy of the Last Emperor in the context of the crusades, see Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, pp. 50-1; and Gabriele, 'Against the Enemies of Christ'.

Another treatment of uncommon means of discerning of the future, which instead performs the more typical function of othering, also reveals much about how understandings of superstition changed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Gerald of Wales's account of Archbishop Baldwin's crusade preaching tour of Wales in 1188 discusses superstition in a particularly fascinating piece of ethnography: his description of Flemish settlers in Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire includes several anecdotes relating to the allegedly Flemish propensity for divining the future through the scrutiny of the shoulderblades of boiled sheep – a practice otherwise known as scapulimancy.¹⁰³⁰ As Charles Burnett has shown, scapulimancy has a vast and complex history, and is known to have been practiced at various points in human history in Central and East Asia, North America, Africa and some areas of Europe.¹⁰³¹ According to Gerald, the Flemings employed what anthropologists call the 'non-calcinating' variety of scapulimancy: the animal was boiled until the meat came away to reveal the bone. The bone would then be scrutinised without further processes such as incision or burning, as in other techniques. This appears to have been the prevalent type practised in western Europe and Islamic North Africa.¹⁰³² Gerald associates the Flemish settlers of South Wales with ovine husbandry and the wool trade, making such a method of divination appear likely on the grounds of availability of resources.

Sjoerd Levelt has identified striking resemblances between Gerald's descriptions of scapulimancy in the *Itinerarium* and the twelfth-century Arabic/Latin tradition as represented in the earliest Latin Scapulimancy, leading him to conclude that it was theoretical treatises of this nature, and not genuine experience of Flemish scapulimancy, which informed these

¹⁰³⁰ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 1.11, p. 87.

¹⁰³¹ C. Burnett, 'Divination from Sheep's Shoulder Blades: A Reflection on Andalusian Society', in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*, ed. C. Burnett (Aldershot, 1996), 14, pp. 29-45, p. 29.

¹⁰³² Burnett, 'Divination from Sheep's Shoulder Blades', p. 30.

passages of the *Itinerarium*.¹⁰³³ Gerald may well have been exposed to such material during his studies in Paris, or closer to home. During the reign of Henry II, the royal court represented a sphere in which such material was in vogue. As has previously been outlined, Adelard of Bath was translating Arabic divinatory and horoscopic material, potentially for the direct consumption of the Angevin court, in the mid-twelfth century. Regardless of whether the Flemings of South Wales did divine using sheep bones, therefore, Gerald's representation of them and the practice is indicative of the broader pattern of intellectual engagement with Arabic material recently transmitted in western Europe in Latin translations concerning means of reckoning.

That Gerald considered such practices to be sinful is made clear in the *Itinerarium*. After describing how one man had gained knowledge of a theft and its perpetrator through scapulimancy, he muses over how such "forbidden conjurations" (*conjuraciones illicitae*) might still communicate an "imaginary likeness" (*imaginaria... similitudine*) of truth to the eyes and ears.¹⁰³⁴ Thus Gerald echoes the reluctant admission of Augustine and Isidore that such practices are not technically incorrect, but are false in a moralistic sense.¹⁰³⁵ The association between this new scientific knowledge and the Arabic world may also have applied an element of the Other to the practice's already questionable origins, and by extension to Gerald's representation of the Flemings. Beyond demonstrating his grasp of unconventional material made available through new Latin translations, Gerald's motive for associating the Flemings with scapulimancy at such length is unclear; he appears to blame local leadership for the ongoing tensions between the Flemings and the Welsh in the area

¹⁰³³ I am grateful to Sjoerd Levelt for corresponding with me on his findings, which are currently unpublished. A Latin edition and English translation of the Scapulimancy in question (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon., Misc. 396, fols 108r-112r) can be found in C. Burnett, 'An Islamic Divinatory Technique in Medieval Spain', in *Magic and Divination*, 15, pp. 100-35.

¹⁰³⁴ *Itinerarium Cambriae*, 1.11, p. 89: "Mirum itaque quod sicut conjurationes illicitae imaginaria quadam similitudine oculis acta, sic et auribus repraesentant accidentia." English translation is from Gerald of Wales, *The Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis*, p. 404.

¹⁰³⁵ Chapter 4, section 1.

rather than either of the opposing parties. Nonetheless, he added two further anecdotes concerning Flemish scapulimancy to the original one for the revised version of the *Itinerarium*.¹⁰³⁶ Whether Gerald was simply elaborating on his knowledge of the Flemish as wool merchants in such a way as to parade his familiarity with avant-garde learning, or was using the imagery to construct an implicitly other portrayal of the Flemings, the material nonetheless demonstrates how material relating to soothsaying and superstition might be employed by a twelfth-century clerical author such as Gerald.

Both of the examples discussed here reflect twelfth-century theoretical innovations in approaches to prophecy. Further, they both reveal how these might function as part of a text. Joachim of Fiore's unusual philosophy of history, and Richard's potential place within that scheme, serves to implicate the English king as a figure instrumental in the fate of the Holy Land, and of Christendom in general. Gerald, in a reflection of the availability of Arabic learning in this period, employs the superstitious art of scapulimancy in his negative portrayal of the Flemings of South Wales. This diversification did not occur at the expense of the utility of more established motifs; signs continued to be used to communicate the divine disposition, however infrequently.

4.2. The Functions of Signs in Third Crusade Narratives

Celestial signs in the *HeFI* are both represented and function in similar ways to the signs of First Crusade narratives. One particularly detailed example of this is described as having occurred on 1 February 1190, as Frederick Duke of Swabia was making a fourth sortie from Adrianople to the deserted city of Arcadiopolis, which was then found deserted. A

¹⁰³⁶ The original anecdote concerns an episode of adultery, see *Itinerarium Kambriae*, 1.11, p. 87. The additional episodes involve a humorous anecdote concerning a flatulent courier and further passage in which a man discovers a theft, its perpetrator and its method, see 1.11, pp. 88-9.

“remarkable sign” (*memorable signum*) was seen by those accompanying the duke.¹⁰³⁷ What they saw is described as being the sign of the cross, blood-red and great in size, glittering in the sky.¹⁰³⁸ This was interpreted by the crusaders who witnessed it as being benevolent in nature, perhaps indicating future good fortune. They celebrated by giving thanks to God and singing and chanting.¹⁰³⁹ There are clear similarities between this account and those surrounding the battle of Antioch in several First Crusade narratives, and in turn with the celestial cross of the *Vita Constantini*.¹⁰⁴⁰ Given the appearance of the celestial knight motif in the *HeFI*, it is likely that this episode is indicative of the influence of First Crusade narratives on the narrativisation of subsequent crusading endeavours.¹⁰⁴¹ This sign functions in the same way as its First Crusade counterparts, as an indication of divine instrumentality.

Richard of Devizes discusses signs and portents at some length in his chronicle of Richard I’s life and reign, though it appears that they serve a substantially different purpose. The examples contained within his work do reveal a reluctance to offer explicit interpretation, however. As has been demonstrated previously, the absence of interpretation does not mean that an author did not indicate or imply an expected interpretation through the immediate narrative context of the anecdote.¹⁰⁴² The first series of signs and omens appears in association with Richard’s coronation on 3 September 1189. According to the *Chronicon*, many bystanders were caused to “whisper and marvel” (*musitatione... et admiratione*) on the day of Richard I’s coronation when a bat was seen to fly through Westminster Abbey during

¹⁰³⁷ *HeFI*, p. 62: “Igitur in sancta nocte purificationis sanctę Marię omnibus qui de glorioso Christi exercitu illo cum duce ierant, visum est memorable signum.”

¹⁰³⁸ *Ibid.*: “Nam circa primam noctis vigiliam viderunt universi signum sanctę cruces sanguineo colore in magna quantitate diutius coruscare in aęre.”

¹⁰³⁹ *HeFI*, pp. 62-3: “Unde plurimum omnes sanctę cruces signati et ministri iucundati domino gratias retulerunt et sonoris vocibus: Kyrie eleison et alios divinos cantus illa nocte letabundi canebant.”

¹⁰⁴⁰ See Chapter 4, section 2.2.

¹⁰⁴¹ See Chapter 2, section 5.3.

¹⁰⁴² See Chapter 4, section 2.2.

the daytime, lingering about the king's throne.¹⁰⁴³ No further details are provided on this episode, and its significance is not elaborated upon. It is implied that the appearance of the nocturnal creature during daylight hours, while neither impossible nor unheard of, was unusual enough to spark wonder in the witnesses. That the bat lingered near the throne on Richard's coronation day further implies that the two unusual events, the appearance of a nocturnal creature and a royal coronation, were interpreted in relation to one another. The narrative then moves on with no further elaboration.

Richard's catalogue of significant events concurrent with the king's coronation returns to themes surrounding signs shortly thereafter when:

A thing happened on that same coronation day at Westminster that could hardly be spoken of in a whisper then, for it was an omen of no little portent. At compline, the last hour of the day, the bells happened to be rung for the first time that day, for no-one in the convent and even none of the ministers of the church had thought about it till afterwards, and the service of prime, terce, sext, none, vespers and two Masses had been solemnly celebrated without any ringing of bells.¹⁰⁴⁴

Again, no interpretation of this allegedly portentous event is provided. Richard's text has been identified as a satirical work, but one in which Richard I is nonetheless the hero.¹⁰⁴⁵

These episodes should perhaps be interpreted in the same vein as Richard's criticism of those

¹⁰⁴³ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 3: "Non sine musitatione multorum et admiratione uisus est uespertilio die medio et sereno per monasterium volitare, eadem importune auras et maxime circa solium regis circinans."

¹⁰⁴⁴ Richard of Devizes, *Chronicon*, p. 4: "Res accidit ipsa die coronationis in Westmonasterio, res ut tunc uix ore dimidio dici licuit, nonnullius portenti prenuncia. Ad completorium, nouissimam horam diei, primum signum in ipsa die pulsari contigit, nec aliquo ex conuentu nec ipsis ministris ecclesie nisi post cesum id aduertentibus; cum prime, tercię, sextę, none, uesperarum, et duarum missarum sollempne seruicium sine omni signorum pulsatione fuerit celebratum."

¹⁰⁴⁵ Partner, *Serious Entertainments*, pp. 143-79; A. P. Bale, 'Richard of Devizes and Fictions of Judaism', *Jewish Culture and History* 3.2 (2000), pp. 55-72, esp. pp. 57-8.

who marvel at the insignificant, discussed above.¹⁰⁴⁶ When viewed in this way, these stories become tongue-in-cheek accounts of how people were incited to wonder that a bat had become disturbed in a church, and of how the usual diligence was not applied to the ringing of the church bells. Partner has gone so far as to suggest that “There is, so far as one can infer from his historical writing, no supernatural dimension to his [Richard’s] world”.¹⁰⁴⁷ Indeed, if it is the case that these examples represent satire, then they reveal an unusual aspect of the functionality of signs.

4.3. The ‘Toledo Letter’ and the Planetary Conjunction of 1186

As has been discussed above, John of Salisbury argued that he neither condemned nor denied the significance attributed to natural phenomena, should they prove to be the true dispensation of God for the edification of humankind. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century Latin Christian responses to the contents of a letter, alleged to have been sent by Toledan astrologers to Pope Clement III (d. 1191), reveal the conviction that God thought the fate of the Latin East to have been of sufficient urgency to necessitate the provision of signs. The letter contained a detailed horoscopic prediction; a planetary alignment in Libra in September 1186 would bring with it destruction, famine and war. The so-called ‘Toledo Letter’ has been identified as one of the most renowned prophecies of the Middle Ages, and its dissemination in Latin, Greek, Persian, Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew texts during the Middle Ages and early modern period has received much attention, primarily in the German-speaking world.¹⁰⁴⁸

¹⁰⁴⁶ See Chapter 4, section 1.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Partner, *Serious Entertainments*, p. 179.

¹⁰⁴⁸ H. Grauert, ‘Meister Johann von Toledo’, *Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 2 (1901), pp. 111-325 traced the intercontinental dissemination of the letter and this article remains the authority on the ‘Toledo Letter’. For an English summary of Grauert’s findings, see M. Gaster, ‘The Letter of Toledo’, *Folklore* 13.2 (1902), pp. 115-34. On the hypothesised Jewish origins of the prediction, which are now largely discredited, see F. Baer, ‘Eine jüdische Messiasprophetie auf das Jahr 1186 und der dritte Kreuzzug’, *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 3 (1926), pp. 155-65. For more recent scholarship on the ‘Toledo Letter’, see D. Weltecke, ‘Die Konjunktion der Planeten im September 1186: Zum Ursprung einer globalen Katastrophenangst’, *Saeculum Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 54 (2003), pp. 179-212 and G. Mentgen, *Astrologie und öffentlichkeit im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2005).

Among the main Latin chronicles which discuss the planetary conjunction are several interpretations of the sign's significance in relation to events in the Latin East on the eve of the crusade's advent.¹⁰⁴⁹ Exploration of the discussions of the planetary conjunction of 1186 reveals much about the perceived place of crusading in the hierarchy of Latin Christendom's affairs, and about attitudes towards scientific material introduced into the Christian intellectual sphere from various frontiers with the Muslim world. It will be shown that responses to the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, and to the anticlimactic outcome of the Third Crusade, had an impact on the representation of the Toledo Letter in certain narratives.

IPI features a list of phenomena which appear to have been interpreted as indicators of future destruction, including famine, earthquakes, and lunar, and solar eclipses.¹⁰⁵⁰ Following this is a description of a "strong wind" (*ventus... validus*), which had been recognised by astronomers as having been caused by a planetary coincidence. This wind indicated that the world would soon suffer from "strife and battles" (*sediciones et prelia*).¹⁰⁵¹ These natural phenomena represent an important aspect of the backdrop of decline and defeat against which *IPI* constructs its rendition of the Third Crusade. This reference makes the conceptual link between the Toledo Letter's predictions and Christian defeats in the Holy Land in the 1180s explicit. The section of Book One which this passage is drawn from is attributed to an English participant on the Third Crusade who compiled a report of the years 1187 to 1189 from oral information and reports, probably around 1192.¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴⁹ For a list of the early sources for the letter, see Appendix 2 of Weltecke, 'Die Konjunktion', pp. 209-12. Nicholas Paul has interpreted an early version of the 'Toledo Letter' in the context of Clement III's appeals for Alfonso II of Aragon to undertake crusading activity in Iberia, and in association with other "doom-laden" letters copied by the monks of Ripoll. See Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps*, pp. 285-90.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *IPI*, 1.1, p. 247: "Hanc future demolicionis instanciam casus preloquebantur diversi, fames, terre motus, frequens tam lune quam solis defectus."; V. Scior, 'Zwischen *terra nostra* und *terra sancta*', in *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck*, p. 150.

¹⁰⁵¹ *IPI*, 1.1, p. 247: "Sed et ventus ille validus, quem de planetarum concursu proventurum astronomici prenunciaverant, in huius rei significantiam commutatus migravit, *ventus vere validus* [Matth. 14:30], qui quatuor mundi cardines concussit ac orbem totum in sediciones et prelia concitandum premonstravit."

¹⁰⁵² Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 10.

Beyond dedicated crusade narratives, chronicles also discussed the planetary conjunction, such as in Roger of Howden's *Gesta Regis* and *Chronica*, Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum*, and Gerald of Wales's *De instructione principis*.¹⁰⁵³ Roger of Howden's discussion of these events is of such length that his nineteenth-century translator described it as an "astrological parade", suggesting that the passage is of no significance other than as a demonstration on Roger's part of his own knowledge of astrology.¹⁰⁵⁴ More recently, Gillingham has more generously described Roger as "a man of marked eschatological interest".¹⁰⁵⁵ According to Roger Spanish and Sicilian "astrologers" (*astrologi*), as well as Greek and Latin "soothsayers" or "diviners" (*conjectores*), had all predicted a planetary conjunction.¹⁰⁵⁶ Gerald, employing less charged terminology, attributes the predictions to Toledan and Apulian "philosophers and astronomers" (*philosophi... et astronomici*).¹⁰⁵⁷

This letter is represented as having inspired widespread anxiety throughout western Europe. The annals of the Augustinian abbey of Marbach in Alsace, the *Annales Marbacenses* (written c. 1230), describes the letter at some length: it was attributed to a "Toledan astronomer named John" (*astronomicus Tholetanus nomine Iohannes*), and detailed a planetary conjunction which "heralded the advent of the Antichrist" (*adventum Antichristi instare*).¹⁰⁵⁸ The chronicle continues by noting that all of the astronomers, philosophers and

¹⁰⁵³ *Chronica* 2, pp. 290-298 and *GRI*, pp. 324-327; Roger of Wendover, *Rogeri de Wendover Liber qui dicitur flores historiarum*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, *Rolls Series* 84. 2 (London, 1887), pp. 356-8, 369-73; *De principis instructione*, pp. 242-3.

¹⁰⁵⁴ H. T. Riley, trans., *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the History of England and Countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201* (London, 1853), p. 45, n. 52.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Gillingham, 'Roger of Howden on Crusade', p. 151.

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Chronica* 2, p. 290: "Eodem anno astrologi tam Hispanenses quam Siculi, et fere universi orbis conjectores tam Graeci quam Latini, unam eandemque proferentes sententiam de conjunctinne planetarum scripserunt."

¹⁰⁵⁷ Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, 3.6, p. 242: "Hanc autem perturbationem tantam et mundi commotionem philosophi nostri temporis et astronomici, tam Toletanti similiter quoque et Apuli, nec non et alii multi, per annum ante vel amplius ex planetarum cursibus et motibus arte magistra providerunt et praedixerunt."

¹⁰⁵⁸ *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur*, ed. H. Bloch, *MGH SSRG* 9 (Hanover, 1907), p. 56: "Eodem anno quidam astronomicus Tholetanus nomine Iohannes misit litteras per omnes mundi partes, asserens proximo sequenti anno circa mensem Septembrem omnem planetas debere convenire in unum domicilium, et

wise men were in agreement over its significance, whether Christian, ‘Gentile’ or Jewish.¹⁰⁵⁹ The news was received with such fear, it is recorded, that people built underground dwellings and many churches organised processions, litanies and fasts.¹⁰⁶⁰ The passage concludes by noting that the predictions amounted to nothing in order “that the wisdom of this world may be proven to be foolish before God”.¹⁰⁶¹ This final comment serves to undermine the predictions of astronomers as ultimately worthless and to reassert God’s omnipotence; an observation which contrasts with the preceding description of the almost hysterical response on the part of those who apparently heeded the prediction.

By contrast, Roger of Howden does not construct the prediction as opposed to the word of God, but rather subsumes it within divine predestination. It is possible to infer something of how Roger perceived and sought to represent the Toledo Letter’s predictions from the way that he revised his work over time. The discussion contained in the *Chronica* is comprised of four letters, while only two of these are included in the earlier *Gesta Regis*. For example, in the letter which Roger includes and attributes to a “certain astrologer” (*quidam astrologus*) named Corumphira,¹⁰⁶² it is noted that “Almighty God knows, and the science of numbers showed” that the planets would come into conjunction in Libra in September 1186.¹⁰⁶³ Here, Roger consistently marries divine orchestration with ‘scientific’ observation. The natural

ventum qui omne pene edificium destructurus esset venturum, et mortalitatem et famem et multa alia incommoda futura et mundi finem et adventum Antichristi instare.” See also on this, Mentgen, *Astrologie*, pp. 20-1.

¹⁰⁵⁹ *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur*, p. 56: “...et in hoc omnes astronomicos aliosque phylosophos et magos tam Christianorum quam gentilium et Iudeorum concordare.”

¹⁰⁶⁰ *Ibid.*: “Unde maximus timor multos invasit, ita quod quidam sibi fecerunt subterraneas domus et per multas ecclesias ieiunia et processiones et letanie fiebant.” Cf. *De principis instructione*, 3.6, p. 243; and Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 357.

¹⁰⁶¹ *Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur*, p. 56: “Sed ut probaretur sapientia huius mundi stulticia esse apud Deum, predicto tempore magna aeris serenitas et tranquillitas fuit, et nichil eorum quae predicta erant evenit.”

¹⁰⁶² *Chronica* 2, p. 290: “Unde quidam astrologus qui Corumphiza dicebatur in hac forma scripsit.”

¹⁰⁶³ *Chronica* 2, pp. 290-1: “Novit Deus Omnipotens, et ostendit ratio numeri, quoniam planetae tam superiores quam inferiores convenient in Libra, scilicet Septembri, anno... millesimo centesimo octogesimo sexto...”

understanding of the processes behind the events does not negate the role of God as instigator.

Corumphira's letter notes that the year of the planetary conjunction would also be marked by a partial solar and a total lunar eclipse, and that a "powerful wind" (*ventus vehemens*) would blacken the air and corrupt it with its stench.¹⁰⁶⁴ This is the same wind which is described with similar alliterative flair by the author of *IPI*, discussed above, and represents a key characteristic of the tradition. According to Roger, Corumphira interpreted this event as signifying – "God willing" (*Deus voluerit*) – the change of kingdoms, the superiority of the Franks, and the destruction of the Saracens.¹⁰⁶⁵ Rather than being a forecast of Saladin's military advances in Syria, it predicts Christian victory as the outcome of the Third Crusade.

However, one of the later additions challenges this prediction. A letter attributed by Robert to a certain Pharamella, of Arab descent and the son of Abd Allah of Cordoba, to John, bishop of Toledo is inserted into the *Chronica*.¹⁰⁶⁶ In it, the western astrologers (presumably those responsible for the Toledo Letter) are criticised for their imprecise predictions, undermining the scale of the predicted natural disasters and emphasising the superiority of the Muslim mastery of astrology. Pharamella is described as having learnt about the predictions from a Frank currently held in captivity "with us", the implication here being that this Frank, named as Ferdinand, was being held captive in Islamic Iberia.¹⁰⁶⁷ The astrologers of the West are described as "false" (*falsi*) and "ignorant" (*nescientes*), and he is incredulous that not only the "simple" (*simplices*) but the allegedly "wise" (*sapientes*) amongst the believers in Christ

¹⁰⁶⁴ *Chronica 2*, p. 291: "Praecedet autem in eodem anno conjunctionem illam eclipsis solis particularis, igneique coloris, in prima scilicet hora vicesimae secundae diei mensis Aprilis, quam praecedet eclipsis lunae totalis ejusdem mensis Aprilis, scilicet, die quinto... Nam partibus Occidentis orietur ventus vehemens et validissimus, denigrans aera et foetore corrumpens venenoso."

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ibid.*: "Pro certo habeatur a singulis, quod futura conjunctio mutationes regnorum, excellentiam Francorum, Sarracenicarum gentis destructiones, et Christi legis pietatem majorem et exaltationem maximam... si Deus voluerit."

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Chronica 2*, p. 297: "Pharamella filius Abdelabi Cordubensis, ex genere Arabum..."

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: "Inter caetera didicimus ab eis per interpretem Ferrandum nomine..."

believed their inaccurate interpretations.¹⁰⁶⁸ He then points out that this planetary alignment is scheduled to happen every thirty years, and that therefore either such pestilential winds would have occurred before, or have not and will not occur.¹⁰⁶⁹ Roger describes this letter as a comfort to those who were alarmed by other astrological predictions, but offers no other interpretative detail. Gerald discusses a similar letter, ascribed to “a certain philosopher”.¹⁰⁷⁰ In it is described the ways in which those who had made the predictions were in error, and that while some disasters might occur as a result of the planetary alignment, they would certainly not be as severe as previously forecast.

While the *Gesta Regis* considers events until 1192, and it can therefore be argued that he ceased working on it at that date, the *Chronica* appears to have been compiled from that date onwards. Roger returned from the Third Crusade in 1191, shortly before he finished work on the *Gesta Regis* and began on his *Chronica*. Gillingham has identified a certain ‘optimism’ in the earlier work, which was later expunged in the *Chronica* through the alteration and omission of certain passages which had been present in the *Gesta*.¹⁰⁷¹ As has already been discussed, Roger changed his version of Joachim’s prophecy on account of this, and his decision to add a letter fundamentally undermining the significance of the Toledo Letter is also evidence of his response to the Third Crusade’s failure to amount to more than the acquisition of the port cities of Acre and Jaffa. A further indication that Roger conceptualised the Toledo Letter in relation to the Holy Land is in the way he ordered his works. Immediately after his discussion of the prediction in the *Gesta Regis*, he moves on to detail

¹⁰⁶⁸ Ibid.: “...concivem vestrum, hodie captivum nostrum, quod quidam falsi astrologi de Occidente, nescientes virtutem coelestium corporum, et effectum quinque vngantium duorumque luminum, in epicyclis et eccentricis circulis suis per domos et dignitates suas sese moventium, terruerunt corda credentium in Christum vestrum, non tantum eorum qui simplices sunt, sed etiam eorum qui apud vos sapientes esse creduntur.”

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 298: “Quod si Mars et Saturnus per singula tricennia sane semel et simul in Libra hucusque fuerint, et deinceps future sint, aut perniciosi venti evenerunt aut evenient ex malitia eorum in ventoso signo existentium, aut non.”

¹⁰⁷⁰ *De principis instructione*, 3.6, p. 64: “Sicut ex litteris cujusdam philosophi nostri temporis quibusdam familiaribus suis consolandi gratia super hoc directis, et his insertis, palam fieri potest...”

¹⁰⁷¹ Gillingham, ‘Roger of Howden on Crusade’, p. 149.

Patriarch Heraclius's 1184 embassy to Henry II of England on behalf of Baldwin IV of Jerusalem. In the *Chronica*, this section is shortened, and is separated from the Toledo Letter by other details of Henry's reign, thus severing the conceptual link between the dramatic prognostications and the issue of succession in Jerusalem.

Roger of Wendover's discussion of the Toledo Letter comprehensively subordinates the astrological element of the letter to divine orchestration, suggesting that the divine framework adopted by Roger of Howden in his texts was adopted more generally in order to smooth the superstitious edges of the predictions and the means by which they were made. Further, the conceptual link between the letter's predictions and events in the Latin East is made explicit. Roger of Wendover weaves his discussion of the Toledo Letter into his treatment of the acquisition of Jerusalem by the Sixth Crusade in 1229. Not only does he present another later letter, mentioned above, which is strikingly similar to the Toledo Letter, but he explicitly compares the two in their function as prophecies directly relating to events in the Holy Land:

It should be remarked concerning this restoration of the land of promise and Jerusalem to the Christians, that as the astronomers of Toledo, before this cause of general rejoicing and exultation amongst Christians, wrote concerning the concourse of the planets... in the same way, before the taking of the Holy Land and the cross of our Lord by that perfidious and cruel man Saladin, some other astronomers then living in the same city also wrote to pope Clement.¹⁰⁷²

Roger elaborates: the loss of Jerusalem and of the relic of the True Cross in 1187 occurred on account of the sins of humankind. It was as a result of this that God chose to chastise those in

¹⁰⁷² Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 369: "Notandum vero est in hac terrae promissionis et Hierusalem sanctae civitatis restitutione populo Christiano, quod sicut ante hoc generale gaudium et totius Christianitatis tripudium, astronomi Tholetani scripserunt de planetarum concursu... eodem modo ante ejusdem terrae sanctae et crucis Dominicae captionem a Salaadino, viro perfido et cruento, alii, qui tunc fuerunt astronomi ejusdem civitatis, scripserunt domino papae Clementi." English translation is from Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History, Comprising the History of England from the Descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235*, trans. J. A. Giles (London, 1849) 2, pp. 524-5.

“the land of his nativity, passion and resurrection” through Saladin.¹⁰⁷³ The approach of this destruction, Roger continues, was heralded by the prognostications of natural phenomena, and the significance of the predictions of the Toledan astronomers changed in response to this.¹⁰⁷⁴ Here Roger appears to refer to the previous Toledan prediction in order to lend legitimacy to the second; just as the first was correct in predicting the losses of 1187, so the second was correct in heralding the regaining of Jerusalem in 1229. It would appear therefore that the original Toledo Letter’s significance is represented in the late 1220s in the same way as in *IPI* in c. 1190: as a prediction of Saladin’s conquest of Jerusalem. That Roger is known to have utilised a variety of works including Roger of Howden helps to explain this correlation. Its particular value lies in its interpretation of the Sixth Crusade in analogous terms, through the employment of prophetic motifs relating to the eve of the Third Crusade.

In his *De principis instructione* Gerald of Wales situates his discussion of the Toledo Letter after Clement III’s 1188 letter to Henry encouraging him to take the cross, and Richard’s 1187 crusade vow, both of which are framed as responses to Saladin’s progress in Syria. While the astrological predictions themselves are largely discredited, certain natural phenomena which did occur at that time are rationalised in relation to the loss of the relic of the True Cross at Hattin in 1187. It is no wonder, he notes, that the surface of the earth should move thus when the Cross was so impiously stolen.¹⁰⁷⁵

¹⁰⁷³ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, p. 371: “Hinc igitur Dominus et Salvator mundi, terram nativitatis, passionis et resurrectionis suae in turpitudinis abyssum corruisse conspiciens, haereditatem suam spreuit, et virgam furoris sui, videlicet Salaadinum, in obstinatae gentis permisit exterminium debecchari.”

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Ibid.*: “Hanc autem futurae demolitionis instantiam casus praenosticabant diversi, fames scilicet valida, terrae motus frequens, tam lunae etiam quam solaris defectus; sed et ventus ille validus, quam de planetarum concursu cum mortalitate et aeris intemperie astronomi Tholetani ex stellarum inspectione praenuntiaverant futurum, in hujus rei significationem procul dubio commutatus migravit; vere enim ventus erat validus, qui quatuor mundi cardines concussit, ac orben universum ex gentibus excitandum in seditiones et praelia ac terrae sanctae exitium praemonstravit.”

¹⁰⁷⁵ *De principis instructione*, 3.6, p. 243: “Hoc mirum etenim rationi dissonum erat, [ut,] perturbato mundi pretio ac Redemptore, necnon et universorum Plasmatore, mundus universus turbaretur et, ligno pretiosissimo, in quo salus terrae facta est, tam irreverenter amoto, terrae superficies moveretur?”

Each of these examples considers the predictions of the Toledo Letter in relation to Saladin's advance towards and capture of Jerusalem in 1187. Certain of these also hint at a desire to interpret the letter's contents as communicative of an impending, successful crusading endeavour. The Third Crusade ultimately failed to provide this. Such frustrations are made particularly clear by Roger of Howden, who both in his consideration of the Toledo Letter and of Joachim of Fiore's meeting with Richard the Lionheart, chose to reduce the emphasis he had placed on prognostications of crusader victory in a version written after his return from the Holy Land. Following the Sixth Crusade and the regaining of Jerusalem in 1229, Roger of Wendover was able to use just such an astrological prediction of crusader victory, even choosing to refer back to the original Toledo Letter for precedent. More broadly, these examples reveal a curiously Anglocentric appetite for astrological prediction, and a desire to perceive the affairs of the Holy Land in such terms, albeit couched within language sensitive to the spectres of patristic censure. One can sense the anxieties of authorities such as Augustine and Cassiodorus (490-583) regarding the unlawfulness of the use of astrology for predicting the fate of men in the careful representation of these predictions as divine signs.¹⁰⁷⁶ As products of a time in which exposure to Greco-Arabic learning was increasing, these examples also hint at the changing boundaries around what was theologically licit when it came to astrological predictions.

5. The Fourth Crusade

5.1. The Functions of Signs in Fourth Crusade Narratives

In Chapters Two and Three, it was the *translatio* narratives which provided the majority of examples for the Fourth Crusade. This is not the case, however, for signs, which appeared to

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cassiodorus, *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937), pp. 156-7: "Cetera uero quae se ad cognitionem siderum coniungunt, id est, ad notitiam fatorum, et fidei nostrae sine dubitatione contraria sunt, sic ignorari debent, ut nec scripta esse uideantur." Cf. Augustine of Hippo, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford, 1995), pp. 108-9.

be utilised infrequently in these hagiographical texts. Rather, vernacular works and Latin chronicles also provide rich examples of how issues pertaining to the prophetic might be incorporated into a rhetorical strategy. The reasons why certain authors were compelled to weave justifications of the conquest of Constantinople into their texts have been established above.¹⁰⁷⁷ Key to the defence of the relics acquired during the sack of Constantinople, an aim which was at least of secondary concern for many of the narrative sources discussed, was the conviction that the establishment of the Latin empire of Constantinople was a manifestation of the divine plan. An investigation of the ways in which the prophetic is discussed in several narrative histories of the Fourth Crusade reveals that themes pertaining to prophecy represented important components in legitimising that crusade, and that by extension a contemporary ambivalence regarding the validity of that crusade's outcomes can be detected. By demonstrating that the crusader conquest of Constantinople was divinely preordained, these texts situate the crusaders at a remove in terms of responsibility; they did not know it at the time, but the events of 1204 always were going to be enacted through them. Innocent III thus articulates this perspective in his letter to the crusade army, dated 13 November 1204:

Now behold, brothers and sons, you can openly reap because finally God brings to divine completion through you in our time the already mentioned mystery, which He foresaw from all eternity and foreshadowed in the Gospel, though you understand that God produces this mystery through your ministry not as if it were by fortuitous chance but, to be sure, by an exalted plan so that in the future there might be one flock and one pastor.¹⁰⁷⁸

¹⁰⁷⁷ See Chapter 2, section 6.3.

¹⁰⁷⁸ *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 7.154, p. 264: "Ecce iam, fratres et filii, colligere potestis aperte, quia Deus, quod ab eterno previdit et in Evangelio presignavit, per vos tandem in nobis sacramentum adimplet superius prelibatum, ut intelligatis, quod non quasi casu fortuito sed alto quidem consilio Deus hoc misterium per vestrum ministerium operatur, quatinus decetero sit unum ovile et unus pastor." English

The immediate response of the curia, therefore, was to seek scriptural legitimation for the crusade's actions in Constantinople. A parallel interpretative and legitimating process is manifest in the *GeH*'s presentation of the prophecies consulted by Conrad. First, the bishop is described as receiving a prophecy from a hermit to whom he was introduced as the crusade army passed Ragusa (now Dubrovnik). The hermit, identified as Count Burchard of Halremont, "prophesied" (*prophetavit*) the sack of Constantinople by the pilgrim army.¹⁰⁷⁹ Second, during Conrad's temporary governance in Tyre, the bishop had the future events of his life revealed to him by a "certain philosopher" (*quidam philosophus*).¹⁰⁸⁰ The latter passage is presented within the immediate context of other notable events which reflect positively on the character of the bishop; the following sentence details how Conrad was "divinely cured" (*divinitus... curatus*) of quartan fever in the church of Blessed Mary in Tortosa.¹⁰⁸¹ These episodes are evocative of Richard I's interview with Joachim of Fiore as described by Roger of Howden.¹⁰⁸² It would appear, therefore, that the consultation of the prophetic continued to be a means by which an author might seek to eulogise an individual. Indeed, the sources of these prophecies (namely, the hermit and the philosopher) both appear to be practising in the licit interpretation of future events as orchestrated by God.

Two of the Latin and two of the vernacular narratives of the Fourth Crusade, namely those of Gunther of Pairis, Ralph of Coggeshall, Geoffrey of Villehardouin and Robert of Clari respectively, describe either one or both of two particular historiated columns located within the city of Constantinople. The columns have been identified as having stood separately in

translation is from 'The Registers of Innocent III', trans. A. J. Andrea, in *Contemporary Sources*, pp. 125-6.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *GeH*, p. 118: "Pretereuntes autem Ragusium civitatem quandam, reclusus quidam ibidem dono Conrado episcopo est ostensus, qui dictus est fuisse comes Borchardus de Halremont, qui et Constantinopolitane civitatis captionem ac eiusdem subiectionem peregrinorum exercitui prophetavit."

¹⁰⁸⁰ *GeH*, p. 119: "Ei etiam apud Tyrum existenti quidam philosophus omnes vite sue futurorum eventus patenter insinuavit."

¹⁰⁸¹ *Ibid.*: "Cum autem febre quartana graviter laboraret apud Tortuosam, Mesopotamie civitatem, ecclesiam beate Marie visitans, quam apostoli Petrus et Andreas fabricasse dicuntur, divinitus est curatus."

¹⁰⁸² See Chapter 4, section 4.1.

the forum Tauri and the forum of Arcadius (or the Xerolophos).¹⁰⁸³ The descriptions of these columns as they appear in the western narratives are particularly concerned with the Greek response to the allegedly prophetic carvings on those columns. Robert of Clari describes the columns thus:

On the outside of these columns were depicted and written out as prophecies all the events and conquests which have happened in Constantinople or which were to happen, nor could anyone know the event before it happened... even the conquest when the Franks conquered it was written about and depicted there, and the ships with which they attacked and through which the city was taken... When it had happened, they went to look at and reflect on these columns and so they found that the letters which had been written on the painted ships said that out of the west would come a people with hair cut short and iron hauberks who would conquer Constantinople.¹⁰⁸⁴

Gunther of Pairis presents the column in similar terms, including a description of the ladders on board the ships of the depicted conquerors, which is described as the particular characteristic which made the scenes recognisable to the Greeks as the crusader conquest.¹⁰⁸⁵ Gunther identifies this “pyramid” as the structure from which Alexios V Doukas was flung for his execution¹⁰⁸⁶; the irony that the emperor from whom the crusaders took the city should descend, physically and metaphorically, from atop a Greek structure which presaged the

¹⁰⁸³ Macrides, ‘Constantinople’, p. 204.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 92, pp. 108-9: “[p]ar dehors ches columbes si estoient pourtraites et escrites par prophetie toutes les aventures et tout les conquestes qui sont avenues en Coustantinoble, ne qui avenir i devoient, [n]e ne pooit on savoir l’aventure devant la qu’ele estoit avenue... nis cheste conquete que li Francois le conquisent i estoit escrite et pourtraite, et les nes dont on assali par coi le chités fu prise... Et quant che fu avenue, si ala on warder et muser en ches colombes, si trova on que les letres, qui estoient escrites seur les nes pourtraites, disoient que de vers Occident venroient une gent haut tondue a costeles de fer, qui Constantinoble conquerroient.”

¹⁰⁸⁵ GP, 21, p. 166: “Inter quas errant et navium figure et quasi scale de navibus erecte, per quas viri armati ascendentes civitatem nichilominus ibi sculptam expugnare et capere videbantur.”

¹⁰⁸⁶ Ibid.: “De pyramide autem illa, de qua iste proiectus est, quam et plerique columnnam vocant, aliquid notabile dici potest.”

Latin conquest would have been apparent to many. According to Villehardouin, the column from which Alexios was cast down was decorated with an image of a falling emperor, thereby prophesying that event.¹⁰⁸⁷

Ruth Macrides has shown that these accounts reflect the active process by which contemporary Greeks sought to interpret the meaning of the columns, as it was communicated to the crusaders from instances of interaction between the army and the Greek and Latin inhabitants of the city following its conquest.¹⁰⁸⁸ Beyond the utility of these accounts for the appreciation of the interpretative development of Byzantine prophecy, these passages also reveal certain aspects of the perceived utility of the prophetic for the authors themselves. Gunther wastes no time in putting the story of the columns to work in support of his broader desire to portray the crusader conquest of Constantinople as preordained. He notes that the futility of the Greek attempts to reverse the prophecy by defacing the carvings on the column: “this was an absolutely vain hope, and the foreordained outcome of events demonstrated that the aforementioned sculpture had been a token of truth.”¹⁰⁸⁹ The desire of the Greek populace to reverse the prophesied events by expunging their witness in the carving on the column is used by Gunther to characterise those people with a certain naivety in the face of divinely ordained events.

Implicit within Gunther’s attribution of the carvings to “Sibylline prophecies” (*Sibille vaticinia*) is the perceived validity of prophecy from such a source.¹⁰⁹⁰ In this way, Gunther

¹⁰⁸⁷ Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 2, 308, p. 116: “Or oïez une grant merveille: que, en cele columpne dont il chaï aval, avoit ymages de maintes manieres ovrees el marbre; et entre celes ymages si en avoit une qui ere laborée en forme d’empereor, et cele si chaït contreval. Car de lonc tens ere profeticie qu’i avroit un empereor en Constantinoble qui devoit estre gitez aval cele columpne: et ensi fu cele semblance et cele prophetie averee.”

¹⁰⁸⁸ Macrides, ‘Constantinople’, pp. 202-12.

¹⁰⁸⁹ GP, 21, p. 166: “Que spes omnino utique cassa fuit et pefatam sculpturam veri significativam exitisse certus rei exitus declaravit.” English translation is from Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 21, p. 117.

¹⁰⁹⁰ GP, 21, p. 166: “Cui eciam, ut aiunt, diverse rerum ymages ab antiquo insculpte sunt, que Sibille vaticinia et maxime super eorum regno variis dicuntur figuris exprimere.”

was participating in the tradition of continued interest in the prophecies of the Sibyls throughout the Middle Ages, in the company of such notable theologians as Peter Abelard (d. 1142) and Peter Comestor (d. circa 1178), and, as previously outlined, Otto of Freising.¹⁰⁹¹ Gunther's engagement with the theme is probably closer to what Anke Holdenried has characterised as a less sophisticated level of dialogue stemming from the use of the motif's "Christological poignancy", in contrast to that of contemporary theologians.¹⁰⁹² This does not mean that Gunther did not have potential access to more sophisticated considerations of Sibylline prophecies. Garnier of Rochefort (later bishop of Langres), who discusses the role of the Sibylline prophecies as a pagan witness to Christ's incarnation in a sermon, was both a contemporary of Gunther's, and a fellow Cistercian.¹⁰⁹³ Garnier preached the Third Crusade in France,¹⁰⁹⁴ and took the Cross at the Chapter General of 1198 at which Fulk of Neuilly unsuccessfully petitioned for Cistercian aid in the preaching of the Fourth Crusade.¹⁰⁹⁵ He is the same Garnier as is described in the *translatio* of the Constantinopolitan relic of St Mammes.¹⁰⁹⁶ Examples of engagement with the concept of the Sibylline prophecies as legitimate by individuals such as Garnier demonstrate the presence of the concept within Gunther's immediate intellectual environment. His ascription of the prophecies on the columns foretelling the crusader conquest of Constantinople as sibylline in origin represents a desire to present the content of the prophecies themselves as valid. This in turn supports

¹⁰⁹¹ A. Holdenried, *The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050-1500* (Aldershot, 2006), p. 54; See Chapter 4, section 3.1.

¹⁰⁹² Holdenried, *The Sibyl and Her Scribes*, p. 57.

¹⁰⁹³ Garnier of Rochefort, 'Sermo XL. De Arca Spirituali', *PL* 205, col. 825.

¹⁰⁹⁴ N. M. Haring, 'The Liberal Arts in the Sermons of Garnier of Rochefort', *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968), pp. 47-77, p. 47.

¹⁰⁹⁵ At the time of the Chapter General in 1198, Garnier was acting under the shadow of an accusation of 'dilapidatio et insufficientia' from Pope Innocent III. He was to be suspended from his position as bishop of Langres on 31 December of that year, and later resigned his position voluntarily: E. A. R. Brown, 'The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276', *Traditio* 14 (1958), pp. 63-120, p. 66, n. 14.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See Chapter 3, section 5.2.

Gunther's broader contention that: "All things that God wills happens, and things foreordained become reality."¹⁰⁹⁷

Ralph of Coggeshall also describes a column which, he asserts, was associated with a prophecy regarding the fate of the city. This example should similarly be considered as an attempt to justify the crusader conquest of Constantinople on the grounds that it was preordained. Ralph comments that the column was erected in the city in ancient times by a certain prophetic individual (*divino*) versed in the mechanical arts in such a way that the base was in constant motion.¹⁰⁹⁸ Above the capital were the images of three emperors, one of which looked towards Asia, the other to Europe, and the third to Africa.¹⁰⁹⁹ A circle could be seen above the heads of these images, on which could be read a statement in Greek which related how, after three emperors named Alexius have reigned in Greece, the empire of the Greeks will fall into the hands of another people.¹¹⁰⁰ Another figure stood above the heads of the others, appearing more lofty and eminent, and to be looking towards the western 'quarter' of the world whilst extending its hand towards the West.¹¹⁰¹ This uppermost figure described by Ralph is reminiscent of the statue of Athena which, according to Niketas Choniates, was demolished by a Greek mob in 1203 because it appeared to them looking toward and beckoning the West and its armies.¹¹⁰² The statue is also described by Robert of Clari as one of a pair, both of which were twenty feet in height. On the statue which held her hand outstretched to the West was written, Robert continues, the following: "Out of the West will

¹⁰⁹⁷ GP, 18, p. 158: "Ordinat occultas ita res divina facultas/ Cunctaque proveniunt, que vult Deus, et rata fiunt." English translation is from Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople*, 18, p. 109.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 150: "In Constantinopoli quaedam columna antiquitus a quodam divino, arte mechanica, ut ferunt, erecta est, cujus basis semper est in motu."

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid.: "...super capitellum vero columnae tres imagines imperatorum locatae sunt, una quarum respicit versus Asiam, alia ad Europam, teria ad Africam."

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid.: "Super capita imaginum circulus apparet, in quo Graecis literis exaratum videtur, quod, postquam tres imperatores Alexis vocati in Graecia imperaverint, regnum Graecorum finem sortietur, atque ad alienigenam gentem imperium transferetur."

¹¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 150-51: "Unde et super circulum illum stat quarta imago, scilicet, super capita caeterarum, caeteris imaginibus eminentior atque sublimior, quae respicere videtur versus occidentalem orbis plagam, manumque protendit ad occidentem."

¹¹⁰² Niketas Choniates, *O City*, 7, pp. 305-06.

come those who will conquer Constantinople.”¹¹⁰³ The story of the statue of Athena, as transmitted by residents of Constantinople, is included in these western narratives not merely as an anecdote intended to satisfy the inquisitive but as an added layer to the densely constructed defence of the crusader conquest of Constantinople. The inclusion of this and other prophecies regarding the outcome of the Fourth Crusade in these narratives suggests that these authors were responding to anxieties regarding the legitimacy of that conquest. It is difficult to assess the extent to which the authors themselves shared in these reservations, or whether they sought only to anticipate and to allay them both for the benefit of their audience and for posterity. The same functionality of signs which saw their inclusion in the defences of the Fourth Crusade discussed above is also utilised in Alberic of Trois-Fontaines’ narrative in favour of an individual protagonist.

Alberic is believed to have written his *Chronica* between 1227 and 1251, towards the latter end of the Latin empire of Constantinople’s existence. That Alberic wrote thus about the Fourth Crusade at least two decades after the event suggests a long term process by which the Fourth Crusade was repeatedly recast as a defensible undertaking and, by extension, that there was still a need for the crusade to be portrayed thus a decade before the Latin empire’s collapse in 1261. Notably, several of the signs included in the sections of Alberic of Trois-Fontaines’ work dedicated to the Fourth Crusade and to the Latin empire of Constantinople function as legitimation of Baldwin of Flanders.

Alberic describes how a full lunar eclipse occurred on the twelfth night following the full moon (the fourth night after the city of Constantinople was seized).¹¹⁰⁴ This statement is immediately followed by a description of the twelve electors who selected Count Baldwin as

¹¹⁰³ Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, 91, pp. 108-9: “De vers Occident venront chil qui Constantinoble conquerront.” On the statue, see also R. J. H. Jenkins, ‘The Bronze Athena at Byzantium’, *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 67 (1947), pp. 31-3; Macrides, ‘Constantinople’, p. 206.

¹¹⁰⁴ 16 April 1204; ATF, p. 884: “Quarta vero subsequente nocte postquam capta est civitas, videlicet 16. Kalendas Maii, celo sereno existente, luna 12, facta est eclipsis lune generalis et manifesta.”

the new emperor, and should therefore be understood as contributing to an atmosphere in which the election of Baldwin can be viewed as the inevitable manifestation of divine providence.¹¹⁰⁵ Alberic notes at the beginning of this passage that he acquired the following information from another account. He does not specify what this was, however, and thus far it has not been identified.¹¹⁰⁶

Further signs in Alberic's *Chronica*, which are attached to the death of Baldwin of Flanders, steer the focus of his defence more firmly towards the legitimacy of Baldwin's position as emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople.¹¹⁰⁷ The story's events are situated during Baldwin's imprisonment by the self-titled emperor of Bulgaria, Ioannitsa (the derogatory name given to Kalojan). A source for the story is provided; a certain Flemish priest, who had passed through Tirnovo, the backdrop for this anecdote, while en route home from Constantinople.¹¹⁰⁸ According to this priest, Baldwin rejected the offer of Ioannitsa's wife that if he agree to marry her she would facilitate his escape from captivity. In retaliation for this rebuff, the wife – whose name is not provided by Alberic – complained to her husband that Baldwin had offered to marry her and crown her empress should she arrange his escape. A drunk Ioannitsa then has Baldwin secretly executed. Alberic pauses to note that archbishop John of Mytilene and a monk named Albert, who had passed through Tirnovo that year, had corroborated that Tirnovo was the location of Baldwin's execution. Returning to the testimony of the Flemish priest, Alberic relates how Baldwin's abandoned body was found by a Burgundian woman – at whose house the Flemish priest had stayed – who saw that the

¹¹⁰⁵ On the election of Baldwin of Flanders over Boniface of Montferrat and Enrico Dandolo, see J. Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London, 2004), pp. 270-4.

¹¹⁰⁶ ATF, p. 884: "Quod hic adiungitur sumptum est ex alia relatione."

¹¹⁰⁷ On the various rumours surrounding the circumstances of Baldwin's death, see Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade*, pp. 295-6.

¹¹⁰⁸ ATF, p. 885: "Unde de morte huius Balduini non affirmando, sed simpliciter refero quod a quodam prebitero Flandrensi dicitur. Qui per civitatem Ternoam de Constantinopoli repatriando iter habuit, hec retulit..."

corpse was illuminated by lights one evening.¹¹⁰⁹ Thus, the woman decided to bury the body. She told the priest that certain “miracles” (*miracula*) had taken place there since then, including an occasion when her husband was healed of toothache and a fever.¹¹¹⁰

The imagery of the illuminated body is associated elsewhere with martyrdom. *IPI*'s discussion of the illuminated Templar bodies following the battle of Hattin has been discussed above.¹¹¹¹ That light was interpreted as the “miraculous power of divine mercy”.¹¹¹² Alberic's story of the lights which illuminated Baldwin's body should be interpreted as communicating a similar message; namely, that the former emperor was the deserving recipient of divine grace. That the author goes on to suggest that miracles were worked through Baldwin's buried remains reveals a desire to eulogise Baldwin through divine association.

6. Conclusion

None of the later crusades discussed here can match the volume of material pertaining to signs and portents provided by the narrative histories of the First Crusade. Signs represent a key aspect of the representation of that endeavour as both divinely sanctioned and victorious. Throughout the texts, they signpost the impending victories and create an atmosphere of teleological inevitability. The narrative histories of the First Crusade are also unique on account of their representation of means of reckoning in relation to Muslims. While the majority of crusade texts employ superstitious practices in order to emphasise the otherness

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibid.: “...addidit supradictus presbiter Flandrensis, quod quedam mulier de Burgundia manens in Ternoia vidit de nocte quadam micare luminaria ad corpus occisi, et illud in quantum voluit honeste tradidit sepulture.”

¹¹¹⁰ Ibid.: “Ubi quedam fuisse miracula facta dictus presbiter, qui in eiusdem mulieris hospitio pernoctavit, sicut ab illa audierat, retulit, et maritum ipsius mulieris ibi sanatum fuisse a dolore dentium et febrium.”

¹¹¹¹ *IPI*, 1.5, p. 260: “Nec defuit miraculosa divine miserationis potentia, nam per tres noctes proximas, cum sanctorum martirum corpora adhuc insepulta iacerent, celestis radius ignis desuper manifestus infulsit.”

¹¹¹² Ibid. This episode is also discussed in Chapter 2, section 5.1, and chapter 3, section 4.2.

of non-Christians, these are in contrast to the representations of the holier Saracen found in certain First Crusade texts. It is possible that this motif reflects the anticipation of crusader victory; the suggestion that certain Muslims had themselves predicted this functioned as another layer in the representation of the First Crusade as predestined. Alternatively, the need to use the motif of Saracen prophecy may have reduced over the course of the twelfth century as alternative means of prognostication gained legitimacy, and as the otherness of astrology and prophecy dwindled through exposure. Whatever the reason for such treatments, it is clear that – for the decade or so after the conquest of Jerusalem at least – it was acceptable for the authors of crusade narrative to deviate from the dominant western European discourse of the superstitious Saracen in their narratives.

Signs of defeat became increasingly common in later crusades narratives, in line with their ability to demonstrate the divine wrath which has caused failure or defeat. The need to demonstrate that the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 represented the fulfilment of God's will necessitated the inclusion of signs and prophecy within many narratives of the Fourth Crusade, though these are few and different in form from the signs of First Crusade narratives.

The discussions of signs which can be found in the crusade narratives of the later twelfth century reflect the increased engagement with the Arabic scientific tradition experienced in western Europe at this time. The Toledo Letter in particular is indicative of both the place of Arabic-influenced astrological authorities, and of contemporary affairs in the Holy Land, in the western European consciousness. The treatment of more unusual means of prognostication in certain sources similarly reflects the invigoration of the intellectual climate driven by the translation movement. It has been demonstrated in this chapter, therefore, that crusade narratives provide opportunities for the investigation of broader intellectual changes

experienced in twelfth-century western Europe, and that their value lies not only in how they represent the crusades, but in how they reflect back upon the cultures which produced them.

Conclusion

Divine will represented the theoretical keystone for justifications of the crusading movement. It was the belief that God 'willed it' that, in the minds of contemporaries, elevated crusading above internecine and inherently sinful warfare. Miracles, visions, and signs represented means by which the will of God might be communicated to humankind; these were the epistemological tools for the discernment of God's sanction. These phenomena maintained their ability to function as proof when rendered into the written word. It follows that narratives of the crusades would draw upon the utility of the miraculous. Narratives of the crusades of 1095-1099, 1147-1149, 1189-1192, and 1202-1204 are littered with references to the miraculous which serve as proofs of the divine disposition towards a certain subject. This premise, that the miraculous could represent part of an author's rhetorical strategy, has informed three key lines of analysis pursued in this thesis: the first of these concerns the forms that the miraculous might take in crusade narratives; the second, whether the use of the miraculous could reflect contemporary attitudes towards the successes and failures of the crusading movement; and the third, whether the parallel invigoration of the intellectual climate in western Europe in the twelfth century is reflected in the use of the miraculous.

While the potential for the miraculous to perform a rhetorical function in crusade narratives has been established by other scholars, these explorations traditionally focus on a particular episode across several texts. Unlike previous studies of the miraculous in crusade narratives, this thesis is not restricted to individual episodes, motifs or crusades, but instead considers the forms that the miraculous can take in the Latin narratives of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Crusades. The holistic approach represented by this research has revealed that stories of miracles are often part of a broader rhetorical strategy comprised of a variety of miraculous forms. This has been largely overlooked on account of the piecemeal approach to

the miraculous taken by much previous crusade scholarship. The present study also represents an exploration of the miraculous in non-hagiographical contexts, revealing a hitherto underexplored spectrum of form and functionality. Further, the findings presented in this thesis demonstrate the value of crusade sources beyond the study of the crusades; as products of the western European intellectual landscape, they naturally reflect that cultural environment.

Approaching the sources as narrative constructs has necessarily restricted many of the findings to the elucidation of a rhetorical ‘toolbox’ upon which an individual author was able to draw in the construction of his text, and the purposes to which it might have been put to use. It is an unfortunate necessity, for example, that this thesis cannot reveal anything of certainty regarding ‘popular’ attitudes towards the miraculous. This is not to say that these authors’ understandings of the miraculous were necessarily different from those of the people they describe, only that it is important to recognise that these representations are manufactured. Indeed, these texts reflect the beliefs of the author only insofar as they are implied by the narrative itself; it is important to be aware of the authorial capacity for self-fashioning in a text. However, the narrative strategies revealed by the use of certain miraculous themes, and therefore the aims and intentions of the author in the composition of the text, can be ascertained with a degree of confidence. Historical perceptions external to the author’s own can be glimpsed through the assumed resonance or dissonance of certain concepts; it is often clear where an author has taken steps to anticipate a negative audience reaction. Similarly, a level of cultural currency can be detected in the use of certain motifs; they are employed precisely because of their conceptual baggage.

Use of the miraculous in crusade narratives reflects contemporary attitudes towards the success, or otherwise, of the crusading movement over time on account of its function as an indicator of divine instrumentality. The miraculous (used here in a broad sense incorporating

the various themes explored in this thesis) of First Crusade narratives is not only numerous but consistent in its form. Its confident employment as part of comprehensive representations of that crusade as divinely sanctioned, when considered in conjunction with the popularity of many of these texts, reflects the contemporary reception of that expedition both as a success and as just. The miraculous of Second Crusade narratives, by contrast, provides a much more complex picture. Not only are there considerably fewer instances of the use of the miraculous, but its form and function also changes. The focus of divine association narrows. Whereas the First Crusade could be represented as a miracle in its own right, the narratives of the Second Crusade are far more likely to employ the miraculous in their panegyrics of individuals, in isolation from the crusade's failure.¹¹¹³ The use of punitive miracles and signs communicating defeat in these texts naturally rose in parallel with references to *peccatis exigentibus*. Often key to the ability of the miraculous to function within the narrative of a failed crusade was the placement of blame in such a way as to enable divine instrumentality to function without paradox, or indeed to argue for the rationalisation of an outcome in such a way that it need not necessarily be seen as a failure. While the miraculous could not logically be employed to demonstrate the just nature of a failed expedition, it could be and was utilised in considerations of the conquest of Lisbon in 1147, where a symbolic victory was achieved and a rhetorical need existed.¹¹¹⁴ In a continuation of this pattern whereby the miraculous could function most effectively in relation to symbolic victory, the miraculous of Third Crusade narratives appears to cluster around the siege of Acre in 1191,¹¹¹⁵ and around the victories achieved by Frederick Barbarossa during his progress through Anatolia in 1190.¹¹¹⁶ The use of the miraculous in order to demonstrate the divine sanction of an entire crusade only reemerges during treatments of the Fourth Crusade. It has been shown how many narrative

¹¹¹³ See Chapter 2, section 4.1.

¹¹¹⁴ See Chapter 2, section 4.5., chapter 3, section 3.2., and chapter 4, section 5.1.

¹¹¹⁵ See Chapter 2, section 5.4., and chapter 3, section 4.3.

¹¹¹⁶ See Chapter 2, section 5.3., chapter 3, section 4.2., and chapter 4, section 4.2.

histories of the Fourth Crusade employed the miraculous in order to represent the outcome of that expedition as divinely sanctioned and, therefore, a legitimate and salvific use of crusade resources.¹¹¹⁷ That there was a need for this to be proved has also been demonstrated.¹¹¹⁸ The form and function of the miraculous in crusade texts can serve as litmus tests for whether the crusade narrated was widely thought to have been a success, a failure, or in some way controversial.

As outlined above, it is a key contention of this thesis that crusade sources are valuable not only to crusade historians, but also to those who study the intellectual climate of western Europe more generally in this period. It has been shown that the changing intellectual landscape is reflected in crusade narratives in various ways. The ways in which key theoretical treatises are reflected in these sources reveal an active process of developing understanding, in which an author might consult and represent these authorities as part of his crusade narrative. These examples reveal an atmosphere of insufficiency: first, that the author should feel the need to consult that authority; and second, that its inclusion within the narrative should be considered a demonstration of erudition. The variety of levels of familiarity with the theory of the miraculous revealed by this thesis is indicative of a spectrum of ways in which the miraculous could be rationalised in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Exploration of the use of specific terminology in the narrativisation of crusades reveals a particular sensitivity towards representations of the miraculous in texts produced by those who are known to have written from within monastic institutions. The sources for the First Crusade represent a unique opportunity for the investigation of this pattern, as the participant sources and their dependent texts can be scrutinised for borrowing, omission and development.¹¹¹⁹ The changing intellectual landscape of western Europe is most clearly

¹¹¹⁷ See Chapter 2, sections 6.-7.4., chapter 3, sections 5.-5.2., and chapter 4, sections 5.1.

¹¹¹⁸ See Chapter 2, section 6.3.

¹¹¹⁹ See Chapter 2, sections 3.1., chapter 3, sections 2.1., and chapter 4, section 2.1.

evidenced in the sources pertaining to the Third Crusade. It has also been shown that several of the conceptual dichotomies which emerged during the course of the twelfth century, such as between miracles and marvels, are reflected in these texts. Further, the scientific enrichment brought about in large part by the translation of Arabic texts into Latin in the twelfth century is reflected in the considerations of means of reckoning, in particular.¹¹²⁰ Change at a societal level is also mirrored in the vision accounts of the Third Crusade.¹¹²¹ Each of these examples is indicative of the value of crusade narratives for the exploration of intellectual change in the central Middle Ages.

While the thesis structure is such that the development of key themes over time might be more clearly communicated, it is inescapable that this be done at the expense of interthematic clarity. It is hoped that the following brief summary of the findings by crusade will go some way towards addressing this.

Of the crusades explored in this thesis, the First Crusade set a record for the scope and form of the miraculous that the later crusades could not match. As outlined above, the terminology employed in the representation of miracles and visions in participant and non-participant sources has revealed that certain authors considered it appropriate, or even necessary, to represent these themes differently from their source texts. Further, it has been shown that these three authors exercised the most caution in their use of the terminology of the miraculous, but made an increased effort to associate the preaching of the crusade with the miraculous. These findings support Riley-Smith's contention that these authors sought to conduct a theological refinement of the *Gesta Francorum*, and demonstrate that this process can be shown to function even at the level of individual word choice. More broadly, this is also indicative of how representations of the miraculous contributed to the shaping of crusade

¹¹²⁰ Chapter 4, section 4.-4.3.

¹¹²¹ See Chapter 3, section 4.3.

memory. Miracles, visions and signs are all employed in narrative histories of the First Crusade in order to communicate divine sanction and instrumentality, and these are heavily concentrated around treatments of the battle of Antioch. Aside from its breadth and variety, the miraculous of the First Crusade is set apart from that of the later crusades by the overwhelming positivity generated by the use of the miraculous as a whole. Miracles, visions, and signs all contribute to an atmosphere in which crusader victory at Jerusalem becomes an inevitability.

The majority of reflections on the Second Crusade in the sources explored here are terse and unadorned on account of the popular reception of that endeavour's outcome. It is often the case that authors who treat the Second Crusade as part of a longer narrative restrict themes pertaining to the miraculous to the non-crusading part of their texts, which in itself makes a strong statement about how the Second Crusade was perceived (particularly in the case of Helmold of Bosau).¹¹²² Two key exceptions have presented themselves; Odo of Deuil's panegyric of Louis VII of France, and Raol's epistolary account of the conquest of Lisbon. It has been shown how Odo was able to apportion responsibility for the failure of the crusade in such a way as to enable the miraculous to function as part of his representation of the French king. The miraculous of *DeL* reveals a tension surrounding the spiritual merit of the conquest, though it is unclear whether this anxiety was related to the geographical location alone, or in fact reflected the accusations of impropriety on the part of certain of the crusaders, or discomfort at the diversion of resources specifically intended for the Holy Land. It nonetheless functions as a solid defence of the legitimacy of that undertaking, and raises some important questions about the role of the miraculous in demonstrating the legitimacy of crusading beyond the Holy Land. A key development evidenced in the Second Crusade narratives more generally is the increase in the number of punitive miracles and signs of

¹¹²² See Chapter 3, section 3.1.

defeat, a use of the miraculous which would continue into narrative histories of the Third Crusade.

As discussed above, it is the sources for the Third Crusade which most strongly reflect the rise in the natural sciences experienced during the twelfth century. In particular, the circulation of the predictions of the Toledo Letter embodies this cultural engagement with Arabic science. The frequent interpretation of that letter's prognostications in relation to the battle of Hattin, the loss of the True Cross, and the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187 is indicative of a broader pattern in which the miraculous is represented as having been interpreted in negative terms. Important exceptions to this rule, highlighted above, surround representations of Frederick Barbarossa and the siege of Acre, which in turn suggests that these aspects of the campaign were considered the most successful. While punitive miracles are in evidence for the Third Crusade, there is much miraculous material to suggest that this crusade was received more positively by contemporaries than the Second. Anxiety has been detected, however, in the text with the greatest volume of miraculous material; that the *HeFI* argues for the positive interpretation of Frederick's death hints at contemporary ambivalence towards the fate of the German expedition.

The inclusion of *translatio* narratives within the sources consulted for the miraculous of the Fourth Crusade has necessarily skewed the image one receives of how that campaign was presented, as the miraculous was a key characteristic of that genre. It is nonetheless the case that texts produced without the purpose of legitimising a relic or its translator still engage with the miraculous in order to prove that the conquest of Constantinople was a manifestation of divine will. Further, it demonstrates that crusade narratives more broadly were drawing upon the miraculous on account of the same premise as in hagiographical works; as a divinely privileged epistemological device. It is notable that considerations of signs and portents in Fourth Crusade narratives are of a markedly different nature from the earlier

crusades; while the divine predestination of the conquest of Constantinople is still communicated in these examples, they are nonetheless different in form and tone.¹¹²³ The celestial signs so characteristic of the earlier crusades are not in evidence here.

One aspect of the supernatural which could not be sufficiently treated in this thesis concerns demons. While the research conducted did reveal much of interest concerning demons and their representation in crusade sources, it became apparent that theory surrounding the topic was of a scale and depth beyond the scope of this dissertation. A specific direction of further investigation is therefore how contemporary understandings of demons and of the Antichrist are reflected in crusade narratives and how these examples function as part of a text. The chronological and geographical extension of this line of analysis, in order to incorporate crusading in the south of France, Egypt, and Livonia in the later thirteenth century would also have the potential to yield interesting and important results in the future.

The miraculous of crusade narratives does reflect change across the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As the fortunes of the crusading movement fluctuated, so do the form and function of the miraculous. The miraculous represented a rhetorical tool dependent upon the logic that divine sanction resulted in victory. On account of this, and as has been shown above, it was employed in varying ways in order to ease the paradox presented by crusading failure. Intellectual enrichment and diversification in this period can also be seen in the miraculous of crusade narratives. Advances in theory are reflected in the nuances of terminology pertaining to the miraculous, and the exposure of western Europe to Greco-Arabic science is manifested in attitudes towards astrology and knowledge of diverse divinatory practices. It is undoubtedly the case that the miraculous represented a valuable and adaptive component in the narrativisation of the crusades. Further, the sensitivity of the

¹¹²³ See Chapter 4, section 5.1.

miraculous to processes of change is indicative of the largely untapped value of crusade sources for the study of medieval western Europe as a whole.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007).

Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, 'Chronica Albrici monachi trium fontium', ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, *MGH SS* 23 (Hanover, 1874), pp. 631-950.

Aldhelm of Malmesbury, *Prosa de Virginitate: cum glosa Latina atque Anglosaxonica*, ed. S. Gwara, *CCSL* 124A (Turnhout, 2001).

'Annales Brunwilarenses', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 16 (Hanover, 1858), pp. 724-8.

'Annales Magdeburgenses', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 16 (Hanover, 1858), pp. 105-96.

Annales Marbacenses qui dicuntur, ed. H. Bloch, *MGH SSRG* 9 (Hanover, 1907).

'Annales Palidenses', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 16 (Hanover, 1858), pp. 48-98.

'Annales Sancti Disibodi', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 17 (Hanover, 1861), pp. 4-30.

'Annales Sancti Iacobi Leodiensis', ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH SS* 16 (Hanover, 1858), pp. 632-83.

Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. and trans. M. Ailes and M. Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003).

Anonymous of Langres, 'Historia translationum reliquiarum S. Mamantis', in *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 1, ed. P. Riant (Geneva, 1877-88), reprinted (Paris, 2004), pp. 22-34; also in 'De Sancto Mamante vel Mammete, Martyre, Caesareae in Cappadocia', ed. J. B. Sollerio, J. Pinio, G. Cupero and P. Boschio, *Acta Sanctorum* 37 (Paris, 1867), pp. 440-46.

Anonymous of Soissons, 'De terra Iherosolimitana et quomodo ab urbe Constantinopolitana ad hanc ecclesiam allate sunt reliquie', in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade: Revised Edition*, ed. and trans. A. J. Andrea (Leiden, 2008), pp. 223-38, 338-43.

Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, ed. J. M. Lappenberg and G. H. Pertz, *MGH SSRG* 14 (Hanover, 1868).

Artemidorus Daldianus, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*, ed. R. A. Pack (Leipzig, 1963); trans. R. J. White, *The Interpretation of Dreams: Oneirocritica*, 2nd edn. (Park Ridge, NJ, 1990).

Augustine of Hippo, 'De cura pro mortuis gerenda ad Paulinum', *PL* 40, cols. 591-610.

- , 'De utilitate credendi ad Honoratum Liber Unus', *PL* 42, cols. 63-92.
- , 'Contra Faustum Manichaeum Libri XXXIII', *PL* 42, cols. 207-518; trans. P. Schaff, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Volume IV - St Augustine: The Writings Against the Manichaeans and Against the Donatists* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1979).
- , *De Genesi ad Litteram, Libri Duodecim*, in *Oeuvres de Saint Augustin* 49, ed. and trans. P. Agaësse and A. Solignac, 7th series (Brussels, 1972); trans. J. H. Taylor, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis, Volume II, Books 7-12* (New York, NY, 1982).
- , *De Doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R. P. H. Green (Oxford, 1995).
- Caffaro of Genoa, 'Cafari ystoria captionis Almarie et Turtuose ann. 1147 et 1148', in *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, ed. L. T. Belgrano, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* 11 (Genoa, 1890), pp. 77-91; trans. M. Hall and J. P. Phillips, *Caffaro, Genoa and the Twelfth-Century Crusades* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 127-35.
- Cassiodorus, *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937).
- Baldric of Bourgueil, *The Historia Ierosolimitana of Baldric of Bourgueil*, ed. S. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014).
- Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De consideratione libri quinque', *PL* 182, cols. 727-808.
- De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, trans. C. W. David and ed. J. P. Phillips (New York, 2001).
- 'De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum Libellus', ed. J. Stephenson, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 66 (London, 1875), pp. 209-62.
- 'Devastatio Constantinopolitana', in A. J. Andrea, 'The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, a Special Perspective on the Fourth Crusade: An Analysis, New Edition, and Translation', *Historical Reflections* 19.1 (1993), pp. 107-49
- Ekkehard of Aura, 'Hierosolymita', *RHC Oc.* 5, pp. 1-40.
- Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901).
- Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, trans. A. Cameron and S. G. Hall (Oxford, 1999).
- Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana, 1095-1127*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913); trans., Ryan, F. R., *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem* (Knoxville, TN, 1969).
- Garnier of Rochefort, 'Sermo XL. De Arca Spirituali', *PL* 205, cols. 824-8.
- Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938).

- Gerald of Wales, *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol. V, Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. James F. Dimock (London, 1867).
- , *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol. VI: Itinerarium Kambriae et Descriptio Kambriae*, ed. J. F. Dimock, *Rolls Series* 21.6 (London, 1868).
- , *Giraldi Cambrensis opera, Vol. VIII: De Principis Intructione Liber*, ed. G. F. Warner, *Rolls Series* 21.8 (London, 1891).
- Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia imperialia, Recreation for an Emperor*, ed. and trans. S. E. Banks and J. W. Binns (Oxford, 2002).
- ‘Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium’, ed. L. Weiland, *MGH SS* 23 (Hanover, 1874), pp. 73-123.
- Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. and trans. R. Hill (Edinburgh, 1962).
- Gratian, ‘Decretum’, in *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. A. L. Richter, 2nd edn., vol. 1 (Graz, 1959).
- Gregory VIII, ‘Audita tremendi’, *PL* 202, cols. 1539-42.
- Guibert of Nogent, *Autobiographie*, ed. E.-R. Labanda (Paris, 1981).
- , ‘De pignoribus sanctorum’, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 127 (Turnhout, 1993), pp. 79-175.
- , *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 127A (Turnhout, 2002); trans. R. Levine, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: a Translation of Guibert of Nogent’s Gesta Dei per Francos*, (Woodbridge, 1997).
- Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana: Untersuchung und kritische Ausgabe*, ed. P. Orth (Hildesheim and Zürich, 1994); trans. A. J. Andrea, in *The Capture of Constantinople, The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis* (Philadelphia, PA, 1997).
- Helmold of Bosau, *Slavenchronik*, ed. Bernard Schmeidler, *MGH SSRG* 32 (Hanover, 1937); trans., Tschan, F. J., *The Chronicle of the Slavs* (New York, NY, 1966).
- Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996).
- Henry of Livonia, *Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, *MGH SSRG* 31 (Hanover, 1955).
- ‘Historia de expeditione Friderici Imperatoris’, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SSRG Nova Series* 5 (Berlin, 1928), pp. 1-115; trans. G. A. Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Surrey, 2010), pp. 33-134.

- ‘Historia peregrinorum’, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. A. Chroust, *MGH SSRG Nova Series 5* (Berlin, 1928), pp. 116-72; trans. G. A. Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Surrey, 2010), pp. 135-47.
- Hystoria de via et recuperatione Antiochiae atque Ierusalymarum (olim Tudebodus imitatus et continuatus): Normanni d’Italia alla prima Crociata in una cronaca cassinese*, ed. E. D’Angelo, *Edizione nazionale dei testi mediolatini 23* (Florence, 2009).
- Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. M. Hammond (London, 1987).
- Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, as made available at <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/isidore.html> (Accessed: 26 July 2016); trans. S. A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach and O. Berghof, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville* (Cambridge, 2006).
- ‘Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi’, in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, 1: Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi, Auctore, ut Videtur, Ricardo Canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londoniensis*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series 38.1* (London, 1864); and in *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum: Eine Zeitgenössische Englische Chronik zum Dritten Kreuzzug in Ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed., H. E. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962); trans., H. J. Nicholson, *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Farnham, 1997).
- John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. C. M. Brand (New York, NY, 1976).
- John of Salisbury, *Policraticus I-IV*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *CCCM 118* (Turnhout, 1993); ed. and trans. C. J. Nederman, *John of Salisbury: Policraticus, Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers* (Cambridge, 1990).
- Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, *Macrobius, Vol. II. Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1970); trans. W. H. Stahl, *Commentary on the dreams of Scipio* (New York, NY, 1990).
- Niketas Choniātēs, *O City of Byzantium*, trans. H. J. Magoulias (Detroit, MI, 1984).
- Odo of Cluny, ‘De Vita Sancti Geraldi Auriliacensis Comitum’, *PL 133*, cols. 639-710; trans. G. Sitwell, *St. Odo of Cluny: Being the Life of St. Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St. Gerald of Aurillac by St. Odo* (London, 1958).
- Odo of Deuil, *De profectioe Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. V. G. Berry (New York, 1948).
- Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Vol. V, Books IX and X.*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1975).

- Orosius, *Historiae Adversus Paganos*, as made available at <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/orosius.html> (Accessed: 26 July 2016).
- Otto of Freising (and Rahewin), *Gesta Frederici I. imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SSRG* 46 (Hannover, 1912); trans. C. C. Mierow, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (Toronto, 1994).
- , *Chronica sive historia duabus civitatibus*, ed. W. Lammers and trans. A. Schmidt (Berlin, 1960); trans. C. C. Mierow, *The Two Cities* (New York, 1928).
- Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1977); trans., J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere* (Philadelphia, PA, 1974).
- Ralph of Caen, *Radulphi Cadomensis Tancredus*, ed. and trans. Edoardo D'Angelo, *CCCM* 231 (Turnhout, 2011); and in 'Gesta Tancredi in expeditione Hierosolymitana', *RHC Oc.* 3, pp. 587-716; trans. B. S. Bachrach and D. S. Bachrach, *The Gesta Tancredi of Ralph of Caen, A History of the Normans on the First Crusade* (Aldershot, 2005).
- Ralph of Coggeshall, 'Chronicon Anglicanum', ed. J. Stephenson, in *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 66 (London, 1875), pp. 1-208.
- Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill (Paris, 1969); trans. J. H. Hill and L. L. Hill, *Historia Francorum Qui Ceperunt Iherusalem* (Philadelphia, 1968).
- 'Registers of Innocent III', in *Die Register Innocenz' III, 7. Band, 7. Pontifikatsjahr, 1204-1205, Texte und Indices*, ed. O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, H. Weigl, C. Egger and R. Muraier (Wien, 1997).
- , in *Die Register Innocenz' III, 8. Band, 8. Pontifikatsjahr, 1205-1206, Texte und Indices*, ed. O. Hageneder, A. Sommerlechner, H. Weigl, C. Egger and R. Muraier (Wien, 2001).
- Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. and trans. J. T. Appleby (London, 1963).
- Robert of Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. and trans. P. Noble (Edinburgh, 2005).
- Robert the Monk, *The Historia Iherosolimitana of Robert the Monk*, ed. M. G. Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2013); trans. C. Sweetenham, *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade, Historia Iherosolimitana* (Aldershot, 2005).
- Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II, and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192; known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series* 49.1-2, 2 vols. (London, 1867).

- , *Chronica: Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Rolls Series* 51.1-4, 4 vols. (London, 1868-71); trans., H. T. Riley, *The annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*, 2 vols. (London, 1853).
- Roger of Wendover, *Rogeri de Wendover Liber qui dicitur flores historiarum*, ed. Henry G. Hewlett, *Rolls Series* 84. 2 (London, 1887); trans. J. A. Giles, *Flowers of History, comprising the history of England from the descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235*, vol. 2 (London, 1849).
- Saxo Grammaticus, 'Ex Saxonis Gestis Danorum', ed. G. Waitz, *MGH SS* 29 (Hanover, 1892), pp. 37-161.; trans. E. Christiansen, *Danorum regum heroumque historia*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1980-1).
- Thomas Aquinas, *The Power of God*, trans. R. J. Regan (Oxford, 2012).
- Virgil, *Aeneid*, as made available at <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/vergil/aen6.shtml> (Accessed: 24 August 2016).
- Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1896).
- William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum, The History of the English Kings, Vol. 1*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1998).
- William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, *CCCM* 63 and 63A (Turnhout, 1986); trans., E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 2 vols. (New York, NY, 1943).

Secondary Literature

- Adams, G. W., *Visions in Late Medieval England: Lay Spirituality and Sacred Glimpses of the Hidden Worlds of Faith* (Leiden, 2007).
- Ailes, M. J., 'The Admirable Enemy? Saladin and Saphadin in Ambroise's *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*', in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. N. Housley (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 51-64.
- Aird, W., *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy c.1050-1134* (Woodbridge, 2008).
- Althoff, G., Fried, J., and Geary, P. J., eds., *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory and Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002).
- Andrea, A. J., 'The *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*, a Special Perspective on the Fourth Crusade: An Analysis, New Edition, and Translation', *Historical Reflections* 19.1 (1993), pp. 107-49.
- , 'Essay on Primary Sources', in D. E. Queller and T. F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, PA, 1997), pp. 299-313.
- , 'Innocent III, the Fourth Crusade, and the Coming Apocalypse', in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. S. J. Ridyard (Woodbridge, 2004).
- , ed. and trans. *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade: Revised Edition* (Leiden, 2008).
- Angold, 'The Road to 1204: The Byzantine Background to the Fourth Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 25.3 (1999), pp. 257-78.
- , *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003).
- Archambault, P., *Seven French Chroniclers: Witnesses to History* (Syracuse, NY, 1974).
- Arnold, J., *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London, 2005).
- , 'Responses to the Postmodern Challenge; or, What Might History Become?', *European History Quarterly* 37 (2007), pp. 109-32.
- Asbridge, T., *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098-1130* (Woodbridge, 2000).
- , 'The Holy Lance of Antioch: Power, Devotion and Memory on the First Crusade', *Reading Medieval Studies* 33 (2007), pp. 3-36.
- , *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land* (London, 2012).
- , 'Talking to the Enemy: The Role and Purpose of Negotiations Between Saladin and Richard the Lionheart During the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 39.3 (2013), pp. 275-96.

- Baer, F., 'Eine Jüdische Messiasprophetie auf das Jahr 1186 und der Dritte Kreuzzug', *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 3 (1926), pp. 155-65.
- Bagge, S., 'Ideas and Narrative in Otto of Freising's *Gesta Frederici*', *Journal of Medieval History* 22.4 (1996), pp. 345-77.
- Bailey, A. E., 'Peter Brown and Victor Turner Revisited: Anthropological Approaches to Latin Miracle Narratives in the Medieval West', in *Contextualising Miracles in the Christian West, 1100-1500*, ed. M. M. Mesley and L. E. Wilson (Oxford, 2014), pp. 17-39.
- Bal, M., *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative*, 2nd edn. (Toronto, 1997).
- Bale, A. P., 'Richard of Devizes and Fictions of Judaism', *Jewish Culture and History* 3.2 (2000), pp. 55-72.
- Balard, M., Kedar, B. Z., and Riley-Smith, J., eds., *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur la croisades dédiées à Jean Richard: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard* (Aldershot, 2001).
- Barnes, T., *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Chichester, 2014).
- Bartlett, R., and MacKay, A., eds., *Medieval Frontier Societies* (Oxford, 1989).
- Bartlett, R., *Gerald of Wales: A Voice of the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 2006).
- , *The Natural and the Supernatural in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2008).
- , *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Woodstock, 2013).
- Beer, J. M., *Villehardouin: Epic Historian* (Geneva, 1968).
- , 'Villehardouin and the Oral Narrative', *Studies in Philology* 67.3 (1970), pp. 267-77.
- Bennet, M., 'Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks, and Strong Women: Gender Definitions of Crusade?', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S. B. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 16-30.
- Benson, R. L., Constable, G., and Lanham, C. D., eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1991).
- Biddlecombe, S., 'Baldric of Bourgueil and the *Familia Christi*', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. M. Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 9-23.
- Biller, P., and Ziegler, J., eds., *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2001).

- Blake, E. O., and Morris, C., 'A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', in *Monks, Hermits, and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W. J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History* 22 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 440-53.
- Bolton, B., 'Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Supporting the Faith in Medieval Rome', in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory, *Studies in Church History* 41 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 157-78.
- Brewer, K. *Wonder and Scepticism in the Middle Ages* (Abingdon, 2016).
- Bron, B., *Das Wunder: Das theologische Wunderverständnis im Horizont des neuzeitlichen Natur- und Geschichtsbegriffs* (Göttingen, 1975).
- Browe, P., *Die eucharistischen Wunder des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1938).
- Brown, E. A. R., 'The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204-1276', *Traditio* 14 (1958), pp. 63-120.
- Brown, P., 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp. 80-101.
- , *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (London, 1981).
- Brundage, J., 'Prostitution, Miscegenation and Sexual Purity in the First Crusade', in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 57-65.
- , *The Crusades: A Documentary Survey*, (Milwaukee, WI, 1962) as made available at <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/bernard-apol.asp> (Accessed: 16 July 2016).
- Buc, P., *Holy War, Martyrdom, and Terror: Christianity, Violence and the West, ca. 70 C.E. to the Iraq War* (Philadelphia, PA, 2015).
- Bull, M., *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade. The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (Oxford, 1998).
- , *The Miracles of Our Lady of Rocamadour: Analysis and Translation* (Woodbridge, 1999).
- , 'Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c.1000-c.1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders' Motivations', in *The Experience of Crusading, I. Western Approaches*, ed., M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 13-38.
- , 'The Relationship Between the *Gesta Francorum* and Peter Tudebode's *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*: The Evidence of a Hitherto Unexamined Manuscript (St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, 3)', *Crusades*, 11 (2012), pp. 1-17.

- , 'Robert the Monk and his Source(s)', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. M. Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 127-39.
- , 'The Western Narratives of the First Crusade', in *Christian-Muslim Relations 600-1500*, ed. D. Thomas, A. Mallett et al., Brill Online, 2015, as made available at http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-i/the-western-narratives-of-the-first-crusade-COM_24927 (Accessed: 30 May 2016).
- Bull, M., and Housley, N., eds., *The Experience of Crusading, I. Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Bull, M., and Kempf, D., eds., *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory* (Woodbridge, 2014).
- Burke, S., *The Death and Return of the Author: Criticism and Subjectivity in Barthes, Foucault and Derrida* (Edinburgh, 1998).
- Burnett, C., ed., *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century* (London, 1987).
- , 'Adelard, Ergaphalau and the Science of the Stars', in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed., C. Burnett (London, 1987), pp. 133-45.
- , ed., *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds* (Aldershot, 1996).
- , 'Divination from Sheep's Shoulder Blades: A Reflection on Andalusian Society', in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*, ed. C. Burnett (Aldershot, 1996), 14, pp. 29-45.
- , 'An Islamic Divinatory Technique in Medieval Spain', in *Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages: Texts and Techniques in the Islamic and Christian Worlds*, ed. C. Burnett (Aldershot, 1996), 15, pp. 100-35.
- , 'The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Program in Toledo in the Twelfth Century', *Science in Context* 12.2 (2001), pp. 249-88.
- , 'Adelard of Bath', in *Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*, ed. T. F. Glick, S. J. Livesey, and F. Wallis (London, 2005), pp. 5-6.
- Busby, K., 'Narrative Genres', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, ed. S. Gaunt and S. Kay (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 139-52.
- Bynum, C. W., 'Wonder', *The American Historical Review* 102.1 (1997), pp. 1-26.
- , *Wonderful Blood: Theology and Practice in Late Medieval Germany and Beyond* (Philadelphia, 2007).

- , *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, NY, 2011).
- Bynum, C. W., and Freedman, P., eds., *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA, 2000).
- Bysted, A. L., Selch Jensen, C., Villads Jensen, K., and Lind, J. H., eds., *Jerusalem in the North: Denmark and the Baltic Crusades, 1100-1552* (Turnhout, 2012).
- Cameron A., 'The Date and Identity of Macrobius', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 56.1-2 (1966), pp. 25-38.
- Campion, N., *The Great Year: Astrology, Millenarianism and History in the Western Tradition* (London, 1994).
- Carty, C. M., 'The Role of Medieval Dream Images in Authenticating Ecclesiastical Construction', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999), pp. 45-90.
- Chazan, R., *God, Humanity, and History: The Hebrew First Crusade Narratives* (Berkeley, CA, 2000).
- , "'Let Not a Remnant or Residue Escape": Millenarian Enthusiasm in the First Crusade', *Speculum*, 84 (2009), pp. 289–313.
- Chenu, M.-D., *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin Medieval West*, ed. and trans. J. Taylor and L. K. Little (London, 1997).
- , 'The Platonisms of the Twelfth Century', *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century. Essays on New Theological Perspective in the Latin West*, ed. and trans. J. Taylor and L. K. Little (London, 1997), pp. 49-98.
- Chevedden, P. E., 'The Islamic Interpretation of the Crusade: A New (Old) Paradigm for Understanding the Crusades', *Der Islam* 83 (2006), pp. 90-136.
- Chibnall, M., *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights* (Woodbridge, 1984).
- Christiansen, E., *The Northern Crusades*, revised edn. (London, 1997).
- Christie, N., *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's War in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Muslim Sources* (London, 2014).
- Clarke, P., and Claydon, T., eds., *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul, Studies in Church History*, 45 (2009).
- , eds., in *Saints and Sanctity, Studies in Church History* 47 (2011).

- Classen, A., ed., *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World* (Berlin, 2013).
- Cobb, P. M., *The Race for Paradise: An Islamic History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 2014).
- Cole, P., *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270* (Cambridge, MA, 1991).
- Constable, G., 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio* 9 (1953), pp. 213-79.
- , ed., *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century: Collected Studies* (Aldershot, 2008).
- , 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century: Collected Studies*, ed. G. Constable (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 3-32.
- , 'The Cross of the Crusaders', in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century: Collected Studies*, ed. G. Constable (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 45-92.
- , 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century: Collected Studies*, ed. G. Constable (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 229-300.
- , 'The Fourth Crusade', in *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century: Collected Studies*, ed. G. Constable (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 321-48.
- Cooper, K., and Gregory, J., eds., *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church, Studies in Church History* 41 (Woodbridge, 2005).
- Cowdrey, H. E. J., 'Martyrdom and the First Crusade,' in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 46-56.
- Cuming, G. J., and Baker, D., eds., *Popular Belief and Practice, Studies in Church History* 8 (1972).
- D'Alverny, M. -T., 'Translations and Translators', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson, G. Constable, and C. D. Lanham (London, 1991), pp. 421-62.
- Dal Santo, M., *Debating the Saints' Cults in the Age of Gregory the Great* (Oxford, 2012).
- Daniel, E. R., 'The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore's Understanding of History', *Speculum* 55 (1980), pp. 469-83. Reprinted in *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachinism*, ed. E. R. Daniel (Farnham, 2011), 2, pp. 469-83.
- , 'Joachim of Fiore: Patterns of History in the Apocalypse', *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (London, 1992), pp. 72-88. Reprinted in

- Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachinism*, ed. E. R. Daniel (Farnham, 2011), 4, pp. 72-88.
- , 'A New Understanding of Joachim: The Concords, the Exile, and the Exodus', in *Gioacchino da Fiore tra Bernardo di Clairvaux e Innocenzo III: Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Gioachimiti (San Giovanni in Fiore, 16-21 September 1999)*, ed. R. Rusconi (Rome, 2001), pp. 209-222, reprinted in *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachinism*, ed. E. R. Daniel (Farnham, 2011), p. 208-22.
- , 'Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades', *Traditio* 25 (1969), pp. 127-54. Reprinted in *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachinism*, ed. E. R. Daniel (Farnham, 2011), 11, pp. 127-54.
- , ed., *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachinism* (Farnham, 2011).
- Daston, L. and Park, K., *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York, NY, 1998).
- David, C. W., 'The Authorship of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*', *Speculum* 7.1 (1932), pp. 50-7.
- De Weever, J., *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (London, 1998).
- Dickson, G., 'Revivalism as a Medieval Religious Genre', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 51.3 (2000), pp. 473-96.
- Doran, J., and Smith, D. J., eds., *Pope Celestine III (1192-1198): Diplomat and Pastor* (Farnham, 2008).
- Draelants, I., 'Le temps dans les textes historiographiques du Moyen Âge' in *Le temps qu'il fait au Moyen Age: phénomènes atmosphériques dans la littérature, la pensée scientifique et religieuse*, ed. J. Ducos and C. Thomasset (Paris, 1998), pp. 91-138.
- Dronke, P., ed., *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Ducos, J., and Thomasset, C., eds., *Le temps qu'il fait au Moyen Age: phénomènes atmosphériques dans la littérature, la pensée scientifique et religieuse* (Paris, 1998)
- Edbury, P. W., ed., *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail* (Cardiff, 1985).
- Edbury, P. W., and Rowe, J. G., *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Edbury, P. W., 'Preaching the Crusade in Wales', in *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages*, ed. A. Haverkamp and H. Volrath (Oxford, 1996), pp. 221-33.

- , 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East', in *Pope Celestine III (1192-1198): Diplomat and Pastor*, ed. J. Doran and D. J. Smith (Farnham, 2008), pp. 129-43.
- , 'Gerard of Ridefort and the Battle of Le Cresson (1 May 1187): The Developing Narrative Tradition', in *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. H. J. Nicholson (Farnham, 2011), pp. 45-60.
- Edgington, S. B., and Lambert, S., eds., *Gendering the Crusades* (Cardiff, 2001).
- Edgington, S. B., and García-Guijarro, L., *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade* (Turnhout, 2014).
- Edgington, S. B., 'The Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *Historical Research* 69 (1996), pp. 328-39.
- , 'The First Crusade: Reviewing the Evidence', in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. J. P. Phillips (Manchester, 1997), pp. 19-28.
- , 'Albert of Aachen, St Bernard and the Second Crusade', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, eds. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 54-70.
- , 'The *Gesta Francorum Iherusalem expugnantium* of "Bartolf of Nangis"', in *Crusades* 13 (2014), pp. 21-35.
- Face, R. D., 'Secular History on Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa', *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), pp. 169-84.
- Finucane, R., *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977).
- Fletcher, R. A., *The Barbarian Conversion: From Paganism to Christianity* (New York, NY, 1997).
- Flint, V. I. J., 'The Transmission of Astrology in the Early Middle Ages', *Viator* 21 (1990), pp. 1-27.
- Flori, J., 'Mort et martyre des guerriers vers 1100. L'exemple de la première croisade', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 34 (1991), pp. 121-39.
- , 'La caricature de l'Islam dans l'Occident médiéval. Origine et signification de quelques stéréotypes concernant l'Islam', *Aevum* 66 (1992), pp. 245-56.
- Fonnesberg-Schmidt, I., *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147-1254* (Leiden, 2007).
- Forey, A., 'The Siege of Lisbon and the Second Crusade', *Portuguese Studies* 20 (2004), pp. 1-13.
- France, J., and Zajac, W. G., eds., *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot, 1998).

- France, J., 'The Anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and the *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* of Raymond of Aguilers and the *Historia de Hierosolymitana itinere* of Peter Tudebode: An Analysis of the Textual Relationship between Primary Sources for the First Crusade', in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W.G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 39–69.
- , 'Two Types of Vision on the First Crusade: Stephen of Valence and Peter Bartholomew', *Crusades* 5 (2006), pp. 1–20.
- Frankopan, P., *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (London, 2012).
- Frassetto, M., ed., *Christian Attitudes Towards Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook* (London, 2006).
- Freeman, E., 'Wonders, Prodigies and Marvels: Unusual Bodies and the Fear of Heresy in Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglicanum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 26.2 (2000), pp. 127-43.
- Freund, S., and Schutte, B., eds., *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck: Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis* (Oxford, 2008).
- Freund, S., 'Arnold von Lübeck und seine "Chronik" – Zur Einleitung', in *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck: Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis*, eds. S. Freund and B. Schutte (Oxford, 2008), pp. 1-5.
- Fuchs, K., *Zeichen und Wunder bei Guibert de Nogent: Kommunikation, Deutungen und Funktionalisierungen von Wundererzählungen im 12. Jahrhundert* (Oldenburg, 2008).
- Gabriele, M., 'Against the Enemies of Christ: The Role of Count Emicho in the Anti-Jewish Violence of the First Crusade', in *Christian Attitudes Towards Jews in the Middle Ages: A Casebook*, ed. M. Frassetto (London, 2006), pp. 61–82.
- , *An Empire of Memory: The Legend of Charlemagne, the Franks, and Jerusalem Before the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2011).
- Gaposchkin, M. C., *The Marking of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusading in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 2008).
- Gaster, M., 'The Letter of Toledo', *Folklore* 13.2 (1902), pp. 115-34.
- Gaunt, S., and Kay, S., eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Geary, P. J., *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, revised edn. (Princeton, NJ, 1990).
- , *The Living and the Dead in the Middle Ages* (London, 1994).

- Gerish, D., 'Gender Theory', in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. H. Nicholson (Basingstoke, 2005), pp. 130-47.
- Gibson, M., 'Adelard of Bath', in *Adelard of Bath: An English Scientist and Arabist of the Early Twelfth Century*, ed. C. Burnett (London, 1987), pp. 7-16.
- Gillingham, J., and Holt, J. C., eds., *War and Government in the Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of J. O. Prestwich* (Woodbridge, 1984).
- Gillingham, J., 'Roger of Howden on Crusade', in *Richard Cœur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry and War in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1994), pp. 141-53.
- Glenn, J., ed., *The Middle Ages in Text and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources* (Toronto, ON, 2011).
- Glick, T. F., Livesey, S. J., and Wallis, F., eds., *Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopedia* (London, 2005).
- Goodich, M. E., *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Aldershot, 2007).
- Grauert, H., 'Meister Johann von Toledo', *Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 2 (1901), pp. 111-325.
- Hamilton, B., *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980).
- , '“God Wills It”: Signs of Divine Approval in the Crusade Movement', in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory, *Studies in Church History* 41 (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 88-98.
- , 'Why did the Crusade States Produce so Few Saints?', in *Saints and Sanctity*, ed. P. Clarke and T. Claydon, *Studies in Church History* 47 (2011), pp 103-11.
- Harari, Y. N., 'Eyewitnessing in Accounts of the First Crusade', *Crusades* 3 (2004), pp. 77-99.
- Haring, N. M., 'The Liberal Arts in the Sermons of Garnier of Rochefort', *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968), pp. 47-77.
- Harris, J., *Byzantium and the Crusades*, 2nd ed. (London, 2014).
- Haskins, C. H., *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (London, 1955).
- Haverkamp, A., and Volrath, H., eds., *England and Germany in the High Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1996).
- Haverkamp, E., 'What Did the Christians Know? Latin Reports on the Persecutions of the Jews in 1096', *Crusades* 7 (2008), pp. 59-86.

- Hermanson, L., 'Friendship and Politics in Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum*', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 83.2 (2005), pp. 261-84.
- Hiestand, R., 'Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 34 (1978), pp. 345-80.
- Hodgson, N. R., 'The Role of Kerbogha's Mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. S. B. Edgington and S. Lambert (Cardiff, 2001), pp. 163-76.
- , *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2007).
- , 'Reinventing Normans as Crusaders? Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi*', *Anglo Norman Studies* 30 (2008), pp. 117-32.
- Holdenried, A., *The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050-1500* (Aldershot, 2006).
- Holt, A., 'Between Warrior and Priest: The Creation of a New Masculine Identity during the Crusades', in *Negotiating Clerical Identities: Priests, Monks and Masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. D. Thibodeaux (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 185-203.
- , 'Crusading Against Barbarians: Muslims as Barbarians in Crusades Era Sources', in *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times, Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. A. Classen (Berlin, 2013), pp. 443-56.
- Hooker, M., 'The Use of Sibyls and Sibylline Oracles in Early Christian Writers', PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 2007.
- Housley, N., with Bull, M., 'Jonathan Riley-Smith, the Crusades and the Military Orders: An Appreciation', in *The Experience of Crusading, I. Western Approaches*, ed. N. Housley and M. Bull (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 1-10.
- Housley, N., *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006).
- , ed., *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber* (Aldershot, 2007).
- Hudson, B., 'Time Is Short: The Eschatology of the Early Gaelic Church', in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, eds. C. W. Bynum and P. Freedman (Philadelphia, PA, 2000), pp. 101-23.
- Jaeger, C. S., 'Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century "Renaissance"', *Speculum* 78.4 (2003), pp. 1151-83.
- Jaspert, N., '*Capta est Dertosa, clavis Christianorum*: Tortosa and the Crusades', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 90-110.

- Jenkins, R. J. H., 'The Bronze Athena at Byzantium', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 67 (1947), pp. 31-3.
- John, S., and Morton, N., eds., *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France* (Farnham, 2014).
- John, S., 'Godfrey of Bouillon and the Swan Knight', in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. S. John and N. Morton (Surrey, 2014), pp. 129-42.
- Justice, S., 'Did the Middle Ages Believe in Their Miracles?', *Representations* 103.1 (2008), pp. 1-29.
- Kedar, B. Z., ed., *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2-6 July 1987* (London, 1992).
- Kee, G. C., *Miracles in the Early Christian World* (London, 1983).
- Kempf, D., 'Towards a Textual Archaeology of the First Crusade', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. M. Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 116-26.
- Keskiaho, J., *Dreams and Visions in the Early Middle Ages: The Reception and Use of Patristic Ideas, 400-900* (Cambridge, 2015).
- Kieckhefer, R., *Magic in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2014).
- Kinoshita, S., *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, PA, 2006).
- Koopmans, R., *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (Pennsylvania, PH, 2011).
- Kostick, C., *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden, 2008).
- , 'A Further Discussion on the Authorship of the *Gesta Francorum*', *Reading Medieval Studies* 35 (2009), pp. 1-14.
- , 'The Afterlife of Adhémar of Le Puy', in *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, ed. P. Clarke and T. Claydon, *Studies in Church History* 45 (2009), pp. 120-9.
- Krey, A., 'William of Tyre: The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 16.2 (1941), pp. 149-66.
- Krötzel, C., and Mustakallio, K., eds., *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011).
- Kruger, S. F., *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992).

- , 'Medieval Christian (Dis)identifications: Muslims and Jews in Guibert of Nogent', *New Literary History* 28 (1997), pp. 185-203.
- Laiou, A. E., ed., *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris, 2005).
- , 'Byzantium and the Crusades in the Twelfth Century: Why Was the Fourth Crusade Late in Coming?', in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 17-40.
- Ladner, G. B., 'Terms and Ideas of Renewal', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. R. L. Benson, G. Constable, and C. D. Lanham (London, 1991), pp. 1-34.
- Lapina, E., "'Nec signis nec testibus creditor...': The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade', *Viator* 38.1 (2007), pp. 117-39.
- , 'Anti-Jewish rhetoric in Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos*', *Journal of Medieval History* 35 (2009), pp. 239-53.
- , 'The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch', in *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspectives*, ed. G. Signori (Leiden, 2012), pp. 147-59.
- , *Warfare and the Miraculous in the Chronicles of the First Crusade* (University Park, PA, 2015).
- Lay, S., 'Miracles, Martyrs and the Cult of Henry the Crusader in Lisbon', *Portuguese Studies* 24.1 (2008), pp. 7-31.
- Lecaque, T. W., 'The Count of Saint-Gilles and the Saints of the Apocalypse: Occitanian Piety and Culture in the Time of the First Crusade', PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2015.
- Le Goff, J., *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1988).
- Lehtonen, T. M. S., and Villads Jensen, K., eds., *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology* (Helsinki, 2005).
- Lehtonen, T. M. S., 'By the Help of God, Because of Our Sins, and by Chance. William of Tyre Explains the Crusades', in *Medieval History Writing and Crusading Ideology*, ed. T. M. S. Lehtonen and K. Villads Jensen (Helsinki, 2005), pp. 71-84.
- Livermore, H., 'The "Conquest of Lisbon" and its Author', *Portuguese Studies* 6 (1991), pp. 1-16.
- Loades, D. W., ed., *The End of Strife: Death, Reconciliation and Expressions of Christian Spirituality* (Edinburgh, 1984).
- Lock, P., *The Routledge Companion to The Crusades* (London, 2006).

- Lotter, F., 'The Crusading Idea and the Conquest of the Regions East of the Elbe', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 267-306.
- Lyon, J. R., *Princely Brothers and Sisters : The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100-1250* (Ithaca, NY, 2013).
- Macrides, R., 'Constantinople: The Crusaders' Gaze', in *Travel in the Byzantine World. Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000*, ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 193-212.
- , ed., *Travel in the Byzantine World. Papers from the Thirty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, April 2000* (Aldershot, 2002).
- Madden, T., 'Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade', *The International History Review* 17.4 (1995), pp. 726-43.
- , 'Venice, the Papacy, and the Crusades Before 1204', in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. S. J. Ridyard (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 85-95.
- , ed., *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions. Papers from the Sixth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25-29 August 2004* (Aldershot, 2008).
- Maier, C., 'Crisis, Liturgy and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48 (1997), pp. 628-57.
- Markowski, M., Markowski, 'Peter of Blois and the Conception of the Third Crusade', in *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Jerusalem and Haifa, 2-6 July 1987*, ed. B. Z. Kedar (London, 1992), pp. 261-9.
- , 'Richard Lionheart: Bad King, Bad Crusader?', *Journal of Medieval History* 23.4 (1997), pp. 351-65.
- Mayer, H. E., *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993).
- Mayr-Harting, H., 'Odo of Deuil, the Second Crusade, and the Monastery of Saint-Denis', in *The Culture of Christendom: Essays in Medieval History in Memory of Denis L. T. Bethell*, ed. M. A. Meyer (London, 1993), pp. 225-41; reprinted in *Religion and Society in the Medieval West, 600-1200: Selected Papers*, ed., H. Mayr-Harting (Aldershot, 2010), 16, pp. 225-41.
- Mégier, E., 'Otto of Freising', in *Christian-Muslim Relations 600-1500*, ed. D. Thomas, A. Mallett et al., Brill Online as made available at http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1877-8054_CMRCOM_23300 (Accessed: 5 July 2016).
- Mentgen, G., *Astrologie und öffentlichkeit im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2005).

- Meschini, M., 'The "Four Crusades" of 1204', in *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions. Papers from the Sixth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25-29 August 2004*, ed. T. F. Madden (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 27-42.
- Mesley, M. M., and Wilson, L. E., eds., *Contextualising Miracles in the Christian West, 1100-1500* (Oxford, 2014).
- Metzler, I., *Disability in Medieval Europe: Thinking About Physical Impairment During the High Middle Ages, c.1100-1400* (London, 2006).
- Metlitzki, D., *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (London, 1977).
- Mierow, C. C., 'Bishop Otto of Freising: Historian and Man', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 80 (1949), pp. 393-402.
- Morris, C., 'A Critique of Popular Religion: Guibert of Nogent on *The Relics of the Saints*', in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. G. J. Cuming and D. Baker, *Studies in Church History* 8 (1972), pp. 55-60.
- , 'Policy and Visions: The Case of the Holy Lance at Antioch', in *War and Government in the Middle Ages. Essays in honour of J. O. Prestwich*, ed. J. Gillingham and J. C. Holt (Woodbridge, 1984), pp. 33-45.
- , 'The *Gesta Francorum* as Narrative History', *Reading Medieval Studies* 19 (1993), pp. 55-71.
- , 'Martyrs on the Field of Battle before and during the First Crusade', *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. D. Wood, *Studies in Church History* 30 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 93-105.
- Morton, D., 'The Crisis of Narrative in the Postnarratological Era: Paul Goodman's *The Empire City* as a (Post)Modern Intervention', *New Literary History* 24.2 (1993), pp. 407-24.
- Morton, N., 'The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees', *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), pp. 275-93.
- , *Encountering Islam on the First Crusade* (Cambridge, 2016).
- Muldoon, J., ed., *Bridging the Medieval-Modern Divine: Medieval Themes in the World of the Reformation* (London, 2013).
- Murray, A. V., ed., *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150-1500* (Aldershot, 2001).
- , ed., *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier* (Farnham 2009).

- , ed., *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe: The Expansion of Christendom in the Baltic Lands* (Farnham, 2014).
- , 'The Power Friedrich von Hausen in the Third Crusade and the Performance of Middle High German Crusading Songs', in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. S. John and N. Morton (Farnham, 2014), pp. 119-28.
- Nicholson, H., 'Women on the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 23.4 (1997), pp. 335-49.
- , ed., *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 2005).
- , "'Martyrum collegio sociandus haberet': Depictions of the Military Orders' Martyrs in the Holy Land, 1187-1291", in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages: Realities and Representations. Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. S. John and N. Morton (Farnham, 2014), pp. 101-118.
- Niskanen, S., 'The Origins of the *Gesta Francorum* and Two Related Texts: Their Textual and Literary Character', *Sacris Erudiri* 51 (2012), pp. 287-316.
- Noble, P., 'The Importance of Old French Chronicles as Historical Sources of the Fourth Crusade and the Early Latin Empire of Constantinople', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), pp. 399-416.
- Novikoff, A., 'The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century Before Haskins', *The Haskins Society Journal* 16 (2005), pp. 104-16.
- O'Banion, P. J., 'What has Iberia to do with Jerusalem? Crusade and the Spanish Route to the Holy Land in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Medieval History* 34 (2008), pp. 383-95.
- Obrist, B., 'Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology', *Speculum* 72.1 (1997), pp. 33-84.
- O'Callaghan, J. F., *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia, PA, 2003).
- Page, S., *Astrology in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 2002).
- Pages, M., 'Medieval Roots of the Modern Image of Islam: Fact and Fiction', in *Bridging the Medieval-Modern Divide: Medieval Themes in the World of the Reformation*, ed. J. Muldoon (London, 2013), pp. 23-44.
- Partner, N., *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (London, 1977).
- , 'Richard of Devizes: The Monk Who Forgot to be Medieval', in *The Middle Ages in Text and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. J. Glenn (Toronto, ON, 2011), pp. 231-44.

- Paul, N., and Yeager, S., eds., *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image and Identity* (Baltimore, MD, 2012).
- Paul, N., 'A Warlord's Wisdom: Literacy and Propaganda at the Time of the First Crusade', *Speculum* 85.3 (2010), pp. 534-66.
- , *To Follow in Their Footsteps: the Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY, 2012).
- Peden, M., 'Macrobius and Medieval Dream Literature', *Medium Ævum* 54 (1985), pp. 59-73.
- Perry, D., *Sacred Plunder: Venice and the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade* (University Park, PA, 2015).
- Pinner, R., *The Cult of St Edmund in Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2015).
- Phillips, J. P. and Hoch, M., eds., *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences* (Manchester, 2001).
- Phillips, J. P., ed., *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact* (Manchester, 1997).
- , 'St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Low Countries, and the Lisbon Letter of the Second Crusade', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48.3 (1997), pp. 485-97.
- , 'Ideas of Crusade and Holy War in *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (*The Conquest of Lisbon*)', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History*, ed. R. N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History*, 36 (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 123-41.
- , 'Odo of Deuil's *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* as a Source for the Second Crusade', in *The Experience of Crusading, 1: Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 80-95.
- , *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London, 2004).
- , *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (London, 2007).
- , *The Crusades, 1095-1204*, 2nd edn. (London, 2014).
- Piatti, P., ed., *The Fourth Crusade Revisited: Atti della Conferenza Internazionale nell'ottavo centenario della IV Crociata 1204-2004* (Vatican City, 2008).
- Pringle, D., 'The Spring of Cresson in Crusading History', in *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur la croisades dédiées à Jean Richard: Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard*, ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 231-40.
- Privat, E., ed., *La religion populaire en Languedoc du XIIIe siècle à la moitié du XIVe siècle*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 11 (Toulouse, 1976).

- Pryor, J. H., *Geography, Technology, and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988).
- , 'The Venetian Fleet for the Fourth Crusade and the Diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople', in *The Experience of Crusading, I. Western Approaches*, ed. M. Bull and N. Housley (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 103-23.
- , 'Two *Excitationes* for the Third Crusade: the letters of Thierry of the Temple', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25.2 (2010), pp. 147-68.
- Purkis, W. J., 'Stigmata on the First Crusade', in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory, *Studies in Church History* 41 (Woodbridge, 2005).
- , *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008).
- , 'Crusading and Crusade Memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013), pp. 100-27.
- , 'Memories of the Preaching for the Fifth Crusade in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*', *Journal of Medieval History* 40.3 (2014), pp. 329-45.
- , 'Rewriting the History Books: The First Crusade and the Past', in *Writing the Early Crusades: Text, Transmission and Memory*, ed. M. Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 140-54.
- Queller, D. E., and Stratton, S. J., 'A Century of Controversy on the Fourth Crusade', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1969), pp. 233-77.
- Queller, D. E., and Madden, T., *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd edn. (Philadelphia, PA, 1997).
- Reeves, M., *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future* (London, 1976).
- Reuter, T., 'The 'Non-Crusade' of 1149-50', in *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. J. P. Phillips and M. Hoch (Manchester, 2001), pp. 150-63.
- Reynolds, S., 'Social Mentalities and the Case of Medieval Scepticism', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, 1 (1991), pp. 21-41.
- Ridyard, S. J., ed., *The Medieval Crusade* (Woodbridge, 2004).
- Riley-Smith, J., 'Death on the First Crusade', in *The End of Strife: Death, Reconciliation and Expressions of Christian Spirituality*, ed. D. W. Loades (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 14-31.
- , *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997).
- , *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd edn. (London, 2005).

- , 'Towards an Understanding of the Fourth Crusade as an Institution', in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. A. E. Laiou (Paris, 2005).
- , *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, 2nd edn. (London, 2009).
- , *What Were the Crusades?*, 9th edn. (London, 2009).
- , 'An Army on Pilgrimage', in *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and L. García-Guijarro (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 104-16.
- Roach, D., 'Orderic Vitalis and the First Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History* 42.2 (2016), pp. 177-201.
- Roche, J. T., and Møller Jensen, J., eds., *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom* (Turnhout, 2015).
- Roche, J. T., 'The Second Crusade: Main Debates and New Horizons', in *The Second Crusade: Holy War on the Periphery of Latin Christendom*, ed. J. T. Roche and J. Møller Jensen (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 1-32.
- Rossignol, S., 'Bilingualism in Medieval Europe: Germans and Slavs in Helmold of Bosau's *Chronicle*', *Central European History* 47 (2014), pp. 523-43.
- Rowe, J. G., 'Paschal II and the Relation Between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem', *Speculum* 32.3 (1957), pp. 470-501.
- Rubenstein, J., *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York, NY, 2002).
- , 'Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context' *Viator* 35 (2004), pp. 131-68.
- , 'How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit', in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. S. J. Ridyard (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 53-69.
- , 'What is the *Gesta Francorum*, and who was Peter Tudebode?', *Revue Mabillon* 16 (2005), pp. 179-204.
- , *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York, NY, 2011).
- , 'Miracles and the Crusading Mind: Monastic Meditations on Jerusalem's Conquest', in *Prayer and Thought in Monastic Tradition, Essays in Honour of Benedicta Ward*, ed. S. Bhattacharji, R. Williams and D. Mattos (London, 2014), pp. 197-210.
- Rubin, M., *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (London, 2009).
- Ruch, L. M., 'Roger of Howden', *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy, 2014, as made available at <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com>

/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/roger-of-howden-SIM_02208
(Accessed: 29 August 2014).

- Runciman, S., 'The Holy Lance Found at Antioch', *Analecta Bollandiana* 68 (1950), pp. 197–209.
- , *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951-4).
- Russell, F. H., *The Just War in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1975).
- Ryan, V., 'Richard I and the Early Evolution of the Fourth Crusade', in *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath, and Perceptions. Papers from the Sixth Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Istanbul, Turkey, 25-29 August 2004*, ed. T. F. Madden (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 3-13.
- Schenk, J., 'Some Hagiographical Evidence for Templar Spirituality, Religious Life and Conduct', *Revue Mabillon* 22 (2011), pp. 99-119.
- Schmitt, J.-C., *Ghosts in the Middle Ages: The Living and the Dead in Medieval Society*, trans. T. L. Fagan (London, 1998).
- Schuste, B., 'The Strange Pilgrimage of Odo of Deuil', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory and Historiography*, ed. G. Althoff, J. Fried and P. J. Geary (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 253-78.
- Scior, V., 'Zwischen *terra nostra* und *terra sancta*. Arnold von Lübeck als Geschusshreiber', in *Die Chronik Arnolds von Lübeck: Neue Wege zu ihrem Verständnis*, eds. S. Freund and B. Schutte (Oxford, 2008), pp. 149-74.
- Sheils, W. J., ed., *Monks, Hermits, and the Ascetic Tradition, Studies in Church History* 22 (Oxford, 1985).
- Shepkaru, S., 'To Die for God: Martyrs' Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Narratives', *Speculum* 77 (2002), pp. 311-41.
- Sigal, P.-A., 'Un aspect du culte des saints: le chatiment divin aux XIe-XIIIe siècles d'après la littérature hagiographique du Midi de la France', in *La religion populaire en Languedoc du XIIIe siècle à la moitié du XIVe siècle*, ed. E. Privat, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 11 (Toulouse, 1976), pp. 39-59.
- , *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale: XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1985).
- Signori, G., ed., *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective* (Leiden, 2012).
- Smirnova, V., Polo de Beaulieu, M. A., and Berlioz, J., eds., *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach's Dialogue on Miracles and Its Reception* (Leiden, 2015).

- Smith, C., 'Martyrdom and Crusading in the Thirteenth Century: Remembering the Dead of Louis IX's crusades', *Al-Masaq* 15.2 (2003), pp. 189-96.
- , *Crusading in the Age of Joinville* (Aldershot, 2006).
- Snoek, G. J. C., *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (Leiden, 1995).
- Spacey, B. C., 'The Celestial Knight: Evoking the First Crusade in Odo of Deuil's *De profectioe Ludovici VII in Orientem* and in the Anonymous *Historia de Expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*', *Essays in Medieval Studies* 31 (2016, forthcoming), pp. 65-82.
- Spear, D. S., 'The School of Caen Revisited', *The Haskins Society Journal* 4 (1992), pp. 55-66.
- Spencer, S. J., 'The Emotional Rhetoric of Crusader Spirituality in the Narratives of the First Crusade', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 58 (2014), pp. 57-86.
- , 'Constructing the Crusader: Emotional Language in the Narratives of the First Crusade', in *Jerusalem the Golden: The Origins and Impact of the First Crusade*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and L. García-Guijarro (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 173-89
- Spiegel, G. M., *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, CA, 1993).
- , 'The Task of the Historian', *American Historical Review* 114.1 (2009), pp. 1-15.
- Stenton, D. M., 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', *The English Historical Review* 68.269 (1953), pp. 574-82.
- Stephenson, F. R., *Historical Eclipses and Earth's Rotation* (Cambridge, 2008).
- Stock, B., *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ, 1983).
- Swanson, R. N., *The Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Manchester, 1999).
- , ed., *The Holy Land, Holy Lands and Christian History, Studies in Church History* 36 (Woodbridge, 2000).
- Swietek, F. R., 'Gunther of Pairis and the *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*', *Speculum* 53.1 (1978), pp. 49-79.
- Tamminen, M., 'Who Deserves the Crown of Martyrdom? Martyrs in the Crusade Ideology of Jacques de Vitry (1160/70–1240)', in *On Old Age: Approaching Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Krötzel and K. Mustakallio (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 293–313.

- Taylor, P., 'Moral Agency in Crusade and Colonization: Anselm of Havelberg and the Wendish Crusade of 1147', *International Historical Review* 22.4 (2000), pp. 757-84.
- Throop, S., *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance* (Farnham, 2011).
- Tyerman, C., *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (London, 1996).
- , *The Debate on the Crusades* (Manchester, 2011).
- , *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London, 2015).
- Van der Lugt, M., 'The *Incubus* in Scholastic Debate: Medicine, Theology and Popular Belief' in *Religion and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. Biller and J. Ziegler (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 175-200.
- Van Engen, J., 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', *The American Historical Review*, 91.3 (1986), pp. 519-52.
- Vielliard, F., 'Richard Coeur de Lion et son Entourage Normand: Le Témoignage de l'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 160.1 (2002), pp. 5-52.
- Von Stuckrad, K., 'Interreligious Transfers in the Middle Ages: The Case of Astrology', *Journal of Religion in Europe* 1 (2008), pp. 34-59.
- , *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Esoteric Discourse and Western Identities* (Leiden, 2010).
- Von Sybel, H., *The History and Literature of the First Crusade*, trans. Lady Duff Gordon (London, 1861).
- Waldman, M. R., *Toward a Theory of Historical Narrative: A Case Study in Perso-Islamicate Historiography* (Columbus, OH, 1980).
- Ward, B., *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (London, 1987).
- Watkins, C., "'Folklore" and "Popular Religion" in Britain during the Middle Ages', *Folklore* 115.2 (2004), pp. 140-50.
- , *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Weltecke, D., 'Die Konjunktion der Planeten im September 1186: Zum Ursprung einer globalen Katastrophenangst', *Saeculum Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 54 (2003), pp. 179-212.
- Wetherbee, W., *Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres* (Princeton, NJ, 1972).

- Whalen, B., 'Joachim of Fiore, Apocalyptic Conversion, and the "Persecuting Society"', *History Compass* 8(7) (2010), pp. 682-91.
- Willoughby, J., 'A Templar Chronicle of the Third Crusade: Origin and Transmission', *Medium Ævum* 81.1 (2012), pp. 126-34.
- Winroth, A., *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge, 2000).
- Wood, D., ed., *Martyrs and Martyrologies, Studies in Church History*, 30 (Oxford, 1993).
- Yarrow, S., *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006).
- , 'Miracles, Belief and Christian Materiality: Relic'ing in Twelfth-Century Miracle Narratives', in *Contextualising Miracles in the Christian West, 1100-1500*, ed. M. M. Mesley and L. E. Wilson (Oxford, 2014), pp. 41-62.