The Spiritual Capital of Defeat: Christian Morality and Territorial Loss at the Time of the Crusades (c. 1144–1221)

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In loving memory of my grandparents

I, Emma Zürcher, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis examines medieval morality through the lens of defeats suffered in the Holy Land between 1144 and 1221. It argues that the loss of territory could be used to instigate changes in Christian attitudes and behaviours as contemporaries were forced to question established beliefs and practices to explain why events had not turned out as expected.

The successes of the first crusade were thought to have been divinely sanctioned. Therefore, when the territories won during this initial expedition were progressively lost to Muslim enemies, proponents of the crusading movement had to explain why God had not continued to guarantee the success of his people without challenging the validity of Christian settlement in Outremer. Their efforts to resolve this tension constitute what I refer to as their narratives of loss.

These narratives show that authors often connected defeat to the promise of salvation by proposing that military failure had been a divine punishment for Christian sin. The primary aim of such interpretations was often to encourage spiritual fervour. However, not all those who responded to defeat along these lines conveyed this in the same way. Through an analysis of a broad range of source material, I show that medieval authors used many different variations on this broad explanatory theme. I argue that they opted for particular rhetorical strategies to manipulate their audiences' thoughts, feelings, and reactions.

The influence that authors were consequently able to exercise frequently pertained to the devotional experience of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christians. In these instances, they realised the moral potential of defeat by connecting the loss of territory to different aspects of salvation history. This endowed their accounts with authority on how faith was to be lived.

Impact statement

While some historians have recognised that defeat suffered in Outremer posed a peculiar problem for medieval Christians because they were forced to explain why God had withdrawn his assistance from those fighting in his name, no comprehensive picture has been presented of the different narratives that emerged as a result. In fact, scholars have given the inaccurate impression of a uniform response to the loss of territory in the Latin East. While they have noted that contemporary authors often explained defeat as a divine punishment for sin, they have not explored the various different ways in which this narrative could be expressed. This thesis demonstrates that those responding to the loss of territory offered a multitude of different interpretations.

I argue that their choices in this regard did not just depend on their personal views but also on their designs to influence the views of their audiences by using defeat as an opportunity to question existing beliefs and practices. Existing scholarship has not explored this moral potential of loss. Indeed, the primary aim of most medieval authors was not to present a purely factual account of events but to shape how what had happened was understood. While we generally have no reason to doubt that the interpretations presented were sincere, they were at once an effective tool for moral persuasion. The former does not exclude the latter.

In analysing how contemporaries shaped their narratives of defeat to steer the attitudes and behaviours of fellow Christians, this thesis thus offers a fresh perspective on the medieval experience of defeat in the pursuit of God's cause. It goes beyond simply asking *how* authors explained the loss of territory to ask *why* they did so.

Yet, the benefits of my research extend beyond academia. The methodological framework I have built and used throughout my work can easily be extrapolated to examine how other faith-based groups experience defeat during wars believed to be fought in God's name. This can help us understand how different religious communities explain and come to terms with military failure and how defeat is harnessed to heighten spiritual enthusiasm for a violent cause. Indeed, the conclusions of this thesis force us to think more carefully about how territorial loss is narrated and the moral designs that might lie behind it.

CONTENTS

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Abbreviations

AH:	Analecta hymnica medii aevi, eds. G. M. Dreves and C. Blume, 55 vols (Leipzig, 1886–1922).
CCCM:	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis.
CCSL:	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina.
GCS:	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.
MGH:	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, ed. G. H. Pertz et al., 32 vols (Hannover, Weimar, Stuttgart and Cologne, 1826–1934).
	Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit — Briefe der deutsche Kaiserzeit.
	Epp. saec. XIII — Epistolae saeculi XIII e regestis pontificum Romanorum selectae.
	Ldl — Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum.
	SS — Scriptores.
	SS rer. Germ. — Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum.
	SS rer. Germ. N. S. — Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series.
MS, MSS:	Manuscript, Manuscripts.
PL:	Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina, publ. J. P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1841–64).
PG:	Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca, publ. J. P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66).
RHC Occ.:	Recueil des historiens des Croisades : Historiens occidentaux, 5 vols (Paris, 1844-95).
RHGF:	Recueil des historiens des Gaul et de la France, ed. M. Bouquet et al., 24 vols (Paris, 1737–1904).
RS:	Rolls Series, 253 vols (London, 1858–1965). Otherwise known as the Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores.

A Note on Translation

Unless explicitly stated, all translations from Latin, French, and German are my own. The English translations given of Occitan sources have been adapted from existing translations.

A Note on Orthography

In line with modern conventions and for ease of reading, my policy has been to classicise medieval spelling when citing older editions of Latin source material that do not do so. I have standardised 'u' to 'v' (as in *verum*) when used as a consonant, 'i' to 'j' (as in *eius*), and 'c' to 't' before a vowel (as in *malitia*).

Introduction

The familiar adage that history 'is written by the victors' represents, at best, a half-truth. The vanquished also have a voice, one which often survives independently of its triumphant counterpart in the narratives that emerge after the fact. It is perhaps these narratives of loss that provide the more interesting version of events for historians, as defeat challenges communities in more ways than one. We have only to look at how the destruction of the First and Second Temples is remembered in Jewish texts to see that defeat brings with it not only material losses of varying degrees but simultaneously obliges its members to consider why events have not turned out as planned.[1]

Depending on the belief system within which a society operates, commentators might have to consider more than strategic failures, political mishaps, and the role of external enemies and internal traitors. To be sure, defeat is especially challenging for communities that present themselves as the people of God on earth and claim divine support for their military campaigns. When a loss is suffered, they are forced to explain why divine assistance had not been offered in this instance. As a result, the loss of territory can cause those who seek to make sense of it to dismantle existing perceptions of the self and their peers and reevaluate where they stand in relation to the divine. Analysis of source material produced in the wake of defeat is, therefore, a helpful lens through which to study religious communities as it regularly demonstrates this process of reflection and thus sheds light on a group's moral framework and internal rationality.

I found that such acute introspection in the wake of collective trauma is especially apparent in the works of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Christians who sought to come to terms with the increasingly precarious position of the Crusader States. Mobilisation efforts for the First Crusade had stressed that victory was guaranteed because Christian expansion in the East was following divine designs, so when a series of decisive defeats overturned the initial successes

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[1] For a discussion of the narratives constructed in response to these catastrophes by the Israelites, see, for example, P. Mandel, 'The Loss of Center: Changing Attitudes towards the Temple in Aggadic Literature,' *The Harvard Theological Review* 99/1 (2006), 17–35; J. L. Wright, 'The Commemoration of Defeat and the Formation of a Nation in the Hebrew Bible,' *Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History* 29/3 (2009), 433–72.

of the crusaders, commentators were faced with the difficult task of explaining how it could be that an omnipotent God had allowed Muslim forces to take back those territories previously won for Christendom with divine support. The triumph of 1099 had shown the invincible power of Christ, so how could subsequent losses, most significantly that of Jerusalem in 1187, be explained? Neither weak leaders nor well-equipped adversaries could satisfactorily reveal the reasons for such defeats since God could simply have turned the tide in favour of the Christians had he desired to do so. As such, the loss of territory in the Holy Land, especially the traumatic loss of Jerusalem, could not comfortably be reconciled with the anticipated course of events. This tension between the expectation of continued Latin dominance in Outremer, with the aid of divine assistance, and the reality of repeated, decisive defeats, leading to increased marginalisation, thus had the potential to cause significant cognitive and emotional disorientation.

This thesis explores how contemporary Christians attempted to overcome this sense of dissonance by presenting a coherent interpretation of defeat. What narratives were constructed in the wake of a loss of territory to explain why events had turned out as they did? Can distinct patterns be discovered in the source material? Moreover, to what extent did these interpretations have the potential to influence how the Christian community experienced the loss suffered? Once the answers to these questions have been established, we may assess what processes of self-reflection were subsequently undertaken. How could defeat cause established notions concerning the community's past, present and future and its place in relation to the temporal and the divine to be dismantled and reconstructed? In short, to what extent might Christian morality have been impacted by the burden of having to make sense of what had happened?

In asking these questions, I have built on the theoretical insights drawn from scholarship that concerns itself with the questions of how different communities have come to understand the loss of territory and what moral repercussions accompany such trauma. While their efforts have not been

coordinated, I believe the body of work that their research has produced effectively constitutes an independent field of study that we may call the 'sociology of defeat'. The central issues which it seeks to tackle have been articulated repeatedly since the late nineteenth century, most often in response to specific political contingencies. Indeed, Ernest Renan famously highlighted the value of defeat in the construction of communal memory in his 1882 essay on nationhood, given against the backdrop of the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.[2]

As a consequence of the first and second world wars, it remained a topic of great relevancy throughout the first half of the twentieth century. During this period, scholars showed a marked interest in the moral impact of defeat. Marc Bloch, for instance, highlighted the impact of military loss on broader society, particularly on the intelligentsia, in his posthumously published *L'étrange défaite*.[3] On the other side of the conflict, Carl Schmitt, a fervent supporter of the recently defeated Nazi state, proposed in 1950 that a focus on the historiography of the vanquished rather than on that of the victor could yield exciting findings.[4]

However, the anthropology of defeat only found its fullest expression in the decades that followed, as German scholars, in particular, sought to define the role of the vanquished in the production of historical writing. This is perhaps most evident in a 1988 essay written by Reinhart Koselleck, who was equally influenced by the German post-war experience, on the interplay between personal experience and methodology in the production of historical works. Koselleck argued that the account of events produced by the triumphant party often concentrates on the recent past, on those immediate factors that brought about their victory. The defeated, on the other hand, are forced to undergo a more intense process of introspection to discover the reasons why events had not turned out as expected. The particular form which this explanation of loss takes can have far-reaching implications for a community's experience of its past, present and future. As such, 'History may be made — in the short term — by the victors,' Koselleck argued,

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[2] E. Renan, *Qu'est ce que c'est une nation ? Conférence faite en Sorbonne, le 11 mars 1882* (Paris, 1882), 7–11.

[3] M. Bloch, *L'Étrange defaite : témoignage écrit en 1940* (Paris, 1946).

[4] C. Schmitt, *Ex Captivitate Salus: Experiences, 1945–47* (Cambridge, 2017).

'but historical insights arise — in the long term — from the vanquished.'[5] To be sure, the experience of being defeated conversely endows the narratives produced in the wake of military loss with a great moral potential, something which Koselleck termed the 'Erkenntnischancen' of defeat.[6] If causal links are drawn between military failure and existing behavioural codes, it can constitute a moment of profound change in attitudes as established practices are called into question.

The suggestion that military loss can serve a positive function as a catalyst for moral redirection invites us to ask how individuals have historically harnessed the pressure to explain defeat as a tool to shape the collective consciousness. Indeed, several scholars have built on Koselleck's conclusion to better understand the experience of loss, both ancient and modern.[7]

Yet, historians of the crusades have thus far largely ignored such questions regarding the moral potential of the experience of defeat. In fact, to my knowledge, there has been no comprehensive study of how Latin Christians responded to the loss of territory in the Holy Land. Nor have scholars examined how various interpretations of military failure could be used to influence broadly held values and beliefs.

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[5] 'Mag die Geschichte — kurzfristig — von Siegern gemacht werden, die historischen Erkenntnisgewinne sammen — langfristig — von den Besiegten.' R. Koselleck, 'Erfahrungswandel und Methodenwechsel: Eine historische-anthropologische Skizze,' in C. Meier and J. Rüsen (eds.), *Theorie der Geschichte (vol. 5): Historische Methode* (Munich, 1988), 51–3.

[6] Ibid., 69.

[7] Wright, 'The Commemoration of Defeat and the Formation of a Nation in the Hebrew Bible,' 433–72; C. Maier, 'Sieger, Besiegte oder wer schreibt Geschichte?,' *Jahrbuch der Göttinger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 2009/1 (2010), 125–48; D. Johnson, *Dreaming of Freedom in South Africa: Literature Between Critique and Utopia* (Edinburgh, 2019), 159. Furthermore, the notion that the experience of rupture, whether caused by a change in the political order, natural catastrophes or a shift in attitudes, can be a catalyst for social change has been the focus of several sociological and anthropological studies. See, for example, M. Holbraad, B. Kapferer and J. F. Sauma (eds.), *Ruptures: Anthropologies of Discontinuity in Times of Turmoil* (London, 2019).

While several scholars engaged in research on other aspects of the crusading experience have noted that contemporaries did often seek to explain defeat, their comments on the topic have tended to be cursory.[8] Little appreciation has thus far been shown for the varied ways in which medieval commentators made sense of what had happened, nor have historians looked at the moral implications of these different rationalisations. Certainly, the notion that narratives of loss might have served a positive function, as commentators could employ their interpretations of what had happened to guide contemporary attitudes towards a broad range of issues, has not been recognised.

Indeed, most historians have shown an interest in responses to defeat only to the extent to which crusade propagandists used such rhetoric as a *casus belli* for future campaigns or, conversely, by those who criticised the continued expense of Christian souls and material goods for a cause which appeared increasingly unattainable.[9] As a result, their treatment of contemporary responses to the loss of territory has only scratched the surface of what it meant to be defeated in the pursuit of God's cause.

In many ways, the analytic framework established in Giles Constable's work on twelfth-century attitudes towards the crusading movement has been foundational to these topics of study. His seminal article, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', initially published in *Traditio* in 1953 but revised and updated for a 2008 collection of publications, has proven particularly influential.[10] Here, Constable explored why Christians were moved to join the campaigns

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[8] See, for instance, J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 1986), 134; J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, CT., 2007), 273; J. L. Bird, 'Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Sermons and the History of a Campaign,' in E. Lapina and N. Morton (eds.), *The Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (Leiden, 2017), 316–40, 337; J. Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream: The Crusades, Apocalyptic Prophecy, and the End of History* (Oxford, 2019), 124.

[9] For instance, as this next section will set out, P. J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, 1991); C. T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge, 2000); P. A. Throop, 'Criticism of Papal Crusade Policy in Old French and Provençal,' *Speculum* 13/4 (1938), 379–412; G. B. Flahiff, 'Deus Non Vult: A Critic of the Third Crusade,' *Mediaeval Studies* 9 (1947), 162–88; E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274* (Oxford, 1985).

[10] G. Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries,' *Traditio* 9 (1953), 213–79. An updated version was published in idem, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham, 2008), 229–300. All references will be to this revised edition hereafter.

against pagans and Muslims between 1146 and 1148, focusing on the expedition to the Holy Land launched after the conquest of Edessa by Imad ad-Din Zangi, ruler of Aleppo and Mosul, in 1144.

Although there is no discussion of how the Latin community made sense of this initial loss of territory, the article does touch upon the contemporary response to the notable lack of results secured by the military enterprise launched in its wake. Constable argues that most contemporaries attributed the failure to a combination of 'rational' factors, a label which he attached to such factors as the hostility of the enemy and the hardships suffered en route, and divine will.[11] This dichotomy between 'rational' reasons for defeat and those ascribed to God's punishment for sin is, I believe, rather unhelpful in this context. Indeed, the idea that a military setback was the result of divine will was as much a rational mode of reasoning for medieval Christians, as a consequence of their worldview, as any other, mundane cause would have been.

Moreover, as the broader focus of the article lies elsewhere, Constable did not discuss the varied forms in which narratives of loss based on the notion that God had orchestrated military defeat were presented. Consequently, the numerous implications of these different ways of making sense of defeat for contemporary morality were left similarly untreated.

One manner in which scholars have tried to expand our understanding of Latin Christian attitudes towards crusading beyond Constable's analysis is through the study of the preaching efforts of notable crusade propagandists. Such research adds to our grasp of the rhetoric to which twelfth and thirteenth century Christians were exposed and how their mindset towards Latin campaigns to the East might have been shaped as a result. While we must certainly recognise the excellent work carried out by, among others, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Nicole Bériou,

[11] Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries,' 282.

David d'Avray and Jean Flori in this area, there are two studies that present a particularly comprehensive overview of crusade preaching efforts.[12]

The first is Penny Cole's 1991 monograph *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270*.[13] This important work examines sermons written both to encourage recruitment for planned campaigns and to confirm the choice of those who had already taken the cross. In doing so, Cole traces the development of crusading theory from its original focus on the salvific potential of the expeditions as an imitation of Christ's sacrifice on the cross, a rationale that was promoted throughout the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, to a greater emphasis on crusading as a necessary act of penance around the time of Honorius III.

Since papal encyclicals demonstrate that territorial loss in the Crusader States was often the immediate reason behind calls for further military campaigns, it is unsurprising that crusade propagandists often touched upon the causes for defeat when seeking to encourage mobilisation. To assure the validity of the proposed endeavour, they were obliged to explain how such setbacks could have been suffered without undermining God's omnipotence, his ultimately loving nature or the legitimacy of the cause. One had to show at once that God could have intervened in favour of the Christian armies had he so desired (and would do so again) and that the failure of the forces in the East was not the result of a sudden retraction of divine approval of the objective: Latin possession of the Holy Land. Cole briefly notes that authors achieved this by portraying the unfortunate

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[12] J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love,' *History* 65 (1980), 177–92; Idem, *The First Crusade*; P. J. Cole, D. L. d'Avray and J. S. C. Riley-Smith, 'Application of Theology to Current Affairs: Memorial Sermons on the dead of Mansurah and on Innocent IV,' in D. L. d'Avray and N. Bériou (eds.), *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), 217–45. N. Bériou, 'La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d'Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226,' in P. Annaert (ed.), *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIe–début XVe siècle), Cahiers de Fanjeaux 32* (Toulouse, 1997), 85–109; J. Flori, *Prêcher la croisade: XIe-XIII siecle, Communication et propagande* (Paris, 2012). Other valuable contributions to the study of crusade sermons include C. Grasso, 'Ars predicandi e crociata nella predicazione dei magistri parigiani,' in M. Montesano (ed.), *Come d'orco della fiaba, Studi per Franco Cardini* (Florence, 2010), 141–50; Idem, 'Legali papali e predicatori della quinta crociata,' in M.-P. Alberzoni et P. Montaubin (eds.), *Legati, delegati e l'impresa d'Oltremare (secoli xii-xiii)/Papal legates, delegates and the Crusades (12th-13th century)* (Turnhout, 2014), 263–82; B. M. Kienzle, 'Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda,' *Medieval Sermon Studies* 53/1 (2009), 11–32; Bird, 'Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade,' 316–40.

[13] Cole, *The Preaching*

turn of events as a divine punishment for the iniquities of the Christian community, a topic which she touched upon again in relation to the defeat at Hattin in a later article.[14] Nevertheless, while Cole thus acknowledges that defeat was frequently explained as the inevitable result of sin, her analysis does not extend to the diverse forms that such rationalisations took. Moreover, there is no discussion of how such narratives might have disrupted and restructured how individuals evaluated the world around them and their place within it.

Although primarily concerned with the First Crusade, Cole has noted in a separate article on the theme of religious pollution in crusader sources that such rhetoric concerned with the spiritual repercussions of a Muslim presence also featured preaching efforts for later crusades.[15] As this thesis will demonstrate, the extent of this phenomenon and its implications for the experience of loss of territory remains largely unexplored. Still, Cole's recognition of its presence in the source material has proved a valuable first step towards a complete examination of the topic.

Christoph Maier's work, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross*, published in 2000, compliments both Cole's research and Maier's own earlier work on Mendicant recruitment efforts.[16] This second overview study of crusade preaching efforts focuses primarily on thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century *ad status* sermons. Emphasis is placed on the distinction between the oral delivery of sermons and the corresponding, soberly written records which were usually edited into didactic texts to suit a multitude of occasions.[17] The core of Maier's work exists of seventeen sermons, edited and translated by such preachers as James of Vitry and Eudes of Châteauroux. Their contents demonstrate that later propagandists also sought to come up with explanations for defeat that could reconcile the expectation of continued Christian

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[14] Ibid., 41–2, 100, 152; Idem, 'Christian Perceptions of the Battle of Hattin (583/1187),' *Al-Masāq* 6/1 (1993), 9–39.

[15] P. J. Cole, "O God, the Heathens Have Come into Your Inheritance" (Ps. 78:1): The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095–1188,' in M. Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria* (Leiden, 1993), 84–111.

[16] Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*; Idem, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994).

[17] Idem, *Crusade Propaganda*, 16–28

dominance in the East with the reality of increased marginalisation caused by a series of decisive defeats. While most were not written for a specific campaign, being models to be used for future endeavours, some do touch on territorial losses previously suffered in the Holy Land.[18] No commentary on the various rationalisations of defeat accompanies the edited texts, but the act of editing them is itself of great benefit to anyone wishing to explore this topic. Furthermore, in an earlier article, Maier briefly addressed the fact that many understood defeat at the hands of Saladin in 1187 as a divine punishment for the sins of the Christian community.[19] However, as is the case in the work of Constable and Cole, this narrative pattern is acknowledged, but there is no further discussion of the many different forms that such rationalisations of territorial loss took. An oversimplified image has thus emerged, one which this thesis seeks to challenge by demonstrating that there existed a wide variety of narrative themes, each of which had its own implications for contemporary morality.

Those historians who have studied not the promulgation of the crusades but rather the criticism levied against the cause and its propagandists have likewise noted that defeat was often interpreted as a divine punishment. In contrast to Cole and Maier, however, they have primarily analysed the extent to which this narrative supported condemnations of the behaviour of those who took the cross. While these studies consequently tend to pay slightly more attention to the impact of loss on contemporary attitudes to the crusading movement, its wider moral repercussions remain similarly unexplored. Moreover, as is the case in the above-discussed studies on crusade preaching, their analyses have tended to present an oversimplified picture of the narratives of loss that emerged in the wake of defeat in the Holy Land and have not recognised the potential of such accounts to influence broader evaluations of the Christian universe and man's place within it.

This is the case, for instance, in the most important anglophone study on the objections levied against crusade propagandists to date: Elizabeth Siberry's

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[18] See for instance, James of Vitry, 'Sermo ad crucesignatos vel crucesignandos,' in Maier (ed.), *Crusade Propaganda*, 94.

[19] C. T. Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy, and the Crusade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 48/4 (1997), 628–57.

1985 monograph entitled *Criticism of Crusading: 1095–1274*.[20] Siberry highlighted that military setbacks in the East were often interpreted as the inevitable result of the iniquities of the Latin community. The work provides an extensive survey of such rhetoric from the late eleventh to the late thirteenth century.[21] The accompanying analysis of the material is intended to support her larger argument, which overturned the conclusions reached by Palmer Throop in 1940 and, to a lesser extent, those published by George Flahiff in 1947, that what had previously been viewed as a critique of the crusading movement as a whole, was, in fact, a condemnation of papal policy and crusader abuses.[22] However, while many commentators frequently did explain defeat as the necessary result of Christian sinfulness, such rhetoric was not used exclusively to criticise papal crusade propaganda or the behaviour of those who took the cross. As this thesis will demonstrate, it had a much broader application.

A more recent addition to the study of the crusades, Martin Aurell's *Des chrétiens contre les croisades (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, brings to light the various aspects of the movement that were criticised in contemporary sources.[23] Among these are the taxes imposed to fund the campaigns and the massacres of the Rhineland Jews and the Muslims at Jerusalem in 1099, but the successive military failures are also highlighted as an argument used against the launch of further expeditions to the Holy Land.[24] Aurell, like the scholars mentioned above, notes that the defeats suffered were frequently explained as a divine punishment for sin.[25] In addition, he provides an overview of those behaviours that were thought to have angered God.[26] Nevertheless, his analysis does not extend to the question of how the different interpretations of the causes of divine anger could be used as tools to

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[20] Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading.*

[21] Ibid., 69–95.

[22] P. A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam, 1940); Flahiff, 'Deus Non Vult,' 162–88.

[23] M. Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades. XIIe-XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2013).

[24] Ibid., 19–23, 55, 115–8.

[25] Ibid., 115.

[26] Ibid., 70–94.

reorientate contemporary morality beyond its potential to influence Christian views of the crusading movement.

One study which has come closer to understanding the moral impact of narratives of loss in the Holy Land is Megan Cassidy-Welch's 2017 article 'Before Trauma: The Crusades, Medieval Memory and Violence'.[27] It explores the loss of the relic of the True Cross at Hattin in 1187 through the lens of that field of psychology known as trauma theory, which analyses the effects of traumatic events on individuals. More specifically, Cassidy-Welch asks how the spiritual anxiety caused by this event and the violence that accompanied it was recorded and remembered throughout the thirteenth century. As part of this discussion, she highlights the difficult position in which those who took it upon themselves to explain why God had allowed this holiest of relics to be taken found themselves.[28] Their efforts to reconcile this experience of failure with the expectation of guaranteed victory with God's assistance by explaining defeat as the result of divine punishment for sin are also noted. However, the focus is placed on the long-term memorialisation and recollection of the events in question rather than how defeat was understood in the short term. As such, there is no discussion of how contemporary authors used the obligation to explain loss as a tool to influence the values and views around which the Latin Christian community oriented itself. Furthermore, similar to each of the above-discussed studies, Cassidy-Welch does not delve into the intricacies of such interpretations and the various explanatory themes found in the source material.

In short, while historians of the crusades have recognised that defeat suffered in the Holy Land posed a particular challenge to Christians seeking to explain what had happened, no comprehensive picture has been presented to date of the different narratives that emerged as a result. Indeed, we might go as far as to say that recent scholarship has given a false impression of uniformity in responses to

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[27] M. Cassidy-Welch, 'Before Trauma: The Crusades, Medieval Memory and Violence,' *Continuum* 31/5 (2017), 619–27.

[28] Ibid., 623.

military setbacks in the Latin East. While true that many contemporary accounts described defeat as a divine chastisement, this thesis will highlight that there are significant discrepancies within this rather broad category.

At the same time, scholars have engaged little with questions relating to the moral potential of such narratives of loss. The primary aim of most medieval authors was not to present a purely factual account of events but rather to shape how what had happened was understood. Indeed, while we generally have no reason to doubt that the interpretations presented were sincere, they were at once opportunistic. The former does not exclude the latter, as contemporaries offered particular narratives as much to assuage their own anxiety at the loss of territory in the Holy Land as that of their fellow Christians. Certain elements were stressed to steer the community's understanding of the implications of military failure in a particular direction.

My research seeks to fill these gaps by examining not only the various ways in which the loss of territory was explained but also how such responses were constructed to manipulate the thoughts, feelings, and reactions of their audiences. By adopting Koselleck's conclusion that defeat has great moral potential because it forces members to assess how existing beliefs and practices led to military failure and examining to what extent this is visible in the source material, I have been able to explore what it meant for believing Christians to be defeated in the pursuit of God's cause from a fresh perspective. It has allowed me to go beyond simply asking *how* authors explained defeat to ask *why* they did so.

As previously established, most explanatory narratives were built to some extent on the notion that the loss of territory had been a divine punishment for sin. God could have intervened in favour of the Christian armies but had chosen not to do so because of their iniquitous conduct. Through this narrative, authors sought to overcome the tension between the expectation of continued Latin dominance with God's assistance and the reality that he had not intervened to prevent the loss of territory. In this manner, they could mitigate the psychological impact of defeat by reconciling the event with the Christian expectations of the interplay between the worldly and the divine without challenging the validity of subsequent campaigns in the East, God's omnipotence or his compassionate nature. He had not abandoned his designs for Christian dominance in Outremer.

Nor had he been unable to prevent a Muslim victory or had he abandoned his chosen people permanently. Instead, he had wanted to warn the faithful that their conduct endangered their salvific prospects. At the same time, such emphasis on the immorality of the Christians thus served to encourage spiritual regeneration by highlighting the need for a renewed show of devotion.

Moreover, this thesis will demonstrate that the source material attests to a wide range of variations on this rather broad explanatory theme, each of which could influence contemporary attitudes and behavioural codes. Some, for instance, drew parallels with the Babylonian conquest of the Holy City and the captivity of the Israelites, which had ultimately been reversed when the community renounced its sinful ways. The implication was that events in Outremer would follow a similar pattern and that God would thus likewise return to their side if Christendom showed itself to be repentant. Consequently, such responses had the potential to inspire confidence in the belief that the lost sites would ultimately be returned to Christian possession. Others proposed that the immorality for which God had punished the faithful was a symptom of the Last Days and indicated that the Final Judgement was fast approaching. Such interpretations likewise encouraged spiritual renewal, as they proposed that there remained only a short time to secure one's redemption. As we will see, commentators could also (separately or simultaneously) harness their obligation to explain defeat to reinforce group identity among co-religionists or even to convey a sense of Christian exceptionalism.

Much of the discourse produced after military failure centred around Christian spirituality. Contemporaries frequently realised the moral potential of loss — using it as an opportunity to steer attitudes and behaviours — by calling into question how faith was lived on an individual and a communal level. They blamed what had happened on sin and connected the loss of territory to salvific history and the community's relationship with God. Their accounts of defeat often had a distinct ethical underpinning as authors subsequently connected possible remedies for the situation in the East to Christian spirituality, proposing what devotion should look like going forward to ensure salvation. In this way, they sought to influence behaviours by purporting to offer instructions on how Christians could redeem their souls in the wake of defeat. I believe we can,

therefore, say that authors gained 'spiritual capital' as a result of how they interpreted the loss of territory in Outremer.

In using this term, I am building on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of 'cultural capital'. Bourdieu used this term to describe a person's familiarity with the accepted cultural practices of a society that may be leveraged to achieve certain objectives and exert influence.[29] He argued that this intimacy with conventional cultural norms is transmitted from generation to generation in the homes of the privileged and allows members of the dominant classes to assimilate into society and hold sway over others with much greater ease than their counterparts from lower classes.[30]

There are clear parallels between this concept and the intangible benefits gained by Christians who explained the loss of territory in Outremer as a spiritual opportunity. Many of the authors whose works are discussed in this thesis similarly leveraged a supposed superior understanding of aspects of the functioning of the world around them to exert influence over their contemporaries. However, it was not their apparent familiarity with cultural norms but rather the blueprint for redemption of sorts that they laid out in their accounts, which allowed them to manipulate the attitudes and behaviours of those who encountered their words. It is appropriate, therefore, to speak of spiritual, rather than cultural capital.

While Bourdieu's cultural capital is passed between generations in privileged households, this spiritual capital gained through narratives that connected defeat to salvation was much more widely available. Indeed, all those who placed the loss of territory in Outremer in the framework of Christian redemption acquired it. Moreover, it could be attained regardless of whether it

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[29] P. Bourdieu and J-C. Passeron, *La Reproduction. Éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement* (Paris, 1970), esp. 46–8, 92–3, 105–6. Bourdieu and Passeron originally coined the term 'cultural capital', for use alongside the concepts of 'economic capital', 'human capital' and 'social capital', to explain why certain children perform better than others in the French educational system. Bourdieu subsequently developed the concept of cultural capital further in later works. See, for example, P. Bourdieu, *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris, 1979); Idem, 'Les trois états du capital culturel,' *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 30 (1979), 3–6; Idem, *La noblesse d'État : grandes écoles et esprit de corps* (Paris, 1989).

[30] Ibid.

supplemented existing spiritual authority gained through education or membership of the secular or regular Church.[31]

In a significant way, this thesis thus both depends on and reinforces Jonathan Riley-Smith's assessment that those who took the cross were motivated by genuine piety and a desire for redemption.[32] My argument is built on the idea that many Christians connected the crusades and the future of Outremer to the fate of their souls. At the same time, I examine how defeat in the Latin East was linked to salvation history to influence beliefs and behaviours. The prevalence of such evidence indicates that commentators felt that a spiritual interpretation of loss would resonate most strongly with the Christian community. This confirms Riley-Smith's conclusion that the spiritual quality of the expeditions to the East was of great importance to the faithful.[33]

However, it is worth noting that Riley-Smith understood the moral potential of defeat (although he did not use this particular term) to lie primarily in its potential to create opportunities for martyrdom.[34] I will argue that it was much broader than this. The source material demonstrates that while military failure signified a decidedly negative experience for the Christian community, it was simultaneously a moment that could instigate a process of rapid spiritual adjustment.

To offer this novel perspective on the experience of defeat in the Holy Land, my research analyses the sources produced in the wake of several military setbacks that resulted in the loss of territory.

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[31] It is important to distinguish my definition of 'spiritual capital' from how it has been traditionally used in studies concerned with the sociology of religion, where it has generally been defined as the accumulation of religious competencies, which serves as a tool of power and social status. For this characterisation see, for instance, L. R. Iannaccone, 'Religious Practice: A Human Capital Approach,' *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 29/3 (1990), 279–314, 299.

[32] See especially Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*; Idem, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997).

[33] See, for example, Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 154.

[34] Ibid., 114–8.

I have chosen to focus primarily on incidents in which strongholds previously held by Latin Christians were handed over to the Muslim enemy rather than defeat in a broader sense; a category that includes aborted sieges and unsuccessful combat in the open field because the experience of the former was, in most instances, significantly more traumatic. Indeed, it not only brought about the loss of men and strategic advantages but was often accompanied by the loss of sacred space, on which the community depended for its ability to communicate with the divine.

This was true nowhere more so than in the Holy Land, a region that held enormous spiritual significance due to the constructed collective memory of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christians. As Maurice Halbwachs observed in his study on the fabricated topographies that European Christians imposed on the Levant at different times, the crusaders arrived in the East,

> as if that land and those stones recognised them, as if they had only to lean in to suddenly hear the voices that had been silent merely because they could not resonate in ears that were deliberately deaf or that God had not wanted to open before the fixed time.[35]

To twelfth and thirteenth century Christians, the Holy Land was the cradle of spirituality, a region that had witnessed the life and suffering of Christ and would be the scene for his triumphant return. Certainly, many of the events and persons described in both the Old and New Testaments had been linked (most often incorrectly) to physical spaces in the East, which consequently held an enormous spiritual significance for the Latin community. The loss of the territory that contained these sites or facilitated access to them was, therefore, often a greater catalyst for efforts to make sense of what had happened than other cases of loss.

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[35] '…comme si cette terre et ces pierres les reconnaissaient, comme s'ils n'avaient qu'à se pencher pour entendre soudain des voix qui ne s'étaient tues que parce qu'elles n'auraient pu résonner qu'à des oreilles volontairement sourdes, ou que Dieu n'avait pas voulu ouvrir avant le temps fixé.' M. Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre sainte. Étude de mémoire collective* (Paris, 1941), 201–2. See also D. Iogna-Prat, 'Maurice Halbwachs ou la mnémotopie. « Textes topographiques » et inscription spatiale de la mémoire,' *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 66/3 (2011), 821–37.

To provide the reader with the necessary context, the following paragraphs provide a brief overview of the most significant instances of defeat from the inception of the crusading movement to the early thirteenth century.

The first significant loss of territory was that of the city of Edessa in 1144, which had initially been taken by the Franks when Baldwin of Boulogne assumed control over the city in 1098 after ousting its Armenian leadership. Provoked by the decision of Joscelin II, the fourth Count of Edessa, to ally himself with the Ortuqids of Upper Mesopotamia in a defensive manoeuvre against Imad ad-Din Zengi, the *atabeg* ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, the latter decided to attack in retaliation.[36] His forces surrounded the city on 28 November and undertook a siege that would last nearly four weeks. Several geopolitical factors facilitated his attack. Not only was the relationship between Joscelin and the nearest Latin Christian leader who might have provided military aid, Raymond, Count of Antioch, severely strained due to mutual animosity, but the Byzantine Emperor had recently died, as had Fulk, King of Jerusalem, whose wife and young son were left to govern the kingdom with limited support. Therefore, neither party was able to challenge Zengi's advances effectively.

Furthermore, Joscelin had left the city with the bulk of his army earlier on and gone down to the Euphrates, hoping to interrupt communication between Zengi's forces and Aleppo. He subsequently retreated to the fortress of Turbessel, leaving the archbishop of Edessa, a certain Hugh, in charge of its defences. While requests for military aid were sent to both Antioch and Jerusalem, the former declined to send reinforcements, while the latter's forces arrived too late. On Christmas Eve, the city's fortifications could no longer hold out, and as Zengi's forces rushed inside, its Frankish inhabitants were either killed or taken captive to be sold into slavery.

Some, like Penny Cole, have questioned claims that the news of what had happened at Edessa troubled Christians in the West, noting that the general response to Pope Eugenius III's call for a crusade was lacklustre.[37] However, this is

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[36] For a comprehensive treatment of the events which unfolded at Edessa in December 1144, see S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades: Volume 2, The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East, 1100–1187* (Cambridge, 1952), 234–40; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, xvii—xxii.

[37] Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, 40.

not borne out by the source material, which demonstrates that the shock of the loss of Edessa reverberated across Christendom. Indeed, I have identified over fifty contemporary documents written across Europe that note the tragic loss of the city. The reasons for such widespread attention were multiple since the event signified the fall of the capital of the first Latin state to have emerged out of the crusading movement and caused the loss of an important spiritual centre. Certainly, contemporaries, including Otto of Freising and Nicolas of Amiens, highlighted that Edessa was famed as the earliest city to have converted to Christendom and was recognised as the burial place of the apostles Thomas and Thaddeus.[38]

The Second Crusade, launched by Pope Eugenius III upon hearing of what had come to pass, achieved little, and the position of the Latin settlers in the East only continued to decline. In the 1160s, another series of losses shook the Crusader States as Zengi's son, Nur ad-Din, launched several attacks on the northern strongholds of the Latins. Taking advantage of the fact that Amalric I, King of Jerusalem, was engaged in a conflict with Shirkuh, one of Nur ad-Din's generals, in Egypt, he laid siege to Harim, an important fortress on the Orontes river, in 1164. While the armies of the County of Tripoli and the Principality of Antioch were supported by the Byzantine governor of Cilicia and the Armenian rulers of Cilicia, they could not prevent the Zengid ruler from inflicting a decisive defeat on the Latins in August of that year and forcing Harim to surrender.[39]

A few months later, in October of 1164, Nur ad-Din suddenly appeared before the strategically important stronghold of Banyas near Damascus. This fortified town, which had been an important asset for the security of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, had been in Christian hands sporadically since the 1120s.[40] However, when the Muslim forces appeared there in the autumn of 1164, they

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[38] Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister and W. Lammers, tr. A. Schmidt (Berlin, 1960), 550–2; Nicholas of Amiens, 'Chronicon,' RHGF 14.2–3, 21. See also Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Continuatio Praemonstratensis,' MGH SS 6.447–56, 452; 'Annales Palidenses,' MGH SS 16.48–98, 82.

[39] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1986), 2.874–5. See also, Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, 2.369.

[40] William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 2.876–7; The fullest discussion of the loss of Banyas can be found in A. Graboïs, 'La cité de Baniyas et le château de Subeibeh pendant les croisades,' *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 13 (1970), 43–62.

were able to undermine the town's defences with relative ease, as its lord, Humphrey II of Toron, had joined Amalric's efforts in Egypt with much of his retinue. As such, its garrison could offer no real opposition to Nur ad-Din and surrendered shortly after.

The loss of these two fortified towns, whose primary importance was strategic rather than spiritual, appears not to have had much of an impact in Europe when Nur ad-Din's successes were made known there. At the same time, however, the source material demonstrates that these defeats had a notable impact on the confidence of the Latin inhabitants of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Indeed, several prominent figures petitioned leaders in the West for aid, citing the danger of the Muslim advances for the safety of the Holy City.[41] In answer to these calls for assistance, Pope Alexander III (1159–1181) issued three consecutive bulls that called for the launch of a new crusade.[42] However, his efforts were unsuccessful, and the losses failed to stir enthusiasm for a large-scale campaign.

The response in the West was, of course, entirely different when emissaries reached Europe with news of the Ayyubid victory at Hattin on 4 July 1187 and, again, when it was announced that Jerusalem had surrendered on 2 October of that same year. Citing Matthew 27:51–2, Henry, cardinal-bishop of Albano and papal legate *a latere*, proclaimed that 'the earth trembled' at the loss of the Holy City and the sanctuaries of Christ.[43] Such reactions were by no means

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[41] See, for example, Geoffrey Fulcher, 'Ad Ludovicum regem Francorum,' RHGF 16, no. 195, 60–1; Bertrand of Blancfort, 'Ad Ludovicum regem Francorum,' RHGF 16, no. 125, 39; Amalric, King of Jerusalem, 'Ad Ludovicum regem Francorum,' RHGF 16, no. 243, 79; Amalric of Nesle, 'Aux prélats de la chrétienté,' in J. Delaville Le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1905), 1, no. 404, 279–80.

[42] Alexander III, *Quantum praedecessores* (14 July 1165), PL 200, cols. 384–6; Alexander III, *In quantis pressuris* (29 June 1166), in R. Hiestand (ed.), *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius, 1–2 (Göttingen, 1972), 1, no. 53, 251–3; Alexander III, *Inter omnia quae* (29 July 1169), PL 200, cols. 599–601. On Alexander's crusading policy, see J. G. Rowe, 'Alexander III and the Jerusalem Crusade: An Overview of Problems and Failures,' in Shatzmiller (ed.), *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, 112–32.

[43] '…terra tremuit, sol expavit, petre scisse sunt et aperta credimus monumenta.' Henry of Albano, 'Ex quo vox illa turturis,' in *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris et quidam alii rerum gestarum fontes eiusdem expeditionis*, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 5.1–115, 11–4, 11.

uncommon, as contemporaries sought to make sense of an event that appeared to indicate God's dissatisfaction with Latin Christendom.

Saladin, Sultan of the newly established Ayyubid dynasty and a nephew of the aforementioned Shirkuh, had launched regular attacks on the Kingdom of Jerusalem since the 1170s to pursue a unified Muslim coalition under his rule. The shortage of manpower and financial resources that had plagued the crusader states since their inception meant that the Latin inhabitants of the East could not mount an effective offensive against this threat. Moreover, by 1187 the leadership in the Holy Land was divided over the question of who should succeed the young Baldwin V, King of Jerusalem, who had died in 1176. While his mother, Sybilla, and her second husband, Guy of Lusignan, had been crowned soon after, they were opposed by a significant faction led by Raymond III of Tripoli.

In retribution for an attack on a caravan travelling from Cairo to Damascus, Saladin took advantage of the political unrest in the Kingdom to invade in June 1187 with an army of around 30,000 troops. Guy of Lusignan responded by gathering the forces of the Crusader States, managing to raise about 20,000 men. The armies met just a few weeks later, and after a two-day battle, the Christians suffered a decisive defeat at the Horns of Hattin on 4 July 1187. The relic of the True Cross was captured, the members of the military orders were put to death, and most secular leaders were taken prisoner.[44]

This disaster left the defences of the Holy City entirely depleted, and when Saladin arrived at its walls in September, having seized all of the Christian ports on the Mediterranean with the sole exception of Tyre, Jerusalem could offer little resistance. It surrendered on 2 October, after 88 years of Latin occupation.

The events of 1187 changed the nature of the crusading movement. From that point forward, the focus was no longer on defending the Holy City but on restoring it to Christian rule. Nevertheless, successive campaigns delivered few

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[44] The defeat at Hattin has been studied at length by crusader historians. Comprehensive discussions of the event can be found in, among others, J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), 484–500; R. C. Smail, 'The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183–1187,' in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1982), 159–76; B. Z. Kedar, 'The Battle of Hattin Revisited,' in B. Z. Kedar (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* (Jerusalem, 1992), 190–207.

results of note, and by the early thirteenth century, the position of the Latins with regard to Jerusalem had not improved. At the same time, it became increasingly clear that to re-establish their control over the region; the Christians had to put pressure on the Ayyubid sultanate by targeting their seat of power in Egypt.

As such, when an impressive fleet of Germans, Frisians and Italians arrived to bolster the Christian forces in the Levant in 1218, the leaders of the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221) decided to descend on the city of Damietta. As their armies advanced, the Ayyubid government was eventually forced to propose a treaty that would have seen Jerusalem restored to Christian hands. However, this was rejected by the papal legate Pelagius of Albano, one of the leaders of the campaign, as well as by the military orders, who perhaps hoped to press their advantage further. Finally, after a siege that lasted 18 months, Damietta was abandoned by the Ayyubid army in November 1219. However, while the Christian forces were thus able to occupy the city, their dominance would not last long. After attempting to move into the Egyptian interior, they were surprised by the flooding of the Nile, which meant they were prevented from advancing. The forces of al-Kamil, the new Ayyubid Sultan and a nephew of Saladin, had purposefully broken the dykes and subsequently taken advantage of the situation to quickly cut off their retreat, forcing the Christians to hand Damietta back and leave Egypt in return for their safety.[45]

Although the city remained in Latin hands only for a brief period, its occupation had made a significant impression across Christendom. Praising the crusaders on their initial capture of Damietta, Pope Honorius III (1216—1227) compared Pelagius to Joshua. He suggested that the papal legate had been placed at the head of the crusader forces so that he might lead them into a new Promised Land for God's elected.[46] Moreover, contemporary authors emphasised that both

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[45] The events that took place at Damietta between 1219 and 1221 are discussed in detail in J. M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213-1221* (Philadelphia, PA., 1986), 175–94; See also M. Cassidy-Welch, 'O Damietta: Memory and Crusade in Thirteenth-Century Egypt,' *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3 (2014), 346–60.

[46] Honorius III, 'Ad crucesignator Damiata potitos' (24 February 1220), in C. A. Horoy (ed.), *Honorii III romani pontificis opera omnia quae extant*, 5 vols (Paris, 1879–82), no. 86, 3.392–3; The passage is discussed in detail in P.-V. Claverie, '"Totius populi Christiani negotium": The crusading conception of Pope Honorius III, 1216–21,' in E. J. Mylod, G. Perry, T. W. Smith, J. Vandeburie (eds.), *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century* (New York, NY.,, 2017), 27–39, 35.

Moses and Mary the Egyptian came from the region, with one commentator even suggesting that the Prophet Jeremiah had been born in the city's vicinity.[47] This construction of a spiritual identity for Damietta when it fell to the crusaders conversely meant that its loss was felt to convey a series of stark implications regarding Christian morality, as God had appeared to have ultimately found those who settled in the city unworthy of this privilege.

These, then, are the five cases of territorial loss that this thesis examines. It is important to note that a distinct series of consequences accompanied each defeat and, as a result, the narratives which emerged after the event likewise differ significantly. At the same time, specific patterns are visible in surviving source material, produced between the mid-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, suggesting that there were nevertheless commonalities in how authors harnessed the moral potential of their accounts.

This thesis does not look at later instances of loss of territory, even though the speed at which the Latin Christians in the Levant were progressively marginalised only increased. The reason for this is that the years following the Fifth Crusade marked the entry of the Mongols onto the scene of conflict in the East. This added an entirely new layer of complexities to the situation in the region and, consequently, to contemporary narratives of defeat, which undoubtedly merit a separate study.

To present a comprehensive picture of the narratives that emerged in the wake of repeated setbacks in the pursuit of God's cause, I have examined a wide variety of sources. This broad investigative approach has simultaneously allowed me to analyse the potential moral implications of such discourse on different sections of medieval society, as contemporaries constructed rationalisations of defeat with particular audiences in mind. For these reasons, I have considered letters, papal bulls, sermons, treatises, monastic chronicles and annals, *Libelli* and narrative histories, and both Latin and vernacular lyric.

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[47] *Gesta obsidionis Damiatae*, in R. Röhricht (ed.), *Quinti belli sacri: scriptores minores* (Geneva, 1879), 71–115, 74. See also Cassidy-Welch, 'O Damietta,' 354.

In some cases, the intended audience can be recognised with relative ease. For instance, my project depends in part on the evidence found in an array of letters, some sent from the East to the West to announce the loss of territory and encourage a particular course of action, and others sent by Christians in Europe to their co-religionists in the West, frequently for the same purposes. Such documents generally note their destined recipient.

This is true also to some extent of papal bulls, such as Eugenius III's *Quantum praedecessores* (1145) and Gregory VIII's *Audita tremendi* (1187), which were issued in response to the loss of territory in the Holy Land with the distinct intention of launching a new crusading campaign.[48] Although they might formally be addressed to a particular person, such documents were designed to be read out to various audiences, privately for nobles and their retinue, and in public at large gatherings, and therefore had a considerable reach. The same can be said of the sermons written to encourage spiritual and military mobilisation in the wake of defeat. Indeed, David d'Avray has characterised preaching as the first form of mass communication in an age before the existence of the printing press.[49] While it is thus generally impossible to pinpoint precisely who encountered the words of papal bulls and sermons, we know that their reach would generally have been quite broad, cutting across different sections of society. Monastic chroniclers and annalists, on the other hand, primarily wrote for the benefit of their communities, and it is unlikely that these sources would have had much of a lay audience. The same can be said for most treatises, which were overwhelmingly produced by ecclesiastics for ecclesiastics.

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[48] Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores* (1 December 1145), in R. Große, 'Überlegungen zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. von 1145/46. Mit einer Neuedition von JL 8876,' *Francia* 18 (1991), 85–92, 90–2. For a detailed study, see J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, CT., 2007), 37–60; For more on Pope Eugenius III, see I. Fonnesberg-Schmidt and A. Jotischky (eds.), *Pope Eugenius III (1145-1153): The First Cistercian Pope* (Amsterdam, 2018); Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi* (29 October 1187), in T.W. Smith, '*Audita Tremendi* and the Call for the Third Crusade Reconsidered, 1187–1188,' *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 63–101, 88–101. For a detailed discussion of the dissemination of papal bulls at the time of the Third Crusade, see H. Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188,' *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 23–61.

[49] D. L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons: Mass Communication in a Culture without Print* (Oxford, 2001).

However, the question of audience can prove a more challenging one to answer when analysing other forms of surviving source material. For instance, while Latin narrative histories were frequently commissioned by and dedicated to secular rulers, the extent to which they would have been intelligible among lay audiences in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries without translation remains unclear.[50] Likewise, the intended audience of Latin compositions, such as those contained within the *Carmina Burana* collection, is often difficult to establish.[51] While most were composed for a conventional audience of ecclesiastics and members of the cathedral schools, some appear to have been written for lay audiences instead.[52] Moreover, Cecilia Gaposchkin has shown that certain Latin crusade songs were used in a devotional context and served a para-liturgical function.[53] The primary audience of vernacular texts can be similarly difficult to establish. Occitan compositions were frequently addressed to specific noblemen, and Old French and German texts often explicitly sought to influence particular (mostly aristocratic) sections of society.[54] We know that their reach would likely have extended beyond this initial audience, with some perhaps having been used

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[50] See, for example, Michael Clanchy's standard study on the development of medieval literacy in England, which touches upon attitudes to Latin throughout. M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (London, 1979). A second important analysis of levels of literacy during this period can be found in B. Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, NJ., 1983), esp. 19–29. For an examination of Latin literacy among women between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, see Susan Groag Bell's pioneering article on the subject. S. Groag Bell, 'Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture,' *Signs* 7/4 (1982), 742–68.

[51] The collection, originally held at the Bavarian Abbey of Benediktbeuern, survives in one manuscript now held at the Bavarian State Library (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660). *Carmina Burana*, ed. and tr. D. A. Traill, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA., 2018). For a discussion of possible authorship for several of the songs in the collection that reference the crusading movement, see G. Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1974). See also D. A. Traill, 'The Codex Buranus: Where was it written? Who commissioned it, and why?,' *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 53 (2018) 356–68.

[52] See, for instance, 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,' AH 33, no. 365, 315.

[53] M. C. Gaposchkin, 'The Echoes of Victory: Liturgical and Para-Liturgical Commemorations of the Capture of Jerusalem in the West,' *Journal of Medieval History* 40/3 (2013), 237–59.

[54] L. M. Paterson, *Singing the Crusades, French and Occitan Lyric Responses to the Crusading Movements, 1137–1336* (Cambridge, 2018), 9–10 and 14–20.

as sermons.[55] Still, a lack of surviving source material means that it is often difficult to trace the extent of a song's transmission to secondary audiences.[56]

Some further notes on my usage of the source material are in order. First, the sources I have examined were almost exclusively written within a decade of the defeat with which they deal. This presents the best opportunity for an accurate analysis of how contemporaries understood the event without the interference of re-interpretations by later authors.

Second, it is important to note that the source material dealing with the defeat at Hattin and the subsequent surrender of Jerusalem is notably richer than that produced in response to the other defeats discussed in this thesis. This discrepancy is partly due to the sheer size of the shockwave that the event sent throughout Christendom, which was larger than any that had thus far been experienced. Although historians have argued about the extent of the centrality of the Holy Sepulchre in crusading rhetoric, there can be no question that Jerusalem had been the primary focal point of efforts to establish Latin dominance in the East since the conception of the movement.[57] Moreover, the loss of Jerusalem

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[55] S. Asperti, 'Testi poetici volgari di propaganda politica (secoli XII e XIII),' in *Propaganda politica del basso medioevo, Atti del XXXVIII Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 14–17 ottobre 2001* (Spoleto, 2002), 533–59, 536; P. Hölze, *Die Kreuzzüge in der okzitanischen und deutschen Lyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts: das Gattungsproblem 'Kreuzlied' im historischen Kontext* (Göppingen, 1980), 40–1; D. A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades (1100–1300)* (Geneva, 1988), 176. A short discussion on the likelihood of the use of crusading songs as sermons can be found in Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*, 16–7.

[56] For the transmission of Occitan and French lyric, see L. Barbieri, 'Le canzoni di crociata e il canone lirico oitanico,' *Medioevi* 1 (2015), 45–74; Paterson, *Singing the Crusades*, 9–10 and 14–20.

[57] Some have argued that the conquest of Jerusalem was absolutely integral to the concept of crusading, a view which Giles Constable labelled 'traditionalist' in his four-fold division of the historiography of the crusades. See, G. Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades,' in A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, DC., 2001), 1–22. A defence of this view can be found in H. E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, tr. J. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972). However, historians have largely moved away from this narrow understanding of crusading ideology in recent years to suggest that while the Holy City was integral to its development, the concept itself could also be applied to religious wars fought on other fronts. Such arguments have been termed 'pluralist'. See for instance, N. Housley, 'Jerusalem and the Development of the Crusade Idea, 1099–1128,' in B. Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin: Proceedings of the Second Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* (London, 1992), 27–40; W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c.1095-c.1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), 5.

coincided with a veritable explosion of vernacular lyric poetry. While the earliest troubadour, trouvère and minnesinger works were produced earlier in the twelfth century, it was not until the 1170s that these genres truly flourished. As production of such compositions increased, so did the proportion of texts which included references to the challenges faced by the Latin inhabitants of the Crusader States.

Third, it is important to highlight the limitations of the available source material. While the adoption of a broad approach has allowed me to paint a comprehensive picture of the different narrative themes that we find in responses to defeat and the potential of such accounts to influence contemporary morality, a lack of surviving source material means that several questions regarding the true impact of such rhetoric on Christian morality remain unanswered. What was the extent of the shift in attitudes resulting from how defeat was explained? Did these changes affect all layers of society? And, how long-lived were these transformations? At times it is possible to trace the transmission of particular narratives beyond the sphere of their initial conception, but such instances are rare. Therefore, our understanding of the medieval experience of territorial loss in the Holy Land will inevitably remain incomplete.

Nevertheless, although we cannot speak to the voices that were raised but not recorded or to the source material lost to the passage of time, the study of the narratives of loss is valuable in its own right. It provides a lens through which to analyse how defeat was understood and came to be used as a positive moral tool by papal propagandists, ecclesiastics who opposed the crusading campaigns, writers of popular compositions and political figures in both the East and the West.

More specifically, I have identified four narrative themes employed to endow accounts of defeat with spiritual capital. This thesis examines each of these carefully to present a comprehensive study of the moral functions of the narratives of defeat constructed after the loss of territory in Outremer.

As previously discussed, military failure was, in the first place, explained as the result of divine punishment for sin. In this manner, contemporary commentators could overcome the tension between the expectation of continued

Christian dominance with God's assistance and the reality of defeat by reconciling what had happened with divine designs. The first chapter of this work demonstrates that such rationalisations could be presented in various forms, depending on exactly who was held responsible and how the involvement of the divine in human affairs was conceptualised. Moreover, I argue that the choice to reject one of these variations in favour of another could have a distinct impact on the moral potential of contemporary accounts, ranging from the confirmation of Christian exceptionalism and the affirmation of a collective identity to the suggestion that the defeat suffered should be seen as a spiritual victory.

A further theme that frequently appears in responses to defeat combines this notion that the loss of territory had been a divine punishment with an emphasis on continuity with the biblical past, particularly Old Testament narratives. The second chapter of this thesis examines how such rationalisations, which cast contemporary Christians in the role of the ancient Israelites with little regard for obvious anachronism, were harnessed to render assertions that territorial loss had been the just chastisement for sin more impressive and convincing. Furthermore, I argue that emphasising continuity with the biblical past could serve several additional moral functions. Most significantly, it served to encourage spiritual regeneration as contemporaries pointed to those sections of the Bible that described how God had subjected the Israelites to the might of their enemies as punishment for their transgressions and reminded their audience that they had only been able to restore what they had lost through a renewed show of devotion.

While some contemporary authors thus used the past to influence contemporary attitudes, others looked to the future. Indeed, apocalyptic speculation was often inserted into responses to defeat to explain how the event fit within God's eschatological designs and was used to influence Christian morality. Narratives that employed such rhetoric could endow accounts of defeat with a sense of urgency by suggesting that only a limited time remained to obtain salvation and were, therefore, a great asset to those authors who hoped to encourage actions that pertained to Christian spirituality. The third chapter presents the various strategies used by authors who sought to place the loss of territory in the Holy Land within an apocalyptic framework and demonstrates

that such discourse could influence how people imagined their temporal location and, consequently, how they responded to the loss suffered.

A final, recurrent feature in responses to the loss of territory is the suggestion that sacred space was contaminated by the presence of the enemy in the wake of defeat. As we will see, authors did not describe spiritually significant sites lost to their adversaries as having completely lost their function as an *axis mundi* between the celestial and the mundane but as being 'polluted' through enemy occupation. The fundamental Christian character of lost land was thought to have been made temporarily unavailable by Muslim occupation rather than entirely erased. In the last chapter of this work, I show how such rhetoric could be used to reassure the community that the lost spaces would eventually be returned to Christian control and shape perceptions of the geographical reality of the Holy Land.

As I will demonstrate, these four narrative themes were often developed to interact within a single source, thereby strengthening the suggestion that defeat was an opportunity for redemption. This, in turn, amplified the spiritual capital acquired by their authors who were thus able to exert a greater influence on contemporary morality.

Chapter 1 — Redemption Through Suffering: Defeat as a Moral Victory for Medieval Christians

Introduction

From the mid-twelfth century onwards, commentators regularly explained defeat suffered in the Crusader States as a divine punishment for sin. This narrative allowed authors to explain why God had not ensured the continued dominance of his people in the Holy Land in a way that, crucially, did not put into question divine omnipotence or challenge the validity of Latin Christian expansion in the East. Thus, it allowed contemporary authors to resolve the tension between the expectation of victory, as the Latin rule in Outremer was felt to have been sanctioned by God himself, and the reality of successive defeats at the hands of those considered enemies of the faith.

This paradigm was built on the textual culture of Christianity, according to which divine chastisement was a necessary consequence of sin and a prerequisite for the restoration of one's relationship with God, consequently, for salvation. Such a framework was provided by texts like Deuteronomy 29, 2 Kings 17:22–3, Judith 8:27, Isaiah 54 and Psalm 77(8). Perhaps its most significant articulation can be found in the Book of Lamentations 2. This part of scripture recounts how God's wrath brought down Jerusalem and surrendered the Israelites to the Babylonian captivity as righteous punishment for their disobedience. That the moral instructions present in this narrative were felt to be relevant to medieval Christians when making sense of the world around them is evident, for instance, from Paschasius Radbertus' commentary on Lamentations. The seventh-century abbot of Corbie argued that the prophet of Lamentations 'grieves for not only the present but also for the past and the future'.[58] This work would remain influential

[58] 'non solum praesentia verum praeterita et futura lugeat…'. Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Lamentationes Hieremiae libri quinque*, ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 85 (Turnhout, 1988), 7.

for centuries and form the basis of Gilbert the Universal's twelfth-century glossary.[59]

The New Testament places less emphasis on divine chastisement as a tool for the restoration of the soul since the arrival of Christ and his death on the cross were now the main factors in the process of collective redemption. Indeed, the Gospels, as well as the Pauline Epistles and the Petrine Epistles argued that Christ redeemed humanity through his sacrifice, thereby releasing the faithful from the sins that oppressed them.[60] Since the time of the Church Fathers, there has been a discussion about how this was achieved. Soteriological arguments range from the ransom theory of atonement, which holds that Christ's death released humanity from the power of Satan, to the satisfaction theory, which proposes that Christ suffered the punishment which God demanded for humanity's original sin, thereby releasing the faithful from a debt that they could never have repaid themselves.[61] Those examples of divine chastisement for sins committed by the faithful that do feature in the New Testament are found primarily in the context of the

Last Days. Passages in Matthew 24, 2 Thessalonians and Revelation warn of a period of great apostasy that was expected to occur after the arrival of the Antichrist and which would inevitably be followed by a final scourge.[62] The exact

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[59] Gilbert the Universal, *Glossa Ordinaria in Lamentationes Ieremie Prophete: Prothemata et Liber I: A Critical edition*, ed. A. Andrée (Stockholm, 2005). On Paschasius' commentary on Lamentations, see also E. A. Matter, 'The Lamentations Commentaries of Hrabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus,' *Traditio* 38 (1982), 137–63; I. Davis, ''Ye that pasen by þe weiye': Time, Topology and The Medieval Use of Lamentations 1.12,' *Textual Practice* 25/3 (2011), 437–72, 437.

[60] See, for instance, Mark 10:45, John 1:16, Romans 3:24–5 and 8:23, 1 Corinthians 1:31, Ephesians 1:7 and 5:2, Titus 2:14, Hebrews 10:10–2 and 1 Peter 1:18. All biblical references in this thesis follow the *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem,* ed. R. Weber, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 2007).

[61] The ransom theory of atonement featured prominently in the works of Origen. See, for example, Origen, *Commentarii in epistulam ad Romanos*, in C. P. Hammond Bammel (ed.), *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes: Kritische Ausgabe der Übersetzung Rufins*, 3 vols (Freiburg, 1990), II.9, 1.172. Anselm of Canterbury, on the other hand, promoted the satisfaction theory. See, for instance, Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera Omnia*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, 6 vols (Rome, 1938–61) 1.7–9, 55–64. On the debate regarding the nature of Christ's sacrifice, see F. W. Dillistone, *The Christian Understandings of Atonement* (Philadelphia, PA., 1968); H. D. McDonald, *The Atonement of the Death of Christ: In Faith, Revelation and History* (Grand Rapids, MI., 1985).

[62] Matthew 24:10–2, 2 Thessalonians 2:1–12 and Revelation 13.

manner in which authors who explained defeat as a divine chastisement used apocalyptic prophecy to shape contemporary attitudes will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Essential to our appreciation of how medieval Christianity conceptualised divine punishment is the biblical belief that such chastisement should be understood primarily as an expression of God's love. The idea behind this was that God employed these measures to rectify the faithful's behaviour rather than cause their downfall. As this chapter will demonstrate, this frequently led contemporary authors to conclude that it would be a mistake to interpret adverse events exclusively in a negative light. They asserted that to explain misfortune simply as an expression of divine anger would be to misinterpret God's efforts to guide Christians onto the path toward redemption.

This notion that divine punishment was inextricably linked to divine love is not only contained within each of the above-mentioned scriptural passages but was further solidified in the textual culture of Christianity by the writings of the Church Fathers. For example, Tertullian and Lactantius argued that God's anger should not be equated to human indignation but should be seen as a sign of his justice.[63] The most influential proponent of this interpretation of divine anger during the Patristic Era was undoubtedly, and perhaps unsurprisingly, Augustine. In the *De civitate Dei*, he argued that 'every victory, even when produced by evil people, serves to humiliate the conquered by divine punishment, thereby either correcting or punishing sin'.[64] He expressed the same argument in his *Contra epistulam Manichaei*,

> Although the Lord overthrows kingdoms of delusion through his servants, he commands these same men be corrected rather than destroyed as far as they are men. And any time divine punishment is

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[63] Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, ed. and tr. E. Evans (Oxford, 1972), 2.16, 131; Lactantius, *De ira Dei*, ed. and tr. C. Ingremeau, *Sources Chrétiennes* 289 (Paris, 1982), 118.

[64] '…omnis victoria, cum etiam malis provenit, divino iudicio victos humiliat vel emendans peccata vel puniens.' Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, ed. B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCSL 48 (Turnhout, 1955), 19.15, 682.

> poured out before that final judgement… we must believe that this is done not to cause man's demise, but to provide a cure.[65]

Over time, the dominant way to verbalise this idea became the ablative absolute *peccatis exigentibus*. Church intellectuals were quick to adopt this expression to explain various adverse events. At the end of the sixth century, it was used, for example, in a letter written in the name of Pope Pelagius II, most likely by the future Pope Gregory I, to the Patriarch of Aquileia Elias and the bishops of Istria.[66] The letter argued that the schism into which the recipients had gone as a result of the Three Chapter controversy fulfilled the prophecy of destruction contained in Jeremiah 6, 'sins having demanded it'.[67] Gregory would later insert this exact phrase in many of his writings.[68]

By 1095, when Pope Urban II launched the First Crusade, this formula had become a regular feature of papal letters and decrees. Indeed, Urban himself had used the phrase on several occasions to explain setbacks as the result of a divine judgement.[69] As such, it is unsurprising that Baldric of Bourgeuil, who

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[65] 'Quanquam enim Dominus per suos servos regna subvertat erroris; ipsos tamen homines, in quantum homines sunt, emendandos esse potius, quam perdendos iubet. Et quidquid divinitus ante illud ultimum iudicium vindicatur… non ad interitum hominum, sed ad medicinam valere credendum est…' Augustine, *Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vacant fundamenti*, PL 42, cols. 173–206, col. 173. On Augustine's understanding of divine punishment and the views of other Patristic authors, see M. C. McCarthy, 'Divine Wrath and Human Anger: Embarrassment Ancient and New,' *Theological Studies* 70/4 (2009), 845–74, 870–2; See also, S. E. Thompson, 'Augustine on Suffering and Order: Punishment in Context' (PhD Diss. University of Toronto, 2010), 181.

[66] For more on Elias and his role in the Three Chapter controversy, see G. Braga, 'Elia,' in M. Caravale (ed.), *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 42 (Rome, 1993), 446–8.

[67] 'Ignem quantum valui charitatis accendi, et tantae scissionis exurere rubiginem volui; sed impletam prophetae sententiam peccatis exigentibus inveni, qui ait: *Frustra conflavit conflator, scoriae eius non sunt consumptae* .' Pelagius II, 'Virtutum mater' (c. 585), PL 72, cols. 715–38, 715. On the authorship of this document see P. Meyvaert, 'A letter of Pelagius II composed by Gregory the Great' in J. C. Cavadini (ed.), *Gregory the Great: A Symposium* (Notre Dame, IN., 1995), 94–116.

[68] Gregory I, *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1979–85), 725; Idem, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. R. Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, 1999) 274; Idem, *In septem Psalmos Poenitentiales, Expositio*, PL 79, cols. 549–660, 572.

[69] Urban II, 'Cum universae' (1091), PL 151, cols. 329–30, 329; Idem, 'Universis fere' (1093), PL 151, cols. 370–2, 370; Idem, 'Pater et princeps' (1097), PL 151, cols. 489–92, 490; Idem, 'Indolis tuae' (1098–99), PL 151, cols. 518–9, 518.

attended the Council of Clermont but was writing quite a few years after the fact, felt confident enough that these words had been a part of the pope's discourse to include them in his version of the speech. According to his *Historia Ierosolimitana*, Urban asserted that

> this same city [Jerusalem] in which, as everyone knows, Christ himself suffered for us, our sins having demanded it, has been degraded by the filth of the pagans, and (I say to our shame) it has been removed from God's service.[70]

Certainly, the audience would have been familiar with — and thus more receptive to — such rhetoric because, as I have mentioned above, it was rooted in the textual tradition of Christianity.[71]

However, it was not until the loss of Edessa to Zengi in 1144 that the notion that defeat was God's punishment for the iniquities of the Christian people was employed in reference to the territories conquered during the First Crusade. In response to this event, on 1 December 1145 (and again on 1 March 1146), Pope Eugenius III issued the papal encyclical *Quantum praedecessores,* which called for the launch of a new expedition to recuperate the city. In its first iteration, *Quantum praedecessores* was addressed to King Louis VII of France and the French nobility. However, contemporary sources attest to the proclamation of its message throughout Europe as crusade propagandists sought to encourage participation in the Second Crusade.[72] The document explicitly blamed the defeat suffered against

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[70] …'ipsa civitas, in qua, prout omnes nostris, Christus ipse pro nobis passus est, peccatis nostris exigentibus, sub spurcitiam paganorum redacta est, Deique servituti ignominiam nostram dico subducta est…' Baldric of Bourgueil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. S. Biddlecombe (Woodbridge, 2014), 7.

[71] See pages 39–41. See also Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, 69–72.

[72] Otto of Freising, for instance, wrote that exhortatory letters from Rome were read out at a general assembly in Bavaria. See Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris*, ed. F.-J. Schmale (Darmstadt, 1965), 210–1. Furthermore, Bernard of Clairvaux stated in a letter to Wladislaus, Duke of Bohemia, that he had sent the latter a copy of the encyclical. See Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad Wladislaum Bohemiae ducem,' in J. Leclercq (ed.), 'L'encyclique de saint Bernard en faveur de la croisade,' Revue bénédictine 81 (1971), 282–308, 286–8.

Zengi on the sins of both European Christians and Christians living in the East.[73] As we will see in this chapter, Bernard of Clairvaux and Otto of Freising promoted a similar interpretation of the loss of Edessa.

A few years later, the same narrative appeared again in the works of these Cistercian authors when they responded to the failures of the Second Crusade, albeit frequently in conjunction with an emphasis on worldly causes. The Abbot of Clairvaux and the Bishop of Freising repeatedly blamed the recent military setbacks on the sins of those who had taken part in the campaign and of the wider Christian community.[74] This narrative might have had the purpose of shifting the blame of the defeat from the Crusade's proponents — Bernard and his former mentee, Pope Eugenius — to all Latin Christians, especially those who had taken the cross.[75] Whatever the case, from this point forward, the notion that territorial loss in the East was a divine punishment brought about by Christian iniquities became the predominant explanation for defeat suffered in the Latin East.

The tendency to explain adverse advents in Outremer as a necessary result of the sins committed by the Christian community, particularly through the use of the formula of *peccatis exigentibus* or a variation thereof, has been noted by several historians. It was first recognised as an important aspect of crusading rhetoric by Georg Wolfram in 1886 and again by Palmer Throop in 1938, while subsequent scholarship has approached the topic from various additional angles.[76] As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, Giles Constable distinguished between 'rational' explanations for military failure and explanations of defeat as a divine

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[73] Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores,* in R. Große (ed.), 'Überlegungen zum Kreuzzugsaufruf Eugens III. von 1145/46. Mit einer Neuedition von JL 8876,' *Francia* 18 (1991), 85–92. For a detailed analysis of the encyclical see, J. Phillips, *The Second Crusade: Extending the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, 2007), 37–60.

[74] ...cum Dominus scilicet, provocatus peccatis nostris, ante tempus quodammodo visus sit iudicasse orbem terrae in aequitate quidem, sed misericordiae suae oblitus.' Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De consideratione ad Eugenium papam,' in J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (ed.), *Sancti Bernardi pera,* 8 vols (Rome, 1955–77), 3.379–473, 381; '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.' Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, 65.

[75] G. Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Farnham, 2008), 229–300, 287–8.

[76] G. Wolfram, 'Kreuzpredigt und kreuzlied,' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 30 (1886), 89–132, 102; Throop, 'Criticism of Papal Crusade Policy,' 379–412.

judgement.[77] I have already argued that this is a false dichotomy in the context of the medieval worldview. More than this, however, Constable did not discuss either the variety of ways the idea that military failure was a punishment for sin could be articulated or how this notion could be used to reshape attitudes and behavioural codes. Similarly, Penny Cole and Christoph Maier have acknowledged the prevalence of explanations of defeat that pointed to God's will but have not explored the varied ways this interpretation could be expressed.[78] Nor have they examined its implications beyond its function as an exhortative tool.

Elizabeth Siberry has analysed such rhetoric in more depth. Part of her work on the critique levelled against crusade propagandists discusses the interpretation of defeat as a chastisement and its use from the eleventh to the late thirteenth century.[79] However, her treatment of the topic focuses primarily on how this explanation was used to condemn the papacy and those who had taken the cross. This chapter will demonstrate that this narrative had a much broader application. Siberry's approach is, therefore, somewhat reductive.

As I have noted, Martin Aurell has likewise looked at how such rhetoric was used to criticise crusaders, as well as proposals for further expeditions. Furthermore, his study has brought greater nuance to discussions on the connection between divine punishment and defeat by asking which behaviours were thought to have caused God's anger.[80] However, like Siberry, Aurell has not looked at the broader potential of such interpretations of loss to disrupt and reconstruct how Christians viewed the world around them and their place within it.

In short, several questions regarding interpretations of defeat in Outremer as a divine punishment for sin still remain to be answered. No comprehensive analysis exists of the various ways in which this explanation was expressed. Furthermore, scholars who have noted the predominance of this narrative have

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[77] Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, 281–92.

[78] Cole, *The Preaching*, 41–2, 100, 152; Idem, 'Christian Perceptions,' 9—39; Maier, 'Crisis, Liturgy, and the Crusade,' 628—57.

[79] Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading*, 69–108.

[80] Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades*.

only looked at it as a tool to encourage participation in or criticism of the crusades.

This chapter seeks to remedy this by demonstrating that contemporaries often understood divine punishment for sin to mean different things. Indeed, some commentators held the entire Christian community responsible for what had happened, while others only blamed a minority for God's anger. Moreover, authors appear to have conceptualised God's wrath in different ways. I will argue that the source material attests to the existence of two distinct paradigms concerning the nature of divine chastisement, an interventionist and a non-interventionist model.

However, this chapter will not only examine *how* contemporaries conveyed the idea that defeat had been a divine punishment for sin but also *why* they chose to use particular versions of this narrative. Most importantly, this interpretation of the loss of territory had the potential to encourage spiritual renewal by proposing that God had prepared an opportunity for redemption in defeat. Authors suggested that he had temporarily allowed the Muslims to occupy important sites in Outremer as a warning to the Christian community that moral change was necessary to obtain salvation. Therefore, this narrative could give authors a degree of spiritual capital as it allowed them to speak to how their contemporaries should express their faith. Their accounts proposed that those who understood the significance of the message God had wanted to convey in orchestrating the loss of territory could repair their relationship with him by devoting themselves to his cause. When paired with suggestions that the best way to demonstrate such renewed spiritual fervour was to preach the crusades or take the cross such explanations of defeat could also encourage military mobilisation. Furthermore, one function of accounts that point to the iniquities of the community as the primary cause of defeat that has hitherto not received much attention is that such narratives could paradoxically convey a sense of Christian exceptionalism and undermine Muslim military success.

Finally, this chapter examines several sources that have not previously been analysed in light of the interpretation of defeat they put forward, thereby

providing a more comprehensive survey of the source material than that which can be found in existing scholarship.[81]

The development of ideas of collective liability

It is important to recognise that the precise manner in which authors connected Christian sin to military failure in Outremer could vary significantly. Indeed, while most authors provided their readers with plenty of details of who had been the target of divine chastisement, they did not all hold the same group accountable. We can distinguish between two principal narrative trends.[82]

Some accounts argued that the entire Latin Christian community should be held responsible for what had happened. They proposed that everybody had sinned somehow, and the accumulative effect of this widespread immorality had resulted in Muslim dominance in the East. Others, however, blamed God's anger only on a particular section of Christendom, the Christians living in the Crusader States.

Popes tended to explain defeat in the Holy Land using the first interpretation. They proposed that defeat had been God's punishment for the sins of the entire Christian community. This reasoning is especially apparent in papal responses to territorial loss in Outremer from the time of Zengi's victory at Edessa onwards. Along with several other prominent Cistercian figures of his time, Pope Eugenius III asserted that no one could consider themselves blameless for that disaster. They mainly conveyed this sentiment by employing a version of the phrase *peccatis exigentibus* in their commentaries on the events that had taken place. Indeed, in the *narratio* of *Quantum praedecessores,* Eugenius declared that Edessa had been lost because of the immorality of all Christians:

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[81] Due to the significant number of relevant sources that will be introduced in this first chapter, it is the most substantial part of the thesis and, at times, more descriptive than the later chapters.

[82] Apart from a handful of sources, for instance, the twelfth- and thirteenth-century *Chronicle of Melrose Abbey* in which one scribe remarked in response to the loss of Damietta that it was 'unknown for what it was deserved or by which judgement of God it occurred…', most surviving accounts that explained territorial loss as the result of divine judgement are explicit in their accusations towards either the entirety of Christendom or a part thereof. ('Quibus tamen meritis vel quo Dei iudicio hoc evenerit, ignoratur…' 'Annales Melrosenses,' MGH SS 27.432–42, 439).

> Now our sins and those of its people having demanded it [*nostris et ipsius populi peccatis exigentibus*], we cannot make known without significant pain and sorrow that the city of Edessa, which is called Rohais in our language… has been captured by the enemies of the cross of Christ….[83]

The pope did not provide much detail on how that alleged widespread lapse in Christian morality had caused the defeat against the armies of Zengi. Moreover, he made no explicit reference to divine chastisement. Nevertheless, it would have been evident to all who accessed the pope's words that this was, in fact, what had happened. That sinful acts needed to be followed by some form of suffering for one's relationship with Christ and his Church to be fully restored was widely accepted. This was primarily due to the fact that such a connection between suffering and reparation was framed by the textual tradition of Christianity. To provide an opportunity for such spiritual healing, God was thought to have purposefully forced the faithful to face adverse events so that they might be spurred to repentance and, ultimately, save their souls.

Surviving source material suggests that Eugenius articulated the workings of this redemptive mechanism more explicitly only after the Second Crusade. Indeed, in a letter to Conrad III, the pope pointed out that military defeat in the Latin East ought to be accepted as an essential element of God's salvific design, writing that,

> Just as we must not get carried away by prosperity, so too we must not be disheartened by adversity and instead put our faith in divine mercy, because the Mediator of God and men is accustomed to

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[83] 'Nunc autem nostris et ipsius populi peccatis exigentibus, quod sine magno dolore et gemitu proferre non possumus, Edessa civitas, que nostra lingua Roais dicitur… ab inimicis crucis Christi capta est…' *Quantum praedecessores*, 90–1.

> chastising each son whom he accepts [Hebr. 12:6] with the adversary in a show of astonishing stewardship…[84]

This, the pope argued, was how God prepared the faithful for the eternal reward of salvation.[85]

Bernard of Clairvaux likewise expressed the belief that the cumulative sins of Christendom were responsible for producing the most significant loss of territory witnessed in Outremer thus far. This is especially evident in two of the *litterae generales* written by the abbot to mobilise Christians across Europe for the planned expedition to the East.[86] In his encyclical addressed 'to the archbishops of eastern France and Bavaria', and in the nearly identical encyclical 'to the English people', both sent in 1146 or early 1147, Bernard stated that 'Now, our sins having demanded it, the enemy of the cross has begun to raise its sacrilegious head there, ravaging the blessed land, the promised land, with the edge of the sword.'[87] However, unlike *Quantum praedecessores,* these letters provide further details of the exact process through which the abbot believed the iniquities of the faithful had resulted in Zengi's successful conquest. 'I tell you', both read,

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[84] Otto of Freising included the letter in his *Gesta*. See Eugenius III, 'Ad Conradum regum Romanorum' (24 June 1149), in Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, 272–4. '…sicut nec prosperis elevari, ita nec frangi adversis confidentes de divina miseratione debemus, quia Dei et hominum mediator, admiranda dispensatione consuevit omnem filium quem recipit adversitatibus flagellare…' Ibid., 272.

[85] '…ut, dum ipsum per amorem ad eterna premia vocat, presens mundus eius animum per turbationes, quas ingerit, a se ipso repellat, tantoque facilius ab huius seculi amore recedat, quanto magis impellitur, dum vocatur.' Ibid.

[86] Most scholars, including Jean Leclercq, have treated these encyclicals as one and the same source, suggesting that only the first paragraph had been altered to suit the intended recipient. However, it is worth noting that the letter to the English is significantly shorter than that sent to the archbishops of Eastern France and Bavaria. As far as I am aware, the fact that they should therefore be treated as two separate sources has only been recognised by Bruno Scott James in his translation of Bernard's letters. See Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letters*, tr. B. S. James (London, 1953), 460–2. Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad archiepiscopos orientalis Franciae et Bavariae,' in *Epistolae*, in J. Leclercq and H. Rochais (eds.), *Sancti Bernardi opera*, 8 vols (Rome, 1974–77), 8, no. 363, 312–7. Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad gentum Anglorum,' in P. Rassow, 'Die Kanzlei St. Bernhards von Clairvaux,' *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 34 (1913), 63–103 and 243–95, 290–3.

[87] 'Et nunc, peccatis nostris exigentibus, crucis adversarii caput extulerunt sacrilegum, depopulantes in ore gladii terram benedictam, terram promissionis.' Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad archiepiscopos orientalis Franciae et Bavariae,' 313.

> …the Lord, your God, is testing you' [Deut. 13:3]. He looks around him at the sons of men to see if, by chance, there is one who understands, who seeks and who suffers because of his sin. After all, God feels compassion for his people and provides a remedy for salvation to the fallen ones. Consider what skill he employs for your salvation and be amazed. Observe sinners, the abyss of [his] love and trust. He does not wish for your death but for you to turn back and live. He seeks an opportunity to work not against you but for you. Indeed, what is it if not an outstanding and inscrutable opportunity for salvation from God alone, when the Almighty deems it worthy to summon murderers, thieves, adulterers, perjurers and those made guilty by other crimes, as if they were people who have acted righteously, into his service? Do not distrust [him], sinners: the Lord is kind. If he wanted to punish you, he would not merely refrain from demanding your service but would not even accept if it were offered.[88]

Bernard prompted his readers to interpret the defeat at Edessa as a sign of God's love for Christians throughout the world. According to Bernard, the Lord had prepared a path towards salvation in orchestrating this event, one that was desperately needed given the state of Christian morality. He reinforced this point by addressing his audience as *peccatores*. While the reference to the iniquities of all Christians indiscriminately struck a somewhat pessimistic tone, it simultaneously suggested, on a more positive note, that God had presented the entirety of Christendom with a chance for redemption.

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[88] '…dico vobis, *tentat vos Dominus Deus vester.* Respicit filios hominum, si forte sit qui intelligat, et requirat, et doleat vicem eius. Miseratur enim populum suum Deus, et lapsis graviter providet remedium salutare. Considerate quanto ad salvandos vos artificio utitur, et obstupescite; intuemini pietatis abyssum, et confidite, peccatores. Non vult mortem vestram, sed ut convertamini et vivatis quia sic quaerit occasionem, non adversum vos, sed pro vobis. Quid est enim nisi exquisita prorsus et inventibilis soli Deo salvationis occasio, quod homicidas, raptores, adulteros, et perioros, ceterisque obligatos criminibus, quasi gentem iustitiam, fecerit, de servitio suo submonere dignatur Omnipotens? Nolite diffidere, peccatores: benignus est Dominus. Si vellet punire vos, servitium vestrum non modo non expeteret, sed nec susciperet quidem oblatum.' Ibid., 313–4. The letter to the English includes the same passage with only slight variations in the syntax.

Bernard's secretary, Nicholas of Clairvaux, expressed the same idea in a letter to Conan III, Duke of Brittany (c. 1098–1148), and to his barons, which was sent not long after Bernard had preached at Vézelay in 1146.[89] Here, the loss of territory suffered at the hands of Zengi was once more described as a divine test designed to protect and steer the Christian community not only towards a worldly victory but also towards a spiritual one.[90]

Such narratives, which suggested that the entire Latin Christian community should be held responsible for the defeat suffered in the East because the sins of every member had caused God to withdraw his protection, fulfilled several vital moral functions.

Firstly, as I have already discussed, this interpretation had the potential to mitigate the anxiety caused by the loss of territory in Outremer. The defeat suffered could not easily be reconciled with Christian expectations for the future of the Crusader States as the expansion of Latin Christendom was felt to be divinely ordained. Therefore, when their armies were overcome by those perceived to be the enemies of the faith, questions inevitably arose concerning God's intentions. By making sense of what had happened as a punishment for the sins of the Christian community, contemporaries could resolve such doubt by providing an explanation that did not cast doubt on the validity of the crusading missions as part of God's plan, nor challenged his omnipotence. In this manner, emphasis on sin as the root of territorial loss could provide psychological relief by

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[89] Nicholas of Clairvaux, 'To Conan III, Count of Brittany (1112–48), and his barons, in the name of St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux', in L. Wahlgren-Smith (ed.), *The Letter Collections of Nicholas of Clairvaux*, (Oxford, 2018), 50–4. Nicholas (d. 1176 or 1178) originally entered Montiéramey Abbey near Troyes as a Benedictine, but later became a Cistercian and entered Clairvaux Abbey in 1145 or 1146, where he was one of the secretaries of Bernard of Clairvaux. He was dismissed in 1151 for having used the seals of the abbot without consent. As Jean Leclercq has shown, Nicholas had a tendency toward plagiarism and claimed several of Bernard's sermons as his own later in life. J. Leclercq, 'Les collections de sermons de Nicolas de Clairvaux,' *Revue bénédictine* 66 (1956), 269–302. See also, J. de Gussem, 'Bernard of Clairvaux and Nicholas of Montiéramey: tracing the secretarial with computational stylistics,' *Speculum* 92/1 (2017), 190–225.

[90] 'Videt et dissimulat ille magnus Providentie oculus, ut videat si est intelligens aut requirens Deum, si sit qui doleat vicem eius, qui restituat hereditatem suam sibi. Et cum omnia possit cui subest omnia posse cum voluerit, vult tamen nomini christiano victoriam ascribere et super tribulaten eos mittere manum suam.' Nicholas of Clairvaux, 'To Conan III, Count of Brittany,' 52.

providing a cause that made sense to twelfth-century Christians, while not calling into question any fundamental beliefs.

Secondly, this interpretation of defeat implied that in allowing the faithful to be overcome by the Muslim enemy, God had wanted to bring to light the poor state of contemporary morality and prepare an avenue for redemption for Christians everywhere. By highlighting that God would only allow the lost land to be returned when all of Christendom had abandoned its sinful ways, the loss could thus be interpreted as an opportunity for salvation and to encourage spiritual renewal. It is not unlikely that this strategy of moral persuasion was often successful, as sociologists have shown that emphasis on notions of divine discipline increases pro-social behaviour.[91]

Finally, in combination with the assertions by Pope Eugenius, Bernard and Nicholas that one manner Christians could show that they had understood God's message was by taking the cross, such explanations for defeat could also encourage military mobilisation. In this way, taking the cross was directly connected to salvation.

This last notion was fundamental to the song known as 'Pax in nomine Domini', a composition by the troubadour Marcabru who lived and worked in northern Spain and south-western France, for a time at the court of Count William X of Aquitaine (1126–1137).[92] Written in 1148 or 1149 as an exhortation for all who could join the campaign led by Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona (1131–1162) against Tortosa and Lerida, the song also references the failed siege

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[91] J. Saleam and A. A. Moustafa, 'The Influence of Divine Rewards and Punishments on Religious Prosociality,' *Frontiers in Psychology* 7 (2016), 1–18.

[92] Marcabru, 'Pax in nomine Domini,' in S. Gaunt, R. Harvey and L. M. Paterson (eds.), *Marcabru: A Critical Edition* (Cambridge, 2000), 434–54. On this composition, see also P. Groult, 'Interprétation de quelques passages du Vers del Lavador de Marcabrun,' *Actes et Mémoires du 1er Congrès International de Langue et Littérature du Midi de la France* (Avignon, 1957), 41–6; F. Pirot, '"Lavador" dans la "Pax in nomine Domini" du troubadour Marcabru (P.C. 293,350): une nouvelle interprétation du mot,' *Melanges Camproux*, 2 vols (Montpellier, 1978), 1.159–69; R. Harvey, 'Marcabru and the Spanish Lavador,' *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 22/2 (1986), 123–44.

of Damascus that had been attempted in July 1148 during the Second Crusade.[93] Marcabru portrayed both conflicts, that which was being fought against the Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula and that against Muslim forces in the East, as spiritual *lavadores*, washing places, which had been prepared by God so that the faithful might obtain salvation:

> How the heavenly Lord in his loving-kindness had created for us, in our vicinity, a washing place such as never existed before, apart from over there near the valley of Josaphat in Outremer…[94].
> (4.1–9)

Although this is, as far as I am aware, the first time that the image of the washing place was used to suggest that military defeat was part of God's plan to provide Christians with an opportunity for redemption, the description of the Holy Land as a site for spiritual cleansing was not in itself a new idea. Indeed, Guibert of Nogent had already referred to the East as a place that facilitated the cleansing of the soul in his *Dei gesta per Francos*.[95] However, Marcabru's composition implied that God had looked upon the Christian community and decided that the faltering

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93 Que.l Seigner que sap tot quant es
E sap tot quant er e c'anc fo,
Nos i promes
Honor e nom d'emperador.
E.il beutatz sera, sabetz caus
De cels qu'iran al lavador?
Plus que l'estela gauzignaus;
Ab sol que vengem Dieu del tort
Que.ill fan sai, e lai vas Domas.' Ibid., 438-9.

There has been some debate concerning the date of composition of Marcabru's 'Pax in nomine Domini', with some scholars suggesting that it was written a decade earlier, around the year 1137. However, the later date is now generally accepted to be more probable. For a summary of this discussion, see ibid., 437.

94 'Cum nos a fait, per sa doussor,
Lo Seingnorius celestiaus
Probet de nos un lavador,
C'anc, fors outramar, no.n fon taus,
En de lai deves Josaphas…' Ibid., 438–9

95 Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM 127A (Turnhout, 1996), 113.

moral conduct of the faithful warranted intervention and that he had orchestrated the conflicts against the Muslims in southern Europe and Outremer for this reason. Through military participation, Marcabru wrote, Christians could cleanse themselves of sins committed and restore their relationship with Christ:

> Akin to the line of Cain, the first evil man, there is a significant number here of whom not one shows honour to God. We shall see who will be his friend, for Jesus will be in communion with you through the miracle of the washing-place. And let us drive back the rabble who believe in augury and divination.[96]
> (5.1–9)

The image of the 'washing place' would again be used in response to the loss of Jerusalem four decades later to express the notion that defeat had created an opportunity for the restoration of the soul. This is evident, for example, in the Latin crusading composition 'Quod spiritu', which has come down to us as part of the *Carmina Burana* collection of songs.[97] Writing around the year 1188 in response to Saladin's victories, its anonymous author suggested that God 'had wished to

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96 'Probet del lignatge Caï,
del primeiran home fello
a tans aici
c'us a Dieu non porta honor.
Veirem qui.il er amics coraus,
c'ab la vertut del lavador
vos sera Jhesus comunaus.
E tornatz los garsos atras
q'en agut crezon et en sort!' Marcabru, 'Pax in nomine Domini,' 440–1.

97 'Quod spiritu,' ed. Traill, *Carmina Burana*, 1, no. 48, 166–70. The collection survives in one manuscript now held at the Bavarian State Library (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660. For 'Quod spiritu', see fols. 13v–14r). The same image can also be found in the anonymous composition 'Christiani nominis corruit insigne', written within a few years of the surrender of Jerusalem. 'Christiani nominis corruit insigne,' AH 15, no. 228, 258–9, 258.

destroy Jerusalem, so that through this work, we would be able to wash away our sins'.[98]

Not all authors articulated the positive functions of the idea that defeat had been brought about by the sins of the Christian community as explicitly as Bernard of Clairvaux or Marcabru. For instance, when Otto of Freising presented his *Chronica* to his nephew Frederick Barbarossa in 1157, ten years after he had finished a now lost initial version of the text, his account of Zengi's conquest of Edessa did not refer to the spiritual benefit that might have been derived from this loss.[99] This work has frequently been characterised as profoundly pessimistic. Scholars such as Karl Morrison and Stephen Jaeger point out that the bishop viewed himself and his contemporaries as living in an age of unparalleled moral decline.[100] As such, it has traditionally been contrasted with the more optimistic outlook of his later work, the *Gesta Friderici I imperatoris.* At first glance, the passage in which Otto described the loss of Edessa in the *Chronica* appears to reflect this negative assessment of the world around him:

> At the beginning of the 1145th year from the incarnation of the Lord, on the day of the celebration of the Holy Nativity of Christ himself, a sorrowful and wretched calamity [*piaculum*] befell the East, because of the sins of the Christian people. Indeed, Zengi, the prince of Aleppo in Syria and Mesopotamia (apart from Antioch and Damascus), but one who is also a vassal to the king or sultan of the Persians and the Medes, surrounded Edessa, which is now called Rohais and which, because of its magnitude and richness, had been the only refuge for the church of Jerusalem,

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98 Goswin Sreckelmeyer suggested that the song was composed by a crusader who performed it in front of his army, but this has been challenged by William Jackson, who asserts that there is no evidence to support this conclusion. G. Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Munich, 1974), 40–1; W. E. Jackson, *Ardent Complaints and Equivocal Piety: The Portrayal of the Crusader in Medieval German Poetry* (Lanham, 2003), 17.

99 Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister and W. Lammers, tr. A. Schmidt (Berlin, 1960).

100 See, for instance, K. F. Morrison, 'Otto of Freising's Quest for the Hermeneutic Circle,' *Speculum* 55/2 (1980), 207–36; C. S. Jaeger, 'Pessimism in the Twelfth-Century 'Renaissance',' *Speculum* 78/4 (2003), 1151–83.

> with a great multitude. On that very day of the Nativity of the Lord, he forced his way in and killed the Christians together with the bishop of the city at the edge of the sword or else reduced them to the miserable condition of slavery.[101]

Otto did not hide the extent of the damage done to the Latin community at Edessa. Nevertheless, if one looks closer at his choice of words, this response to what had occurred reveals a sense of soteriological optimism. By referring to the sins of Christians as the primary cause of Zengi's victory, the Bishop of Freising suggested that defeat had been the divine chastisement through which the community would be able to achieve the spiritual restoration required in the wake of their moral failures. That this was how he interpreted the defeat is further confirmed by his use of the word '*piaculum*' to describe the event. This term refers not to just any misfortune but, in general, to one which is undergone in atonement for sins committed or as an expiatory offering.[102] As such, Otto evidently viewed the territorial loss as a form of penance that had been required to repair the relationship between the faithful and God at a time of widespread immorality.

Certainly, the bishop did not shy away from interpreting adverse events across history as the immediate result of divine concern for human salvation, as the following lines from the prologue of the first book of his Chronicle make clear:

> We believe that this [the tragedies faced by humanity across history] has happened through the appropriate and prudent management of the Creator, so that men, who desire in vain to hold on to worldly and transitory things, might be frightened off by their vicissitudes, and might be turned away from the created

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[101] 'Anno dominicae incarnationis MCXLV incipiente, in ipsa sacrosanctae nativitatis Christi sollempnitate lugubre et miserabile ex peccato Christiani populi accidit in oriente piaculum. Sanguinus enim Halapensis Syriae ac Mesopotamiae, excepta Antiochia et Damasco princeps, Persarum vero et Medorum regis seu soltani vassallus, Edyssam, quae nunc Rohas dicitur, unicum Hierosolimitanae ecclesiae pro magnitudine ac habundantia sui refugium, cum infinita Sarracenorum multitudine circumdedit ac in ipsa, ut dixi, nativitate Domini irrupit, cunctis ibidem cum episcopo urbis Christianis in ore gladii occisis vel miserabili captivitate in servitutem redactis.' Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 550.

[102] See 2 Samuel 21:3. William of Tyre, among others, likewise used it in this way. See William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 412.

> universe by the misery of a transitory life towards that which is to be known of God.[103]

God tests Christians with difficult circumstances to correct their behaviour and encourage them to return to the path of righteousness. It is in light of this statement, then, that we should interpret the lines included in the Chronicle concerning the defeat at Edessa. For the bishop of Freising, defeat caused by sin through a divine chastisement could ultimately serve a positive function for Christians throughout the world.

In the decades following Zengi's victory and the failure of the Second Crusade, the Latin community in Outremer continued to suffer defeat at the hands of different Muslim factions, such as those led by Nur ad-Din and later, those led by Saladin. As the rate at which territory was lost steadily increased, so did the need to explain how it could be that God repeatedly chose to withhold his assistance from those fighting in his name. As a result, the use of the formula *peccatis exigentibus* likewise intensified because it allowed contemporaries to make sense of what had happened without calling into question the legitimacy of the crusading movement, God's love for his people or his omnipotence. Indeed, surviving responses to the loss of Banyas to Nur ad-Din in November 1164 show how that concept framed the way in which commentators such as Pope Alexander

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[103] 'Congrua sane ac provida dispensatione creatoris id [mortalium calamitatum tragedias] factum credimus, ut, quoniam homines vani terrenis caducisque rebus inherere desiderant, ipsa saltim vicissitudine sui deterreantur, ut a creature ad creatorem cognoscendum per transitoriae vitae miseram mittantur.' Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 10–2.

III, Amalric of Nesle, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Bertrand of Blancfort, Master of the Temple, interpreted the event.[104]

As dramatic as it certainly was, the loss of Edessa was thus not a unicum in terms of territorial loss, nor in the way in which it was explained. Indeed, it was in response to Saladin's victory at Hattin and the surrender of Jerusalem three months later that the interpretation of defeat as a direct consequence of the sins of the entire Latin Christian community came to be truly dominant.

This was in no small part due to the central role accorded to this narrative in the papal encyclical *Audita tremendi*, issued on 29 October 1187 by Pope Gregory VIII in response to the defeat at Hattin.[105] Jerusalem had likewise been lost by this point, but news of this event had not yet reached the West when the letter was composed and sent to *universis Christi fidelibus*.[106] Some disagreement exists among historians about whether the encyclical was actually written by the papal chancery under Pope Gregory VIII, given that he had been elected only eight days earlier. Several scholars have suggested that it is more likely that his predecessor, Pope Urban III, oversaw the letter's composition in the weeks leading up to his death. The latter position has been put forward by Christopher Tyerman and Jonathan

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[104] 'In quantis pressuris, tribulationibus et angustiis terra orientalis sit consituta, quantas etiam afflictiones et miserias iugiter ab inimicis sancte crucis exigentibus peccatis nostris sustineat, nobis etiam reticentibus vestram universitas non ignorat.' Alexander III, *In quantis pressuris*, in Hiestand (ed.), *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, 1, no. 53, 251–3, 251; 'Satis, ut credimus, fratres karissimi, vestra novit universitas quantis miseriis quantisque tribulationibus et angustiis Orientalis ecclesia ab inimicis sancte Crucis nuper afflicta, et obpressa, et fere ex toto destructa, peccatis nostris exigentibus, extiterit.' Amalric of Nesle, 'Aux prélats de la chrétienté,' in J. Delaville Le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310),* 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906), no. 404, 1.279–80; 'Nos autem post haec omnia revertentes, invenimus pro peccatis nostris Terram-sanctam satis ac desuper desolatam, Paneademque civitatem, qua non erat in toto regno munitior, furto sublatam et redditam Turcis per manus proditorum…' Bertrand of Blancfort, 'Ad Ludovicum regem Francorum,' RHGF 16, no. 244, 79–80.

[105] Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, 88–101.

[106] Like the earlier *Quantum praedecessores*, the encyclical was distributed across Europe. For a detailed discussion see H. Birkett, 'News in the Middle Ages: News, Communications, and the Launch of the Third Crusade in 1187–1188,' *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 23–61.

Riley-Smith but was recently contested by Thomas W. Smith, who maintains that the existing source material demonstrates that the encyclical was written rapidly and sent off without the supervision and overseeing that, by the late twelfth century, had long become customary at the papal chancery.[107]

The first sentence of the *narratio* leaves no room for doubt as to what had caused the events that had unfolded at Hattin. The defeat is described as 'a severe judgement that the hand of the divine poured out over the land of Jerusalem'.[108] Repeated comparisons were subsequently made to the hardships suffered by the Israelites as divine punishment for their iniquities before switching back to the issue at hand with a more positive message. In the first version of the text, the pope asserted,

> We must not be so dejected that we fall into disbelief, and believe that God has been so angered by the people that in his fury at that which has been done by a common multitude of sinners he will not quickly lessen the burden, through his mercy, when he is satisfied with the penance and, after tears and cries, will bring in joy.[109]

The encyclical was issued four times, three times by Gregory himself and once by his successor, Clement III, on 2 January 1188.[110] In the three re-issued versions of

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[107] C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London, 2006), 375; J. S. C. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (London, 2014), 163; Smith, '*Audita Tremendi*,' *Viator* 49/3 (2018), 63–101, 66. Martin Aurell came to the same conclusion as Smith. See Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades*, 115. On the papal chancery at this time, see R. Hiestand, 'Die Leistungsfähigkeit der päpstlichen Kanzlei im 12. Jahrhundert,' in P. Herde and H. Jakobs (eds.) *Papsturkunde und europäisches Urkundenwesen*, *Archiv für Diplomatik. Beiheft 7* (1999), 1–26; P. Zutshi, 'Petitioners, Popes, Proctors: The Development of Curial Institutions, c.1150–1250', in G. Andenna (ed.), *Pensiero e sperimentazioni instituzionali nella Societas Christiana (1046–1250)*, (Milan, 2007), 265–93.

[108] 'Audita tremendi severitate iudicii quod super terram Iherusalem divina manus exercuit…' Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, 88

[109] '…non tamen adeo deicere nos debemus, ut in diffidentiam decidamus, et credamus Deum ita populo iratum, ut quod communium faciente multitudine peccatorum fieri permisit iratus, non cito per misericordiam poenitentia placatus alleviet, et post lacrymationem et fletum exsultationem inducat.' Ibid., 90–1.

[110] For a comparison of the different versions of the encyclical see, ibid., 25–37 and 88–101. The version of the encyclical that is most often referred to, contained within *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, is a hybrid of all four.

the document, the language in the above passage was changed ever so slightly to emphasise that no one could escape the burden of responsibility for the defeat suffered against Saladin. Indeed, rather than stating that 'God has been so angered by the people', these versions of the text state that 'God has been so angered by *his* people' [*Deum ita populo suo iratum*].[111] Any distinction between the Latin Christians living in the East and the rest of Christendom was expunged so that nobody could avoid questioning whether their morality was to blame, at least in part, for what had happened. As a result, no one was justified in responding to the pope's exhortations with reticence, let alone in ignoring them altogether. This is confirmed by a subsequent passage, present in all versions of the document, in which the pope warned that,

> concerning the affliction of that land, we must be mindful and wary not only of the sins of its inhabitants but also of our own sins and those of all the Christian people, so that that which has remained of that land will not be lost…[112]

The pope further argued that the loss of Edessa decades earlier had been a divine punishment for the iniquities of the Christian people and a clear sign that spiritual renewal had been needed. Still, the faithful had refused to change their ways and were now being chastised once more for their immorality.[113] Gregory reinforced this interpretation of events in the encyclical *Nunquam melius superni*.[114] Likewise issued on 29 October 1187, it contained detailed instructions for when Christians ought to fast and pray in penance for the immorality which had brought about the defeat at Hattin, an event regarding which the pope assured the faithful that,

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[111] '…et credamus Deum ita populo suo iratum, ut quod communium faciente multitudine peccatorum fieri permisit iratus.' Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, 91.

[112] 'Porro nos, qui in tanta terrae illius contritione non solum peccatum habitatorum illius, sed et nostrum et totius populi Christiani debemus attendere ac vereri ne quod reliquum est illius terrae depereat…' Ibid., 94.

[113] 'Potuerunt autem ista timeri iampridem, quando Arroasia, et alia terra in potestatem transiit paganorum, et fuisset bene provisum, si populus qui remansit, ad poenitentiam rediisset; et Deum, quem praevaricatione offenderat, conversione placasset.' Ibid.

[114] Gregory VIII, *Nunquam melius superni* (29 October 1187), in Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hovedene*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols, RS 51 (London, 1868–71), 2.329–30.

> we do not doubt that the crisis of the land of Jerusalem, which has recently occurred through attacks by the Saracens, happened chiefly as a result of the sins of the inhabitants of the land and of all Christian people.[115]

By blaming defeat not just on the sins of the inhabitants of the Crusader States but also on those of the Christians in Europe, the pope could encourage spiritual renewal not just in Outremer but across Christendom.

Furthermore, in combination with the *exhortation* placed at the end of the encyclical *Audita tremendi*, in which complete remission of sins and eternal life were promised to those 'who will take up the labour of this journey [to the East] with a contrite heart and a humble spirit, and who will depart in penance of sins and with true faith', emphasis on the notion that the sins of Christians everywhere had caused the defeat encouraged widespread military mobilisation.[116]

Finally, as in the case of the loss of Edessa, this explanation of defeat as the inevitable result of the immorality of the faithful helped to address, at least partially, a conundrum that supporters of the crusades were starting to face more and more frequently. How could the loss of territory be made sense of without questioning God's perceived intentions for the Holy Land? Certainly, defeat had often been used by critics of the crusading movement to suggest that the enterprise was not in accordance with divine designs. They proposed that military failure should be taken as a sign that crusade propagandists had misinterpreted God's message by focusing on the significance of the material journey to the detriment of the spiritual journey. For example, in response to the disastrous ending of the Second Crusade at Damascus, the anonymous continuator of the *Gesta abbatum Sancti Bertini Sithiensium* asserted,

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[115] '…quia Ierusalimitane terre discrimen, quod irruentibus Sarracenis nuper evenit, ex peccato maxime habitatorum terre et totius Christiani populi accidisse non dubitamus…' Ibid., 329.

[116] 'Eis autem qui corde contrito et humiliato spiritu, itineris huius laborem assumpserint, et in poenitentia peccatorum et fide recta decesserint, plenam suorum criminum indulgentiam, et vitam pollicemur aeternam.' *Audita tremendi,* 99.

> God, who has no desire for the strength of horses and is not pleased by the legs of men, was not, as is believed, with them. Indeed, it is preferable to defend that land with miracles than with force….[117]

Such criticism of the crusades, based on the idea that defeat was proof that military campaigns to the Holy Land were of little use and a spiritual response was preferable, was expressed increasingly often during the second half of the twelfth century. As the loss of territory became a more regular occurrence, a growing number of Christian commentators interpreted defeat as a sign that the crusades were no longer compatible with divine designs. Like the anonymous author from the Abbey of Saint Bertin, they proposed that God favoured a spiritual commitment over a military one.

Questions about the validity of the Latin enterprise in the East were raised most frequently by English clerics, especially those who had belonged to Thomas Becket's circle of support. Their lack of enthusiasm for the Third Crusade likely stemmed in part from a belief that Henry II could use this campaign to increase his power and further strengthen his administration.[118] As will be discussed later in this chapter, this opposition to a military response to the loss of Jerusalem was expressed most resolutely by Ralph Niger.

Considering the increase in discussions about the validity of the crusading movement and its aims that repeated loss of territory elicited, it is unsurprising that the papacy and its propagandists almost exclusively explained defeat as a divine punishment. By putting forward this interpretation, they implied that military failure was not a sign of God's disapproval of the crusading movement or its aims but instead highlighted the spiritual ineptitude of the faithful. As a result, this narrative encouraged moral renewal and countered claims that participation in the campaigns launched in response to defeat would not please God.

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[117] '…Deus, qui non in fortitudine equi voluntatem habet, nec in tybiis viri beneplacitum est ei, ut creditur, non erat cum eis; qui etiam terram illam miraculis potius quam viribus contra paganos defendere…' *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium*, MGH SS 13.663—73, 664. See also Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades*, 78. A similar, if even more damning, perspective was expressed by the anonymous author of the Annals of Würzburg. See 'Annales Herbipolenses,' MGH SS 16.1–12, 3.

[118] Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades*, 138–40.

Others likewise used the idea that the universal sins of the Christian community had brought about Saladin's victory to suggest that these disasters could paradoxically serve a positive function for the community. For example, Peter of Blois, who was at the papal *curia* as an advisor to the Bishop of Canterbury when news came of the defeat at Hattin, included a similar narrative in his *Passio Raginaldi principis Antioche*.[119] Although it is not part of Peter's sermon collection, this work appears to have been written as a sermon for clerics such as himself, whom Peter hoped to encourage to preach the Third Crusade, but with an eye to the broader public.[120] It was likely completed before Peter left the papal court in January 1188 and glorified the life and deeds of Reginald of Châtillon, the divisive former Prince of Antioch (1153-1160/1) who had found death at the hands of Saladin shortly after he was captured on the battlefield at Hattin.[121] The *Passio* was the first of several works in which Peter addressed the need for a new campaign in aid of the Crusader States.[122]

Describing the defeat in terms borrowed from the Old Testament, a rhetorical tool that will be discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, Peter explained why the Christians in Outremer had suffered such a devastating defeat against those who were supposed to be God's enemies:

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[119] Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi principis Antiochie*, in R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Petri Blesensis Tractatus duo*, CCCM 194 (Turnhout, 2002), 31–64.

[120] A. Marx, 'The *Passio Raginaldi* of Peter of Blois: Martyrdom and Eschatology in the Preaching of the Third Crusade,' *Viator* 50/3 (2019), 197–232, 202–3.

[121] On the *Passio Raginaldi*, see also R. W. Southern, 'Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade,' in H. Mayr-Harting and R. I Moore (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis* (London, 1985), 207–18; M. Markowski, 'Peter of Blois and the Conception of the Third Crusade,' in B. Z. Kedar (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin* (London, 1992), 261–9; J. D. Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma: Peter of Blois and Literate Culture in the Twelfth Century* (Washington, D.C., 2009), 228–30; Idem, 'The Exegesis of Violence in the Crusade Writings of Ralph Niger and Peter of Blois,' in E. Lapina and N. Morton (eds.), *Uses of the Bible in Crusader Sources* (Leiden, 2017), 273–95; Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*; Marx, 'The *Passio Reginaldi* of Peter of Blois'.

[122] Peter of Blois, *Exhortatio ad eos qui nec accipiunt nec predicant crucem*, in *Petri Blesensis Tractatus duo*, 64–73; Idem, *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, in *Petri Blesensis Tractatus duo*, 75–95; Idem, *Dialogus inter regem Henricum et abbatem Bonevallis*, in R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Serta Mediaevalia: Textus varii saeculorum x–xiii. Tractatus et epistulae,* CCCM 171 (Turnhout, 2000), 375–408.

> We know, Lord, that in your hand rest affliction and consolation, life and death. The expression by Isaiah is: 'There is no evil in the city that the Lord does not produce' [Am. 3:6], interpreting 'evil' as suffering. 'Who,' said the same prophet, 'handed Jacob over to pillaging, and Israel to those plunderers? Was it not the Lord, himself against whom we have sinned?' [Is. 42:24]. In fact, everything you have done, Lord, you have done in true judgement, [Dan. 3:31] since we have sinned against you and have not obeyed your commands….[123]

This last line indicates that Peter not only blamed the Christians living in the Crusader States for Saladin's victory but also held himself and the Christians in Europe responsible. His later statement that the Holy Cross had been lost *peccatis nostris exigentibus* confirms this.[124]

While the *Passio Raginaldi* thus conveyed a damning assessment of Christian morality, Peter simultaneously emphasised the potential for moral regeneration and restoration of the relationship with God. He noted that the spiritual health of the community could be repaired if the faithful took care to respond appropriately to the message of warning that God had wanted to convey in defeat:

> Whenever the merciful judge chastises a sinner so that they may set themselves free from imprisonment, he acts as the physician who cuts open an abscess so that it may heal better and more completely. In this way, the doctor of doctors cleanses man from sin

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[123] 'Scimus, dominus, quia in manu tua est afflictio et consolatio, vita et mors. Verbum Ysaie est: *Non est malum in civitate quod non faciat dominus*, per 'malum' afflictionem intelligent. *Quis dedit*, ait idem propheta, *Iacob in direptionem et Israel vastantibus? Nonne dominus ipse cui peccavimus?* Revera omnia que fecisti, domine, in vero iudicio fecisti, quia peccavimus tibi et mandatis tuis non obedivimus…' Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 33–4.

[124] 'Ut autem corda militum Christi versutissimus ille tyrannus ad votum suum fortius et efficatius inclinaret, quasi eis crucem dominicam redditurus, quam peccatis nostris exigentibus captivam tenebat, eam captivis precipit ostendi.' Ibid., 50.

> better and more completely while he pretends not to hear the voices of the sick as they call out and lament.[125]

Using the 'Christus medicus' trope popularised by Augustine, these lines suggest that God sought to repair the Christian soul through chastisement, much like a physician who cuts his patient to heal the body.[126] In Peter's eyes, punishment for sin was necessary to repair the spiritual health of the Christian soul and ensure redemption.

During his stay at the papal *curia*, Peter belonged to a circle of crusade propagandists that included Henry, Bishop of Albano and legate *a latere*, who had been designated to preach the Third Crusade after spending much of the 1180s at the curia. Somewhat unsurprisingly, therefore, Peter later connected the above message of the promise of salvation through defeat with the need for a new expedition to the East. This narrative was expressed most clearly in the *Exhortatio ad eos qui nec accipiunt nec predicant crucem*, a short text usually attached to the *Passio Raginaldi* as per the organisation of Bodleian Library, Ms. lat. misc. f. 14.[127] It was formally addressed to Baldwin, Bishop of Canterbury but was written as an open letter to the clerics whom Peter hoped to mobilise for the preaching of the upcoming campaign. Richard Southern showed that it was likely composed between December 1187 and January 1188.[128]

In this short text, Peter argued that those who responded to defeat by preaching or participating in the Third Crusade could turn the loss of territory into a positive spiritual experience by using it as an opportunity to demonstrate their devotion. He wrote that 'the names of those who have prepared themselves

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[125] 'Iudex misericors reum quandoque flagellat ut ipsum a suspendio liberet atque medicus incidit apostema, ut melius ac plenius sanet: sic et medicus medicorum hominem a peccato melius tunc et efficatius purgat, dum voces egroti conquerentis et clamantis audire dissimulat.' Ibid., 37.

[126] On use of this metaphor by Augustine, see R. Arbesmann, 'The Concept of 'Christus Medicus' in St. Augustine,' *Traditio* 10/2 (1954), 1–28; H. Vermès, '*Gratia medicinalis*: la métaphore médicale dans le *De natura et gratia* d'Augustin,' *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques* 65/1 (2019), 37–72.

[127] Peter of Blois, *Exhortatio ad eos qui nec accipiunt nec predicant crucem*, in *Petri Blesensis Tractatus duo*, 64–73.

[128] Southern, 'Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade,' 214.

for this pilgrimage in the name of Christ have already been written in the book of life'.[129] This is a reference to Revelation 21:27, which describes those who will be allowed to enter the heavenly Jerusalem as 'those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life'. In this way, Peter endowed his exhortation with spiritual capital by connecting defeat and the campaign launched in its wake to the redemptive activity of God within human history. Furthermore, as will be argued in the third chapter of this thesis, such references to apocalyptic scriptural narratives could further strengthen the moral potential of responses to defeat.

Messages sent from Outremer to the West after Hattin, hoping to inspire Western leaders to take the cross, generally explained the defeat in a similar manner to the popes and their propagandists. This is the case, for instance, in one of the letters which survive as part of the Hildesheim letter collection, a group of 144 short twelfth-century letters that were compiled around the year 1192 by a member of the cathedral chapter.[130] They were discovered by Georg Waitz in the mid-nineteenth century but have not yet received much attention in anglophone scholarship.[131] Letter no. 76 in the collection is an appeal for military aid purporting to have been written by either Eraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, or Amalric, Patriarch of Antioch (the document gives the title of 'patriarch' but does not specify further) addressed to Emperor Frederick I.[132] Rolf de Kegel, who prepared the edition for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, stated that it is not possible to determine whether the letter was sent before or after the loss of Jerusalem but gives a *terminus ante quem* of 27 March 1188, the date of the *curia Christi* at Mainz where Frederick officially vowed to participate in the Third

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[129] 'In libro vitae iam scripti sunt qui se ad hanc peregrinationem pro Christi nomine accinxerunt,' Peter of Blois, *Exhortatio*, 65.

[130] The letters survive in a single manuscript, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms 350, fols. 132r–146v. They were edited in R. de Kegel, *Die Jüngere Hildesheimer Briefsammlung,* MGH Briefe d. dt. Kaiserzeit 7.53–241. The collection is sometimes referred to as the 'younger' Hildesheim letter collection, to distinguish it from the eleventh-century *Collectio epistolarum Hildesheimensium* by Bernard of Constance.

[131] G. Waitz, 'Beschreibungen von Handschriften, welche in den Jahren 1839–42 näher untersucht worden sind,' *Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtkunde zur Beförderung einer Gesammtausgabe der Quellenschriften deutscher Geschichten des Mittelalter*s 11 (1858), 351–4.

[132] 'Imperatori patriarcha monens eum ire Iherosolimam,' in *Die Jüngere Hildesheimer Briefsammlung*, no. 76, 129–30.

Crusade.[133] However, this is not entirely correct. Firstly, it would have taken weeks for news of the Emperor's public resolution to reach the Outremer. As such, late April 1188 would be more appropriate as a *terminus ante quem* if the letter provided no further clues as to the date of composition, but it does. The assessment of the situation in Outremer at the time of writing indicates that the letter was sent after the defeat at Hattin but before the surrender of Jerusalem. Indeed, the author followed up a description of the various losses that had been sustained at the hands of Saladin's forces with the following passage:

> Furthermore, that which is to be feared greatly is about to happen to us because of our sins. It is a result of the corruption of the foundations of our faith that has also caused the ruin of what we are and the work that has been built up. We must not disregard this without fear.[134]

These lines indicate that even after the 'slaughter of innumerable men and the irreparable destruction of cities and fortresses', described earlier in the letter, the patriarch expected that the worst was yet to come.[135] This would have been a rather odd turn of phrase if Jerusalem, the most important city for all of Christendom, had already been lost. Therefore, a date of composition between early July and late October 1187 is most probable.

The passage cited above further demonstrates that the author of the letter interpreted military defeats in Outremer in a manner similar to Gregory VIII and Peter of Blois. He stressed that God had allowed the Muslims to take away territory from the Latin Christians in the East as punishment for sin but without specifying precisely whose immorality was to blame. By not singling out one

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[133] Ibid., 129, n. 1.

[134] 'Hoc autem de peccatis nostris evenisse timendum valde nobis est et ex fundamento fidei nostre concusso ruinam quoque sequi superedificati operis quod nos sumus, sine formidine dissimulare non debemus.' Ibid., 129.

[135] 'Excellentiae tuae, notitiam latere non credimus eam, que in Iherosolimorum partibus accidit, calamitatem in occisione hominum inestimabili, in destructione civitatum et oppidorum inrecuperabili, in desolatione totius terrae miserabili, adeo ut recuperande religionis christianae pene omnis exspiraverit spes et fiducia.' Ibid.

particular group, the patriarch left room for the recipients of his letter to question whether their own behaviour was partly to blame. That the patriarch viewed moral corruption as a broader problem that affected Christians everywhere is evident also from his suggestion in the above-cited passage that the very foundations of the faith had been corrupted.

It is no surprise that the patriarch did not choose to focus specifically on the sins of the Christians in the East, as it was essential for those in Outremer who sought to mobilise leaders in the West to propose that God had been dissatisfied with *all* of Christendom, not simply a part of it. Otherwise, it would have been all too easy for leaders in the West to argue that any action on their part could achieve little, as the only way to appease God was for those who had angered him, namely the people in the East, to correct their behaviour and perform the appropriate penance. As such, for his appeal to be effective, the author of the letter had to leave room for the recipient, Frederick I, to consider whether his actions had likewise displeased God. The same strategy was applied in a letter sent by Eraclius to all the secular leaders in the West.[136] Such emphasis on shared accountability is less evident in surviving letters from Amalric, perhaps an argument in favour of the Patriarch of Jerusalem as the author of the letter to Emperor Frederick I.

This function of the narrative that all Christians, not only those living in Outremer, were to blame for Saladin's victory undoubtedly contributed to its centrality in papal responses to territorial loss in the Crusader States, evident in the above-discussed bulls and letters from Pope Eugenius and Pope Gregory. By suggesting that Christians everywhere had in some form contributed to God's anger, they implied that the responsibility for regaining his trust likewise lay with the entire community, rather than only a section of it. This allowed their appeals for penance and recovery expeditions to resonate further as blame could not be put exclusively on those living in the East.

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136 'Fratres, saluti vestre subvenite! Moveat itaque vos sanguis crucifixi, moveat preciosissimum lignum dominicum, quod peccatis nostris exigentibus a nobis ablatum est…' Eraclius, 'Adversitatum opressionumque,' in N. Jaspert, 'Zwei Unbekannte Hilfsersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius vor dem Fall Jerusalems (1187),' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters,* 60/1 (2004), 483–516, 511–6, 515.

As in papal documents and the writings of Peter of Blois, the letter to the emperor subsequently emphasised that this shared responsibility for defeat also had a positive implication. It meant that the entire Christian community could benefit from this divine chastisement and the warning it conveyed. The faithful now had an opportunity to demonstrate that they had understood God's discipline by committing themselves to his cause spiritually and, where possible, materially. Through the loss of territory, he had prepared a chance for redemption available not just to those living in Outremer but to Christians everywhere. Indeed, the patriarch wrote to the emperor,

> There is also reason to be hopeful because just as the whip of divine punishment unites the wicked with the painful, it brings together those who are good with the pleasant and just as disobedient sons [Eph. 2:2 and 5:6] fall into ruin, so each of the grateful sons approaches the award of eternal bliss. Because of these things, we admonish and exhort Your Discretion in Christ, so that, if you pride yourself with the name of 'Christian', you may also be moved by the injury done to Christ and for its vengeance may be girded with much greater courage as a result of how much you are distinguished by the dignity of the power conferred unto you.[137]

Here, the patriarch suggested that the 'whip of divine punishment' ['*divine castigationis flagella*'] touched Frederick and his fellow Christians in the West as much as it did the Latin inhabitants of the Crusader States. At the same time, this conveyed that the potential spiritual benefits of this chastisement were available both to the Christians in Outremer and the emperor and the faithful in Europe. In this manner, the patriarch rendered the prospect of taking the cross more appealing to those in the West by connecting participation in the campaign to

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[137] 'In eo autem spem habere possumus, quod divine castigationis flagella sicut malis cooperantur in malum ita bonis in bonum et sicut filii diffidentie cadunt in interitum, filii quoque gratie ad eterne beatitudinis aspirant premium. Ea propter dilectionem tuam commonemus et exhortamur in Christo, ut, si christiano nomine recte glorieris, Christi etiam movearis iniuria et ad ipsam vindicandam tanto maiori accingaris virtute, quanto sublimior es collate potestatis dignitate.' *Die Jüngere Hildesheimer Briefsammlung*, 129–30.

recover Jerusalem to the redemptive potential of the entire Christian community, not just a part thereof.

Sylvia Schein argued that this 'official' explanation for defeat in the East, which emphasised the culpability of all of Christendom, was largely rejected in more 'popular' sources.[138] According to Schein, chronicles and poems attributed defeat exclusively to the sins of the Christians living in the Crusader States.[139] However, there are several exceptions to this, in both Latin and vernacular documents.[140] Genre is not a precise indicator of whether authors pointed to universal sins or those of just a small minority of Christians.

One such source is the *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, a poem in 12351 verses that tells the story of the later stages of the Third Crusade with a particularly positive focus on the deeds of Richard the Lionheart.[141] Indeed, it includes one of the earliest known uses of the king's well-known epitaph.[142] Part rhyming chronicle, part mirror of princes and part epic, it was most likely composed between 1194, when Richard was released from captivity, and 1199, when he died.[143] The poem appears to have been intended primarily for an audience of military men, who would have been particularly interested in the detailed

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[138] S. Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City: Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099–1187)* (Aldershot, 2005), 186. The label of 'popular' in reference to chronicles and poems is one used by Schein but, in my opinion, not one that is universally appropriate.

[139] Ibid.

[140] See, for example, Maistres Renas, 'Pour lou pueple resconforteir,' in J. Bédier and P. Aubry (eds.), *Les chansons de croisade: avec leurs mélodies* (Paris, 1909), 77–81; *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. and tr. M. Ailes and M. Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge, 2003), 2.1, 9–34; Pierre of Beauvais, *Olympiade*, in M. L. Berkey Jr., 'Pierre De Beauvais' *Olympiade*: A Mediaeval Outline-History,' *Speculum* 41/3 (1966), 505–15, 510–14.

[141] *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*. The poem survives in a single manuscript held at the Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Codex Vat. Reg. lat. 1659. Two recently discovered fragments (Dublin, Manuscripts & Archives Research Library, Trinity College Dublin, Ms. 11325 and Tokyo, Keio University, Rare Books Library, Ms. 180X.9.11) have supplemented scholars' understanding of the text.

[142] *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, line 2310.

[143] B. Levy, 'Pèlerins rivaux de la 3e croisade: les personnages des rois d'Angleterre et de France d'après les chroniques d'Ambroise et d'"Ernoul" et le récit Anglo-Normand de la *Croisade et Mort Richard Coeur de Lion*,' in D. Buschinger (ed.), *La Croisade – réalités et fictions. Actes du Colloque d'Amiens, 18-22 mars 1987* (Göppingen, 1989), 143–55, 144.

discussion of geopolitical affairs and preferred vernacular poetry over Latin prose.[144]

Little is known about the author, who is usually identified with a certain Ambroise, a name mentioned throughout the text.[145] However, a lack of references to this figure in either the prologue or the epilogue has led the most recent editor of the *Estoire*, Catherine Croizy-Naquet, to come to a different conclusion. She has argued that Ambroise was not the composer of the text but the author of one of the poet's main sources.[146] According to this theory, the actual author of the *Estoire* remains anonymous. Nevertheless, historians generally agree that the language used suggests that he came from Normandy and was most likely a cleric, perhaps belonging to the minor orders.[147] Moreover, from the content of the poem we can deduce that he joined Richard's retinue during the Third Crusade as a non-combatant and was thus an eyewitness to many of the events described.[148]

The poem opens with a full retrospect of the origins of the Third Crusade that leaves little room for doubt as to the causes of the loss of the Holy City:

> I want to get right to my subject, for it is a story that should be told, a story which tells of the misadventure that happened to us, and justly so, a few years ago in the land of Syria, because of our excessive folly, for God did not wish us to continue without feeling the consequences. And he certainly did cause us to feel them, in Normandy and France and throughout Christendom. Whether the folly was great or whether it was little, the consequences were felt directly; all this because of the Cross, which the world worships and which at that time was taken away and moved by the pagans from the land where it was to be found, the land God deigned to be

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144 *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, 13.

145 Ibid., 1. There are references to Ambroise in lines 171, 728, 2397, 3221, 3728, 4554, 4822, 5913, 6005.

146 *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. C. Croizy-Naquet (Paris, 2014), 65–82.

147 Ibid., 57–9; Ailes and Barber, *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, 2.

148 Ibid., 2–3.

> born and to die… [the land] of the Hospital and of the Holy Temple, causing much pulling of the temple, [the land] of the Sepulchre, where God was placed, lost to us through sins. This is not how it should be said — it was through God who wished to bring to himself his people whom he had redeemed and who did not serve him at that time.[149]
>
> (9–34)

As these lines demonstrate, the author of the *Estoire* did not deviate from the interpretation of defeat put forward in papal documents and the works of papal crusade propagandists. He explained Saladin's victory and the surrender of Jerusalem as a divine chastisement for the universal sins of the faithful. Indeed, the assertion that God's punishment touched all of Christendom suggests that the sins

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149 'Vers la materie me voil traire
Dont l'estoire est bone a retraire,
Ki retint la mesaventure
Qui nos avint -- e par dreiture -
L'aure an en terre de Sulie
Par nostre surfaite folie,
Que Deus ne volt plus consentir
K'il ne la nos feïst sentir.
Sentir la nos fist senz dotance,
E en Normendie e en France
E par tote cristïenté,
U que poi en ot ou plenté;
La fist il sentir en poi d'ure
Por la croiz que li monz aüre,
Qui a cel tens fud destornee
E des paens aillors tornee
Qu'el païs ou ele selt estre
Ou Deus deigna morir e nestre […]
Del Hospital e del seint Temple
Dont fud tiree mainte temple,
Del sepulcre ou Deu fu posez
Dont pechiez nos ot deposez -
Nel fud, ne feit pas a retraire -
Mais por Deu qui velt a sei traire
Son poeple qu'il aveit raient
Quil serveit lores de nïent.'

Translated adapted from Ailes and Barber, *The History of the Holy War*, 2.1. Marianne Ailes proposes that the odd syntax of lines 25–9 suggests that there is at least one couplet missing from that part of the poem.

that lay at its root had likewise been perpetrated by the entire Christian community. Moreover, care was taken in the passage above to highlight that God intended to correct Christian behaviour, not bring about suffering. The author of the text emphasised that territorial loss in the Crusader States demonstrated divine love rather than divine anger. It was a tool by which God had sought to guide his people, whom he felt were slipping away from him, back unto the path towards salvation. Not only did this narrative thus reinforce a sense of Christian exceptionalism by presenting the faithful as a divinely favoured community, but it also encouraged spiritual renewal across Christendom. The anonymous author presented defeat as an opportunity to restore one's relationship with God by serving him once again.

Such emphasis on the moral function of Saladin's victories can also be found in other poems and songs, which, like the *Estoire*, blamed the loss of territory on a universal lapse in morality rather than on the inhabitants of Outremer alone. This is true, for instance, of the anonymous poem 'Crux ego rapta queror', used by Geoffrey of Vinsauf in his *Poetria nova*, a handbook for students of the *ars poetria*, as an example of rhetorical amplification through the use of prosopopoeia.[150] It was likely written at the very end of the twelfth century or during the first years of the thirteenth century.[151] In this unique source, the personified Cross speaks directly to the Christian community to explain that,

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[150] 'Crux ego rapta queror,' in Galfred of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, in E. Gallo (ed.), *The 'Poetria Nova' and its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine* (Paris, 1971), 38–40. O the *Poetria nova*, see the introduction by Martin Camargo to the revised edition of *Geoffrey of Vinsauf, Poetria nova*, tr.. M. F. Nims (Toronto, 2010), 4–16; M. Curry Woods, *Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the* Poetria nova *across Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Columbus, OH., 2010). The poem 'Crux ego rapta queror', contained within the *Poetria nova*, has been referred to as the 'Carmen Sangallense', a designation first given by Heinrich Hagenmeyer in relation to a fragment found in St Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Ms 1385, fol. 71r. 'Carmen Sangallense,' in H. Hagenmeyer, 'Deux poésies relatives a la troisième croisade,' *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881), 580–5, 585.

[151] Hagenmeyer argued that the poem was written within a few years of 1187. Ibid., 581. However, the line 'sum rapta prudenter a veteri…', written from the perspective of the relic of the Cross, would indicate a later date of composition. Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* was likely finished by 1213. As such, 'Crux ego rapta queror' must have been composed either during the last years of the twelfth century or in the first decade of the thirteenth century, perhaps as an exhortation for the Fourth Crusade. Several scholars have come to similar conclusions. See, for instance, E. Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle, recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du Moyen âge* (Paris, 1924), 29–30.

> Not the power of the enemies, but your vice has allowed my capture from you to be possible. Since I have seen so many of your crimes, I wanted to be carried off when captured: it has caused less shame to be despised in foreign parts than in my own settlements.[152]

Since this poem was not aimed at those who lived in the East, as its subsequent call for people to take the cross demonstrates, we can assume that this accusation was also directed primarily toward Christians in Europe.[153] Just as in the *Estoire*, however, the composer stressed that the focus should not be placed on the territorial loss suffered but on the spiritual opportunity that God had provided by orchestrating Muslim victories in Outremer. He imagined the words of the Lord as follows:

> 'I have come to have mercy', said the Merciful, 'to pity the wretched, not strive for justice. I have come to spare, not to punish. Beware! Look behind you! Come back at last so that you may not perish, Shulamite! If you turn back, I will turn to you [Zec 1:3] and return immediately to the heart that has turned around.'[154]

As this passage demonstrates, the author supposed that if spiritual regeneration accompanied a recognition that iniquity had caused the loss of territory, the

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152 'Me tibi posse rapi non vis effecerat hostis,
Immo tuum vitium. Quia tot tua crimina vidi,
Rapta rapi volui: puduit minus in peregrinis
Quam castris sordere meis.' 'Crux ego rapta queror,' 38.

153 'Quid dormis? Vigila! Si te crux sancta redemit,
Ense crucem redimas; et fias inde redemptor
Unde redemptus. Quis sanus ad utile torpet?
In cruce sudavit Dominus: servusne quiescit?
Tolle [crucem] tuam! Tulit ipse [crucem] suam.' Ibid., 40.

154 'Sed veni, miserator ait, miseris misereri,
Non de iudicio contendere. Parcere veni,
Non punire. Cave! Respice! Revertere tandem,
Ne pereas, Sunamitis! Ego, si verteris, ad te
Vertar et instanter ad corda reversa revertar.' Ibid., 38–40.

terrible events that had unfolded in the East could actually bring the faithful closer to God.

In summary, interpretations of defeat as a divine punishment for the universal sins of Latin Christendom, as put forward in the sources thus far discussed, served several important moral functions. Such rhetoric provided an explanation for the loss of territory that resolved the tension between the expectation of continued Christian dominance in Outremer and the reality of successive military failures without questioning God's intentions, the love he felt for his people or the validity of the crusading movement. In this way, such narratives could reassure the community that while the losses suffered were terrible, they would not negatively affect the salvific potential of the community. Indeed, this interpretation allowed all Christians, not just those settled in the East, to think of what had happened as a catalyst for spiritual renewal and, as such, as a necessary step towards redemption. Since such explanations were often accompanied by the argument that the faithful could show that they had understood God's warning by taking part in further expeditions to the East, it could also encourage military mobilisation.

Moreover, in the case of the *Estoire*, the explanation of the loss of Jerusalem presented by the author likely served another purpose. He was writing in the wake of the Third Crusade, which had failed to achieve its initial aim of reconquering Jerusalem. As a result, the author might have sought to justify the expedition retrospectively in the face of questions about the merit of the crusading movement, such as those raised by some of the English clerics.[155] By suggesting that God had been displeased with Christians because they had not demonstrated to be willing to serve him, the author of the *Estoire* might have hoped to convince his readers that, even if its material results had been small, the crusade had still been a meaningful and justifiable endeavour because it was evidence of humanity's dedication to God.

Certainly, contemporary commentators who sought to encourage Christians to take the cross by promoting the narrative that God had brought about defeat in punishment for universal sin often placed far greater emphasis on

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[155] See page 62.

the spiritual benefit of the crusades than on their military purpose.[156] One of the most explicit expressions of this can be found in the closing lines of the 'Crux ego rapta queror', whose author argued that 'to be defeated is better than to be victorious: the victor only enjoys hope, while the defeated enjoys the reward of the [martyr's] crown.'[157] True victory would be spiritual, not worldly.

Moreover, the latter was thought to be entirely impossible without the former since the Christian community, above all else, had to show itself worthy of God's love to earn his assistance once more — an indispensable factor in combat against the Muslims in the Outremer. As we have already seen, this notion had been fundamental to papal responses to defeat, including the bulls issued by Eugenius III and Gregory VIII, which stressed the need for moral regeneration and appropriate penance. Their successors maintained this as the focus of their crusade rhetoric. Pope Innocent III, for example, included the following lines in the 1198 encyclical *Post miserabile*, which outlined plans for the Fourth Crusade:

> Accept, sons, the spirit of fortitude, take the shield of faith and the helmet of salvation [Eph. 6:16-7], relying not on your numbers or capabilities but rather on God's strength, for whom it is not difficult to save by many or by a few [1 Sam. 14:6].[158]

Limited responsibility

As set out at the beginning of this chapter, not all contemporaries believed that responsibility for defeat was shared equally across Christendom. Deviating from the interpretation promoted by the papacy and its propagandists, some argued that most, if not all, of the blame lay with the Christians in the East.

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[156] On this subject see also V. Portnykh, 'God Wills It! Supplementary Divine Purposes for the Crusades according to Crusade Propaganda,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70/3 (2019), 472-86.

[157] '…vinci plus est quam vincere: victor
Sola spe, victus fruitur mercede coronae.'
'Crux ego rapta queror,' 40.

[158] 'Assumite igitur, filii, spiritum fortitudinis, scrutum fidei et galeam salutis accipite, non in numero aut viribus, sed Dei potius, Cui non est difficile in multis vel in paucis salvare, potentia confidentes…' Innocent III, *Post miserabile* (15 August 1198), in Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 4.70–5, 72.

Surprisingly, one example of this came from the papal court itself. On 1 August 1195, Pope Celestine III wrote to the bishops and prelates of Germany to encourage them to preach the crusade to the Holy Land that Emperor Henry VI sought to launch.[159] Revisiting the causes for the loss of Jerusalem, he concluded,

> All his ways are mercy and truth [Tob. 3:2, Ps. 24:10] so that he punishes neither without mercy nor feels compassion for someone without [bestowing] justice. The greatest justice is pursued by him for the sins of the Christian people and especially of those who insulted God in the regions of Jerusalem, the land in which the son of God deigned to be born, to dwell among men, to suffer, to die, to rise again, to go to heaven and to release the grace of the Holy Spirit over his disciples, and, visibly, to work many more miracles, which in our time he has allowed to be invaded forcefully by the Saracens.[160]

This explanation for Saladin's victory is largely in line with those found in earlier papal letters but diverges from these in one significant aspect. Rather than accusing Christians everywhere equally of sinful behaviour, Celestine pointed out that those living in the East bore a greater responsibility for what had occurred. While nobody could consider themselves entirely without fault, Latin Christians in Outremer had committed their sins in a land that had been rendered sacred by the presence of Christ. Therefore, it was appropriate that their actions were judged more harshly. The passage above suggests that a greater degree of moral

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[159] Celestine III, *Divitiae summae* (1 August 1195), in J. Dolle (ed.), *Papsturkunden in Niedersachsen und Bremen bis 1198* (Göttingen, 2020), 297–9. Participants of this campaign eventually left for the Holy Land in 1197 but without Henry, who fell ill and died in Sicily before he was able to set sail. For more on this expedition, see also P. W. Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East,' in J. Doran and D. J. Smith (eds.), *Pope Celestine III (1191–1198): Diplomat and Pastor* (New York, 2016), 129–44.

[160] 'Revera eum universe vie ipsius misericordia sint et veritas, ita quod nec sine misericordia puniat nec alicui misereatur absque iustitia, summam fuit iusticiam prosecutus in eo, quod pro peccatis populi christiani et specialiter illius, qui in Iherosolimitanis partibus ipsum Deum offendebant, terram in qua filius dei dignatus est nasci, inter homines conversari pati mori resurgere celos adire et super discipulos gratiam paracliti mittere ac plura visibiliter operari miracula, nostris temporibus permisit a Sarracenis potenter invadi.' *Divitiae summae*, 298.

rectitude was demanded from the inhabitants of the Holy Land because it was felt that they lived in the purest of Christian spaces. As a result, God scrutinised their behaviour accordingly, readily dispensing his justice by permitting their enemies to emerge victoriously.

These ideas about the nature of the territory in the East and its significance for the standards of morality demanded from those who lived there were widespread in the late twelfth century. Indeed, other authors who sought to make sense of the loss of Jerusalem constructed arguments similar to the one used by Celestine. For example, the English chronicler William of Newburgh explained in his *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, written between 1196 and 1198, that,

> No one should doubt that the cause of this miserable and infamous destruction was an extraordinary inundation of sin. Certainly, God is known to have endured sins in all the regions under heaven with more patience than in that land, which, through the grace of so many and great works of the divine that have miraculously been accomplished there or are about to be accomplished, surely should be holy because of a certain privileged necessity, so to speak, or else not go long without punishment.[161]

Evidently, William likewise felt that the sacred status of the Holy Land meant that the bar of moral standards was set higher for the Christians who resided there. Whereas elsewhere some actions might go unpunished, the unique nature of the

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[161] 'Huius autem miserabilis et famosi exterminii causam fuisse peccata plus solito inundantia nemo debet ambigere. Et quidem ab initio in omnibus quae sub coelo sunt regionibus, patientius Divinitas peccata dissimulasse noscitur, quam in terra illa, quam utique gratia tantorum tamque insignium operum divinorum, quae in ea mirabiliter patrata vel patranda fuere, quadam, ut ita dicam, privilegiali necessitate sanctam esse oportuit, aut non diu impunitam.' William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in R. Howlett (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, 4 vols, RS 82 (London, 1884–9), 1.1–408; 2.409–53, 1.254. A new edition of William's work was begun by Peter Walsh and Michael Kennedy but was never finished as both editors, unfortunately, passed away after the publication of the second volume, which covers the years 1154 to 1175. On the life and works of William of Newburgh, see N. F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago, 1977), 51–140; J. Gillingham, 'Two Yorkshire historians compared: Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh,' *The Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002), 15–37; M. Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England* (Oxford, 2017), 82–94.

space in which Christ had lived and died meant that God would judge any indiscretion in this region more harshly.

It is possible that the use of this narrative in Pope Celestine's letter to the German clergy affected the mobilising potential of his efforts. If it was taken up by the clergy to whom the letter was addressed in their preaching of Henry's crusade, it is quite possible that it actually deterred some people from taking the cross. Indeed, this interpretation of the loss of territory could be understood to mean that the Christians in the West could contribute little to the situation in Outremer since the outcome appeared to be dependent primarily on the behaviour of the Latin community in the East. Perhaps Celestine, who had been rather conservative in his approach to this new campaign which, he feared might increase the emperor's prestige if successful, was aware of this danger.[162]

However, while the pope certainly deviated from the message that his predecessors had promoted and was perhaps not as enthusiastic about military mobilisation as they had been, it is important to note that the letter did not entirely exempt the Christians in the West from blame for the loss of Jerusalem. While their faults might not have been so directly instrumental to that defeat, they had likewise sinned and needed to prove their dedication to God. However, some contemporary authors did point almost exclusively at the sins of the inhabitants of the Holy Land as the motivation for God's chastisement.

This was, for example, the approach taken by Ralph Niger in his *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane*, a work in which he sought to explore and reflect upon the Third Crusade through the lens of biblical exegesis.[163] It was written shortly after news of the capitulation of Jerusalem reached the West, perhaps even before 21 January 1188, when King Henry II of England and King Philip II of France vowed to take part in the campaign launched by Pope Gregory VIII. While they are not mentioned by name, scholars are generally in agreement that the treatise was addressed to Philip and to the Archbishops of Reims and Paris, all three of whom he had viewed as his protectors while in exile as part of

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[162] Edbury, 'Celestine III, the Crusade and the Latin East,' 132–3.

[163] Ralph Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane*, ed. L. Schmugge, (Berlin, 1977). On this work, see also J. D. Cotts, 'The Exegesis of Violence in the Crusade Writings of Ralph Niger and Peter of Blois,' in Lapina and Morton (eds.), *The Uses of the Bible*, 273–94.

Thomas Becket's retinue and for his support of Henry II's sons during their attempted rebellion of 1173–4.[164] While the text appears to have been intended for a broad readership of ecclesiastics who were preaching the crusade or contemplating doing so and their lay audiences, the fact that the work survives in just two thirteenth-century manuscripts suggests that it was not widely read.[165]

Contrary to most of his contemporaries, Ralph vehemently opposed the idea of another expedition to the East and instead argued for an internal, spiritual pilgrimage. Throughout the first half of the treatise, he set out his conviction that God had provided three forms of mystical pilgrimage for Christians, exemplified by the Exodus from Egypt, the journey back to Jerusalem after the Babylonian exile and Peter's liberation from prison as described in the Acts of the Apostles, all of which could be performed spiritually. The faithful, and especially those considering participation in the Third Crusade, should prioritise these forms of internal pilgrimage over participation in military campaigns to the East so that they might first and foremost direct their souls towards the heavenly Jerusalem.[166] Indeed, any expedition would be without merit for the Christian soul if it was not preceded by contemplation upon its spiritual purpose.

Ralph not only believed that the crusade could achieve little if unaccompanied by moral regeneration and posed many spiritual and physical

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[164] Schmugge, *Radulphus Niger*, 16; G. B. Flahiff, 'Ralph Niger: An Introduction to His Life and Works,' *Mediaeval Studies* 2 (1940), 104–26, 120; Aurell, *Des chrétiens contre les croisades*, 140–158; Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, 160.

[165] Cambridge, Pembroke College Library, Ms 27 fols. 119ra–156v and Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library Ms. 15, fols. 2va—30vb. M. Meschini, 'Penser la croisade après la chute de Jérusalem (1187). Le *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis ierosolimitane* de Radulfus Niger,' in J. Paviot (ed.), *Les Projets de croisade: Géostratégie et diplomatie européenne du XIVe au XVIIe siècle* (Toulouse, 2020), 31–59, 57.

[166] For a detailed reconstruction of Ralph's thought, see Schmugge's introduction to his edition of *De re militari*, 23–74. See also Cotts, 'The Exegesis of Violence'; Rubenstein, *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, 161—4; Meschini, 'Penser la croisade après la chute de Jérusalem'.

dangers for its participants but also that the heresies at home were more urgent.[167] Most importantly, however, he suggested that subsequent military campaigns to the Holy Land were potentially in contradiction with God's designs. According to Ralph, God alone could decide when the inhabitants of the East had once again earned the right to occupy Jerusalem. If he had not yet returned the city to their possession, it could signify only that they had not yet merited his mercy. Who were the crusaders, Ralph proposed, to interfere with his judgement on this matter?[168]

Towards the end of the third book, Ralph turned his attention to the causes of the events of 1187. Although the prologue to the treatise briefly set out that the Holy City had been lost '*peccatis hominum exigentibus*', chapter 65 specified that the sins in question were those committed by the inhabitants of the Holy Land. He wrote that,

> The Saracens have recently seized the land of our promise, having imprisoned the king, his princes, and the people. With their unclean hands, they have touched the sanctified temple, the Holy of Holies, the Sepulchre of the Lord, and the sacrosanct wood of the Cross: Indeed, the sins of Palestine having demanded it, they were surrendered to the enemies. It is no wonder since that land was certainly more dissolute than others: it had no reverence for God, and its excesses surpassed all other regions in luxury and gluttony. We have also seen the Patriarch of Jerusalem [Eraclius] and other magnates of Palestine come to the West in times of

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[167] 'Maiori esse periculo hereses quam dampna Palestine. Hec autem [a]estimen accidisse minori periculo quam hereses Manicheorum et plurimum aliarum interdictarum sectarum, que nostris temporibus pullulaverunt.' *De re militari*, 187; 'Quis enim fructus, si Ierosolima terrestris edificetur et mater nostra Syon interim dissipetur, si Palestina a Sarracenis liberetur et malitia infidelitatis interim domi grassetur, et dum infidelitas foris expugnatur domi puritas fidei conculcetur et infatuetur?' Ibid., 188; 'Quis usquam irruente incendio domum suam, eo presente ea indefensa, longe peregrinatur ad extinguendum alienum incendium?' Ibid., 193.

[168] 'Si alias illius terre delicias secundum ea, que vidimus estimemus in ea multa fuisse, que deus haberet odio presumere poterimus. Qui autem inde venerant etiam multo ampliora preconabant.' Ibid., 194; '*Iudida* enim *domini abyssus* multa [Ps 35(36):7], nec homo facile novit, quanta de voluntate dei habeant esse Palestine supplicia neque quanta mora in pena. Et utique periculum est agere contra dei iudicium, quemcumque zelum cuiusquam habeat propositum.' Ibid., 197.

> affliction with their display of riches and excesses, which even the great princes of the West cannot afford.[169]

For Ralph, then, there was no question that the inhabitants of the Holy Land had brought the loss of territory to Saladin upon themselves. Moreover, these moral failings were personified by Eraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, whom he had encountered during his visit to Europe in 1184–5.[170] Indeed, when Ralph returned to the subject of the culpability of the Christians in the East in a later chapter of the treatise, he once again focused his critique on the patriarch, denouncing his opulent attire and excessive use of incense, noting that it had almost caused the canon to suffocate.[171] While most contemporary authors who recorded the arrival of Eraclius in Europe took a decidedly more positive view, *De re militari* is not unique in its portrayal of the patriarch as the archetype of

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[169] 'Sarraceni terram nostre promissionis, captivato rege et principibus eius et populo, nuper occupaverunt et sanctificationem templi et sancta sanctorum sepulchri dominici et sacrosancte crucis lignum pollutis manibus contrectaverunt; peccatis enim Palestine exigentibus traditi sunt hostibus. Nec mirum, quia pro certo dissolutior erat illa terra quam alia: nulla enim dei reverentia habita et in luxuria et in omni castrimargia omnium terrarum superfluitates superabant. Vidimus enim etiam in temporibus afflictionum patriarcham Ierosolimitanum et alios magnates Palestine in partes occiduas venire cum ea pompa divitiarum et superfluitatum, ad quas non possent Occidentis principes magni sufficere.' Ibid., 186–7.

[170] B. Z. Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius,' in B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer and R. C. Smail (eds.), *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), 191–4.

[171] 'Dei enim patientia aut iudicio penam incurrit Palestina, et forte merito culpe sue. Que enim gens alia adeo fuit deliciosa? Taceo vitia alia et communia et singularia, que palam coluerunt Antiochia et Ierosolima. Vidi utique patriarcham Ierosolimitanum venisse in partes occiduas pro adiutorio in multa pompa supellectilis argentee et auree, cuius etiam repositionem propter tinnitum tedium erat audire. Sed et fumigationes aromatum quas facerent multiplices et varie hausi, unde et vestes redolerent et totum cerebrum moveretur.' *De re militari*, 193–4.

Christian moral failings in the East.[172] Another example is provided in the anonymous Lyon *Eracles*, one of the various existent continuations of a French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia* known as the *Estoire d'Eracles*.[173] Its author, most likely a secular cleric, described the behaviour of the patriarch as exceedingly dissolute, with minimal regard for clerical celibacy.[174]

In both texts, the patriarch thus came to symbolise everything that was wrong with how the Christian inhabitants of the Outremer had conducted themselves. Quite apart from any political considerations that might have played a

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[172] For more positive depictions of the patriarch see, for instance, Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 46; Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Gesta Regis Ricardi Benedicti abbatis: The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A. D. 1169–1192*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 49, 2 vols (London, 1867), 1.335; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2.299; Herbert of Bosham, *Vita Sancti Thomae*, in J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard (eds.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols, RS 67 (London, 1875–85), 3.514–7; Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, in W. Stubbs (ed.), *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Lundoniensis Opera Historica: The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto, Dean of London*, 2 vols, RS 68 (London, 1876), 2.32; Gerald of Wales, *De instructione principis*, ed. R. Bartlett (Oxford, 2018), 523—6.

[173] Unlike the other existent continuations of the *Eracles*, this version survives in just a single manuscript, Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 828. Jaroslav Folda established that this version was composed in Acre around 1280, although the narrative itself ends with the year 1248. See J. Folda, 'Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre: a Handlist,' *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), 90–5, 95 and Idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005), 405–7. While the Lyon *Eracles* resembles some of the other continuations, such as that found in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 9082 and Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Ms. Plut.61.10, it is unique in its description of events that took place between 1184 and 1197. See P. W. Edbury, 'The Lyon *Eracles* revisited,' in S. Menache, B. Z. Kedar and M. Balard (eds.), *Crusading and Trading between West and East: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby* (London, 2018), 40–53. It was edited by Margaret R. Morgan. See *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, ed. M. R. Morgan (Paris, 1982). The relationship between the different continuations of the Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Chronicon* is set out clearly in Idem, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), 1-21.

[174] 'Dissolus estoit de sa persone trop durement. Toute s'entente n'estoit fors que de laborer de luxure… Il avoit la feme d'un mercier a Naples, qui est a .xxiiij. miles de Jerusalem, que le devant dit patriarche prist a amor, et ele avoit non Pasque de Reveri.' *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 50–1. See also Edbury, 'The Lyon *Eracles* revisited,' 51 Although the text was only finalised in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the passages concerning the years 1186 and 1187, which include the description of the patriarch, were likely based on eyewitness accounts. P. W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Aldershot, 1998), 5. Somewhat unfairly, modern historians have hardly been more complementary in their assessments of Eraclius, as Benjamin Kedar aptly set out in his article on the patriarch. See Kedar, 'The Patriarch Eraclius,' 191–4.

part in their criticism of Eraclius, this exaggerated portrayal of the patriarch as the personification of sinful living, allowed Ralph and the anonymous author of the Lyon *Eracles* to convey the perceived extent of Christian immorality in the Crusader States in a vivid and relatable manner. Confronted with descriptions of such ostentatious opulence, it would have been easy for their respective audiences to see why God had allowed the inhabitants of Jerusalem to suffer defeat at the hands of Saladin in punishment for their immorality. Moreover, Ralph's emphasis on the stark contrast between the appearance of Eraclius and the more restrained conduct of the princes in the West reinforced the idea that this was not an issue that concerned Christians in Europe to the same extent.

While others explained defeat as the consequence of sin to convey that all of Christendom had a part to play in recovering the land lost to Saladin, Ralph used this idea to demonstrate the opposite. His narrative is indicative of contemporary responses to defeat whose authors did not seek to mobilise support for further campaigns. By pointing primarily to the sins of the inhabitants of the Holy Land, Ralph portrayed the conflict as an issue that could not be resolved with military assistance from the West. Since God had allowed the Christians in Outremer to suffer defeat as chastisement for their sins, the loss of territory could only be reversed through spiritual regeneration and appropriate penance on their part.

It should also be noted that, in comparison to the sources that I have so far discussed, Ralph placed less emphasis on the idea that defeat in the Holy Land could have a positive effect on the spiritual well-being of the Christian community by serving as a divine warning that moral renewal was needed. This is not entirely surprising as this notion, which depicted Saladin as an instrument in God's redemptive plan, was frequently connected to participation in the crusades as the ideal way for people to demonstrate their renewed dedication. Ralph, who sought to dissuade his audience from contributing in any way to the Third Crusade, clearly wanted to avoid conveying this message.

Nevertheless, we should be careful not to overstate the degree to which authors based their explanations of defeat on the moral functions that their narratives could fulfil. For accounts written by those who had lived in or visited Outremer, such as the author of the Lyon *Eracles*, it would also simply have been

more logical to suggest a causal link between the loss suffered and the iniquities of the people most afflicted. Indeed, to those in the Holy Land who viewed Saladin's dominance as a divine chastisement, the connection between this and the spiritual failings of people living in the West would have been less evident than for Christians living in Europe. For this reason, eyewitness accounts that were not explicitly exhortative but also expressed no opposition to the crusading movement often still focus almost exclusively on the sins of the inhabitants of the East.

Indeed, this is the case of a text that only survives as an excerpt incorporated into Robert of Auxerre's Chronicle and a short anonymous text existing of two paragraphs. The latter was transmitted in a single manuscript as part of a history of the world from its creation to Charles of Anjou's conquest of Sicily in 1266.[175] These documents present nearly identical accounts of the events in the Latin East between July and October 1187. Since Robert's Chronicle was finished around 1210 and the narrative into which the two passages were inserted was only completed in the second half of the thirteenth century, it is possible that the author of the latter text simply adapted his narrative from that of the French chronicler. However, Jean Richard, who produced the only edition of the two paragraphs, titled 'Persecutio Salaardini' and 'Jerusalem a Turcis obsessa capitur', argued that the detailed nature of this account suggests that it was not written by Robert but by someone who had personally witnessed the events in question.[176] Therefore, a more likely scenario is that both authors derived their version of events from an unknown common source. By isolating the sections which appear in both Robert's Chronicle and the anonymous text, we can reconstruct at least part of this now lost document and establish several key characteristics. Firstly, consistent criticism of those churchmen in the East 'who professed or pretended to live a life of piety' suggests that the author was a cleric himself. Secondly, as mentioned, the details provided in the account indicate that he had witnessed such

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[175] Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 26.219–87, 249–50; Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Codex Vat. Reg. lat. 598, fols. 87r–88v. An edited version of the short anonymous account can be found in J. Richard, 'An Account of the Battle of Hattīn referring to the Frankish Mercenaries in Oriental Moslem States,' *Speculum* 27/2 (1952), 168–77, 175–6. Richard noted that the two paragraphs could be found on fols. 85r–86v of Ms Reg. lat. 598, but it appears that the foliation of the manuscript has been adjusted since he carried out his research in the 1950s as the relevant folios are now 87v–88r.

[176] Ibid., 171.

offences first-hand.[177] Finally, there is nothing in either version to suggest that the original purpose of the text was exhortative, nor does it express disapproval of the crusades. The author shows much greater interest in important religious and lay figures who had settled in Outremer than in those men from Europe who might take up arms against Saladin's forces.

We must view the account's assessment of the causes of Saladin's dominance in light of these discernible features. Just as Ralph Niger and the anonymous author of the Lyon *Eracles*, the author believed that the sins of the Christians living in Outremer had caused the events of 1187. Their immorality had caused God to pour out his vengeance over the Crusader States. He writes that,

> Seldom in our age has so much blood been spilt in battle as at that time when the might of the whole land collapsed. Namely, Templars and Hospitallers, princes and powerful men have either been killed or imprisoned; just as their sins demanded, our men were given over to pagan hands and subjugated by the heathens.
>
> Indeed, the clergy and the people had indulged excessively in various luxuries, and that whole region grew filthy from crimes and scandals. But even those who professed or pretended to live a life of piety shamefully overstepped the boundaries of what is normal and moderate. Few people in either the religious or the secular world were not infected by the illness of avarice or excessive indulgence.[178]

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[177] '…qui religionis habitum pretendebant vel preferebant.' Ibid., 176; Cole, 'Christian perceptions,' 18.

[178] 'Raro umquam nostris temporibus ullo in prelio tantum sanguinis est effusum: totius tunc terre concidere vires. Templari quippe et Hospitalarii proceresque et viri fortiores vel trucidati vel capti sunt; sicut meritis suis exigentibus nostri sunt traditi in manus gentium et in gentibus subiugati.

Nimis nam varios luxus effluxerat et clerus et populus totaque terra illa facinibus et flagelliciis sordecebat. Sed et qui religionis habitum pretendebant vel preferebant regularis moderative turpiter fines excesserant: rarus in monasterio, rarus in seculo quem non vel avaritie vel luxurie morbus inficeret.' Richard, 'An Account of the Battle of Hattīn,' 176. For the nearly identical version in Robert of Auxerre's Chronicle, see *Chronicon*, 250.

The narrative presented in the source used in Robert of Auxerre and the author of the history found in Reg. lat. Ms. 598 diverged significantly from the explanation of defeat promoted by the papacy and its propagandists. Not all Christians, but only those living in the East, were responsible for Saladin's victories. The anonymous author described Outremer as a place where all moral rectitude had been abandoned for worldly pleasures.

Neither Robert nor the author of the history of the world to the year 1266 used this excerpt from the anonymous, lost source to criticise or support calls for further crusades to the Holy Land. Certainly, emphasis on the notion that only the inhabitants of the Crusader States were responsible for Saladin's successes would not have made a particularly effective call for military mobilisation, as Christians in Europe might have felt that the impact of their actions would be minimal if the guilty party did not first make amends. Placing the blame for defeat primarily on the shoulders of the inhabitants of Outremer did, of course, serve to ease the conscience of those living in the West. Above all, however, the author appears to have been genuinely disturbed by the immorality of his co-religionists. If we follow Richard's assertion that the author had witnessed at least some of the wrongdoings described, it would almost certainly have seemed evident to him that those who suffered the immediate consequences of God's punishment were indeed the people who had caused it.[179]

So far we have seen that the victories of Zengi and Saladin were primarily explained as the result of the universal sins of the Christian community, implicating all the faithful. This interpretation was particularly popular among contemporaries who sought to encourage spiritual and material support for subsequent recovery campaigns. It had the potential to encourage widespread moral renewal, as commentators proposed that Muslim success was part of God's plan to allow for the saving of souls. The suffering should be understood as a warning to the community that a change in behaviour was necessary.

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[179] Richard, 'An Account of the Battle of Hattīn,' 171.

Nevertheless, the paragraphs above demonstrate that some authors steered away from this narrative by pointing exclusively to the immorality of the Christian in the Holy Land as the cause of God's chastisement. This interpretation was often employed by authors who did not seek to mobilise support in the West for further expeditions to the East, because it effectively placed the responsibility for the recovery of the lost territories primarily on the shoulders of the Christians in Outremer. Here, suffering could likewise be redemptive, but it was only the Latin community in the East that needed this rude awakening.

While less prominent in the twelfth century, this second interpretation of defeat became the dominant narrative of defeat at the beginning of the thirteenth century. When the city of Damietta fell to al-Kamil in October of 1221, after only two years of Christian occupation, many contemporary commentators maintained a similar line. Compared to explanations of the Muslim conquests of Edessa and Jerusalem, relatively more authors viewed the loss of Damietta as the inevitable result of the actions of the Christians who inhabited the city rather than those of Christians everywhere. This was often expressed through allegations of mismanagement at the hands of the forces that had initially occupied Damietta. Accounts connected this interpretation to the familiar formula of *peccatis exigentibus* by describing the failure of the Christians in the city to effectively protect it from Muslim attacks not just as a strategic blunder but as a transgression against divine law.[180] The next part of this chapter examines how different authors articulated this narrative, their reasons for doing so and what it tells us about how they understood the loss of territory.

One contemporary commentator who proposed that the loss of Damietta had not been the result of universal sin but of the actions of the Latin Christians stationed in the city was Oliver of Paderborn. He expressed this most clearly in his *Historia Damiatina*, an account of the Fifth Crusade.[181]

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[180] See, for instance, 'Reineri annales', MGH SS 16.651–80; Richard of San Germano, 'Chronicon,' MGH SS 19.321–84, 341; Burchard of Ursperg, 'Chronicon,' MGH SS 23.333–83, 381.

[181] Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, in Hoogeweg, H. (ed.), *Die schriften des Kölner domscholasters, späteren bischofs von Paderborn und kardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus* (Tübingen, 1894), 159–280.

Oliver had participated in this campaign, providing spiritual leadership for the German and Frisian forces in the Latin East. He was at Damietta while it was in Christian hands between 1219 and 1221.[182] While there, he also acted as secretary to Pelagius, the Cardinal-Bishop of Albano and papal legate. The latter had led the Fifth Crusade and taken up management of the city thereafter. The *Historia Damiatina*, an eyewitness history of the campaign focusing on the events that took place at Damietta, is primarily based upon two letters Oliver had sent to Cologne in 1218 and 1219 to inform the archbishop and those around him of the army's progress.[183] These were redrafted to form the foundation of the work and expanded upon in the years that followed until a final version, which included an account of the city's surrender to al-Kamil, was completed in 1222, after Oliver's return to Germany. At least 23 manuscripts of the *Historia*, which reveal three stages of recension, are known to us today. This is a testament to its popularity across Western Europe. Its readership appears to have been vast. Furthermore, some versions were adapted to appeal to specific audiences, such as that found in a fourteenth-century manuscript held at Trinity College Library, which stressed the role played by English crusaders.[184]

While the papacy publicly maintained the line that defeat in the Latin East was caused by the universal sins of all of Christendom, Oliver deviated from this narrative.[185] Indeed, throughout the chapters of the *Historia Damiatina*, which discuss the surrender of Damietta to al-Kamil, he rationalised the failure of the

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[182] T. W. Smith, 'Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina:* a new manuscript witness in Dublin, Trinity College Library MS 496,' *Hermathena*, No. 194, Fabellae Dublinenses Revisited and other Essays in Honour of Marvin Colker (2013), 37–68; J. Bird, 'Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade: Bible, Sermons and the History of a Campaign,' in Lapina and Morton (eds.), *The Uses of the Bible*, 316–40.

[183] No independent manuscript witnesses of the first letter survive. The second letter, however, can be found in eleven separate manuscripts. For their details, see Hoogeweg, *Die schriften des Kölner domscholasters*, lix–lxiii.

[184] Dublin, Trinity College Library, Ms 496, fols. 198v–212v; Smith, 'Oliver of Cologne's *Historia Damiatina*,' 51.

[185] Pope Honorius' interpretation of the failure of the Fifth Crusade is expressed, for instance, in a letter sent to Emperor Frederick II on 19 November 1221. 'Ad Fredericum Romanorum Imperatorem' (19 November 1221), Epp. saec. XIII, 1.128–30, 129. The same is true for a letter sent by the pope on 26 May 1226 'ad episcopo et capitulo Taranasiensi'. Ibid, 1.158–9.

Christians in Egypt to hold on to the city as the result of the iniquities of the participants of the crusade who were stationed there. He wrote that,

> If it is asked why Damietta was given back to the unbelievers so quickly, the reason is evident: It was wanton, ambitious and treasonous. Moreover, it became ungrateful to God and men. Indeed, omitting other things, no older woman nor child of ten years and over was excluded in the distribution of the wealth which had been found in that city after it was given [to us] from heaven: To Christ alone, giver of good things, was the portion denied, the tenth unpaid.[186]

Interestingly, Oliver viewed the lack of discipline among the forces stationed at Damietta as a spiritual failure rather than a military one. Factors that might today appear as practical problems of military discipline, such as excessive ambition, treason, and greed, were considered by Oliver as religious issues. In his view, they demonstrated a disregard for what was believed to be a divinely ordained mission to expand Christendom and had therefore merited a fitting punishment from God. As such, the true cause of the loss of the city was spiritual. This implied that no military attempt to regain Damietta could be successful unless it was accompanied by genuine moral regeneration. In short, any lost territory had to be won back in the right way.

This interpretation of the defeat in Egypt is especially poignant because, while the sources thus far discussed usually demonstrate a preoccupation with morality over practical military matters, Oliver's overall work shows a greater interest in the worldly mechanics of warfare.[187] His assessment of the causes of the loss of Damietta thus presents a remarkable exception.

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[186] 'Si queritur, quare Damiata tam cito redierit ad incredulos, in promptu causa est: luxuriosa fuit, ambitiosa fuit, seditiosa fuit; Deo preterea et hominibus nimis ingrata exstitit. Nam ut alia pretermittam, donata celitus illa civitate in distributione divitiarum, que in ipsa fuerunt reperte, nec vetula fuit exclusa nec puer decem annorum et supra; soli Christo largitori bonorum portio fuit negata, decima non soluta.' *Historia Damiatina*, 277–8.

[187] See, for example, Oliver's extensive description of the crusader army's capture of the defensive tower that protected Damietta in 1219. Ibid., 179–91.

Several reasons might explain why Oliver chose to explain the event in this way. First, by blaming the defeat on spiritual failure rather than military incompetence, he implied that the solution to improving the Christian position in the Latin East was likewise to be found in spiritual, not worldly transformation. Oliver's interpretation of defeat thus encouraged moral renewal and endowed his account with greater spiritual capital. Indeed, it enhanced his ability to speak to how faith was to be lived to obtain salvation. Secondly, this narrative he put forward took much of the responsibility for al-Kamil's victory away from the Muslim forces, attributing it instead to God. As we will see in the final part of this chapter, this function of explaining the loss of territory as a divine punishment led to some authors using the idea that sin had caused defeat in an almost triumphant manner. Through this narrative, they could convey that the Muslims could be defeated at any point if Christendom showed itself repentant. It implied that the victory won by al-Kamil's forces should not be interpreted as a sign that the enemy was superior in strength or somehow divinely favoured but as proof of God's love for the faithful and his complete control over the situation. Therefore, it had the potential to instil confidence in the future of the Latin community in the East.

A similar interpretation of the loss of Damietta can be found in the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuation of the *Estoire d'Eracles*, likely composed in the 1240s. Like the Lyon *Eracles*, this text built upon the Old French translation of William of Tyre's History and appears to have been meant for a predominantly lay audience.[188] However, its entries for the years 1218–1228 are mostly distinct.[189] Its anonymous author recorded that

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[188] On the relationships between the different Old French continuations of William of Tyre's *Chronicon*, see also P. Edbury, 'Ernoul, *Eracles*, and the Beginnings of Frankish Rule in Cyprus, 1191–1232,' in S. Rogge and M. Grünbard (eds.), *Medieval Cyprus: A Place of Cultural Encounter* (Münster, 2015), 29–51.

[189] The Colbert-Fontainebleau continuation is the name given by Mas Latrie to a version of the *Estoire d'Eracles* that can be found in full in just two manuscripts: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2628 (thirteenth century) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 2634 (fourteenth century). See *La chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Mas Latrie, 33ff. The text has been edited as *L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur,* RHC. Occ. 2.1–435. It is unique in its description of the years 1218 to 1227.

> …after [Damietta] was taken, it seemed as if they [the Christians who had remained after the Fifth Crusade] wanted to say 'We no longer need God's help' because they drove him away and they did not want to serve him or do good; at that point thefts, robberies, murders, lust, even with the Saracens of the city, began to take place among the forces outside and inside the city. Nor were they concerned about excommunication, and it was discovered that rancour and hate existed between King John and the legate Pelagius at that time. It seemed as if God had truly abandoned them for all these things because they lost everything through sin a short time later, which they had won through God's aid.[190]

Like Oliver of Paderborn, the anonymous author of the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* believed that the loss of the Damietta had been brought about by the lawlessness of the Christian soldiers who had inhabited the city since 1219. Rather than protecting it from enemy attacks, they had given over to widespread crimes and indecencies. Moreover, the two most prominent figures in the Latin East at the time, John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem since 1210, and Pelagius, had disagreed on matters of strategy and were engaged in a public dispute.[191]

It is noteworthy that the Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles* does not describe the relationship between the moral failures of the Christians at Damietta and al-Kamil's success in 1221 as a direct one: God's intervention is presented as the determining factor. The anonymous author recognised that the army's failure to organise itself effectively had brought about the defeat. Still, there is no suggestion that the Muslim forces had exploited the strategic weaknesses of the Christian army. Instead, it was thought that God had viewed the mismanagement of the city

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[190] '…puis que ele fu prise il sembla que il vosissent dire: Nos n'avons plus besoing de l'aide de Deu, car il le boterent en sus d'eaus, ne puis ne vostrent entendre a lui servir ne a bien faire; ains comenca lues, en l'ost dehors la vile et dedens, roberie, larrecin, murtres, luxure, neis as Sarrasines de la vile. Ne il ne faisoient coute d'escomenation, et se descovri lors aparantment la rancune et la haine qui estoit entre le roi Johan et le legat Pelage; et por toutes ces choses parut bien que Dex les abandona. Car moult po apres perdirent par lor peché tout ce que il avoient gaaigné par l'aye de Deu…' *L'Estoire*, 348.

[191] For further information on their fraught relationship, see J. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, PA., 1986), 175–94.

as a sin and had consequently allowed the Muslims to retake control over the city. As such, the *Eracles* did not explain the loss of the city as a temporal failure but as a spiritual one. Evidently, he felt that explanations that took into account only material considerations could not adequately explain how the crusaders, who had thought their campaign to be divinely supported, could have been forced to surrender to their enemies.

This same narrative can be found in the Annals of Reiner, a monk at the Abbey of St. James in Liège who took it upon himself to continue the work of a fellow monk called Lambert. The latter had recorded events concerning the church at Liège from 988 to 1193, a piece which Reiner subsequently brought up to the year 1230.[192] Concerning the loss of Damietta, he wrote,

> In the year 1222 [this is an error], our sins demanding it, God turned his anger against his people; indeed, while the Christian pilgrims who remained in Damietta lived most wickedly, King John and Pelagius, the legate of the lord Pope, with all his army marched to Babylon, having neglected the rank and discipline of the military, and after being surrounded by the Saracens, and ensnared by the water from the river, the city of Damietta and the fortress of Tanis were forced to be given back and abandoned. But God did not halt his mercy in his anger since all the Christian prisoners, who up to that point had been detained by the universal king of Babylonia and Damascus [al-Kamil], were released, now being appropriately conducted to Acre.[193]

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[192] 'Reineri annales', 651–80. It survives in a single manuscript, Liège, Bibliothèque ALPHA de l'université, Ms. 162, 1r–48v. The whole work, including the entries by Lambert, is also referred to as the *Chronicon Leodiense*.

[193] 'Anno 1222. peccatis nostris exigentibus, iratus est Dominus contra populum suum; cum enim peregrini christiani in Damiata commorantes pessime viverent, rex Iohannes et Pelagius legatus domni pape cum omni exercitu suo Babiloniam pretermissio ordine et disciplina militari tetenderunt, et a Sarracenis circumsepti, et fluvialibus aquis irretiti, Damiatam civitatem et castrum Themise rederre et abiurare sunt coacti. Set non continuit Dominus in ira sua misericordias suas, quoniam relaxati sunt omnes captivi christiani, qui hactenus detinebanter per universum regnum Babiloniae et Damasci, legitimum habentes conductum usque Acram.' 'Reineri annales,' 678–9.

Although Reiner used the phrase *peccatis nostris exigentibus*, this passage demonstrates that he felt that the primary responsibility for what had happened lay with the soldiers stationed at Damietta, Pelagius, and King John. As in the *Eracles*, strategic failures caused by the leadership are treated as moral transgressions, thus requiring divine punishment. To Reiner, there was no such thing as a purely temporal defeat in the Latin East. Even those losses caused by factors such as blatant military mismanagement, which at first glance appear to have no spiritual dimension, were viewed as events orchestrated through the intercession of divine will.

For Reiner and the anonymous author of the Colbert-Fontainbleau *Eracles* this interpretation would not have served exactly the same functions as for Oliver of Paderborn. Both were writing in Europe, meaning that it is unlikely that their works were meant to inspire greater devotion among the Christians at Damietta whom they criticised. Instead, their intention was likely to use the loss of the city as an example to warn their audiences of what could happen if their behaviour displeased God.

However, as in Oliver's account, the narrative presented in these two later texts likewise undermined the role played by al-Kamil's forces. The success of the Muslim forces was due to divine anger with the faithful and did not indicate that the enemy was superior in strength or favoured by God. On the contrary, it was a sign of divine concern, rooted in love, over the state of Christian souls. This had the potential to endow the Christian community with greater confidence.

Loss as a confirmation of Christian exceptionalism

Some authors chose to place particular emphasis on this last moral function of the narrative that defeat had been a divine punishment. They highlighted that the loss of territory as chastisement for sin should be taken as a sign of Christian exceptionalism, not Muslim dominance. In this way, contemporaries could mitigate the anxiety felt when defeat was suffered and encourage confidence in recovery campaigns.

The strict duality that organised the Christian universe into categories of 'goodness' versus 'sinfulness' and 'divine wrath' versus 'divine grace' meant that any author who explained territorial loss in this manner conveyed a stark

assessment of the state of Christian morality. This is especially true for those sources that, like the encyclical *Quantum praedecessores*, drew comparisons with those who took part in the First Crusade and attributed the victory at Jerusalem in 1099 to their moral superiority.[194] Nevertheless, the emphasis that many contemporary commentators, including Pope Eugenius, placed on the notion that God only chastised those he loved so that they might be saved simultaneously reinforced the unique status of the faithful as the chosen people, the New Israel. In the eye of these authors, their enemies in the East did not merit such divine attention since God was not concerned about the condition of their souls. In contrast to the Christians, their iniquities were to be expected and were not chastised because the path to salvation was not available to them.

This feature of interpretations of defeat as a divine punishment was integral to narratives that blamed the entire Christian community and those that pointed to only a small group. It was frequently accentuated by authors who sought to mitigate the anxiety felt by their audience at the news of Muslim victories in Outremer. At the same time, it served a purpose for those who sought to encourage military mobilisation for recovery campaigns by suggesting that such expeditions could be successful if only the Christians repented for their iniquities and demonstrated a renewed dedication to God's cause.

Peter of Blois, for instance, assured the audience of his *Passio Raginaldi* using an adaptation of Hebrew 12:6 that, 'He [God] chastens everyone he loves as his son.'[195] By doing so, he implied that the suffering of the Christians was a sign of their unique, elected status. According to Peter, God had punished the inhabitants of the Latin East because he was concerned about the fate of the souls of his people. Therefore, he had sought to warn them and encourage them to return to the path leading to salvation. Through this emphasis on the unique status of the Christian community, Peter was able to convey that their suffering could be redemptive while also highlighting that God had not abandoned them

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[194] 'Maximum namque nobilitatis et probitatis indicium fore cognoscitur, si ea, que patrum strenuitas acquisiuit, a bonis filiis strenue defendantur. Verumtamen si, quod absit, secus contigerit, patrum fortitudo in filiis imminuta esse probatur.' Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores*, 91. See also, W. J. Purkis, *Crusading Spirituality in the Holy Land and Iberia, c. 1095–c. 1187* (Woodbridge, 2008), 90–92; N. L. Paul, *To Follow in Their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY., 2012), 26–7.

[195] '…flagellat enim omnem filium quem diligit…' Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 36.

but continued to love them and would return to their side once they showed themselves to be once again worthy of his assistance.

This same passage was employed by Henry of Albano in his *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, a collection of treatises written between 1188 and 1189.[196] The work, dedicated to the monks at Clairvaux, focused on the spiritual life of Christians and, specifically, on their relationship with the Holy Land. Henry addressed various questions regarding the crusading movement, the complex nature of which would indicate that the work was meant primarily for meditation upon and preparation for crusade preaching. Therefore, the target audience likely existed of ecclesiastics who might make use of the *De peregrinante civitate Dei* to inform the sermons written to encourage mobilisation for the Third Crusade. At the same time, as Penny Cole has noted, there are certain elements within the work that indicate that Henry simultaneously wanted to reproach the kings of England and France, who were once again engaged in conflict with one another and had therefore delayed their departure for the East.[197]

The author's role as papal crusade propagandist comes out most clearly in the exhortative thirteenth tract of the text.[198] Here, Saladin is described as an instrument of the devil and the events of 1187 are portrayed as a second crucifixion brought about by the sins of the faithful, an image he also used in his exhortative letters.[199] Therefore, the defeat at Hattin and the surrender of Jerusalem should have been understood, first and foremost, as spiritual disasters

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[196] Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, PL 204, cols. 251–402. The version edited in the PL is based on a now-lost manuscript and differs slightly from the only remaining manuscript (Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 509, fols. 93v–177v). For a detailed discussion of the text, particularly the vision of Jerusalem presented within the thirteenth tract, see A. Marx, 'Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God: Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade,' in B. Z. Kedar, J. Phillips, N. G. Chrissis and I. Shagrir (eds.), *Crusades: Volume 20* (London, 2021), 83–120. A comprehensive analysis of the text can also be found in Idem, *Die Predigt des Dritten Kreuzzuges (1187–92). Religiöse Gewalt im Schatten der Exegese* (PhD diss., University of Vienna, 2019), esp. 283–333.

[197] Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, 68–71.

[198] Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, cols. 351–61.

[199] 'Salahadinus siquidem Christianis adversatur, ut iura eorum possideat; sed diabolus iniquo eos odio per Salahadinum et alia membra sua persequens, nomen Christi penitus delere festinat.' Ibid., col. 358; 'Nunquid non in his videtur venisse Christus iterum crucifigi?' Ibid., col. 354. For the use of this imagery in Henry's letters, see, for example, Henry of Albano, 'Ex quo vox illa turturis,' 11.

caused by a general lapse in morality. He criticised his fellow Christians for not correctly recognising the gravity of this.

Nevertheless, according to Henry, not all was lost. Like Peter of Blois, he pointed out that Saladin's successes had been divinely orchestrated to provide a redemptive opportunity for his people. If the Christian community responded with a renewed show of devotion — which, for those who were able to, meant taking the cross — their relationship with God would be restored, and the salvation of their souls assured. Inspired by Hebrews 12:6, as Peter of Blois had been, Henry wrote, 'The sons must not be frightened by the father's rod, knowing that the Lord disciplines the one he loves, and he chastens everyone he accepts as his son.'[200] For the papal legate, then, the defeats suffered in 1187 demonstrated God's love and indicated the status of the Christian people as elected by him. This suggested that the faithful had a moral obligation to dedicate themselves to the divine cause in the East and that they could easily overcome their enemies if they regained God's trust. It allowed Christian audiences to imagine that, through their moral rectitude, they had control over the fate of the Holy Land. As a result, Henry also implied that Saladin's victory had not been the result of superior military strength but was solely due to divine designs that were ultimately conceived to benefit Christian souls.

Some authors were even more explicit than Peter of Blois and Henry of Albano in undermining the Muslim victories. This is true, for instance, for the anonymous author of the first book of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, an extensive chronicle of the Third Crusade.[201] Its main source appears to have been the above-discussed *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*. The early, anonymous chapters of the work, which detail Saladin's conquests in the Holy Land, were likely composed well before the rest of the text. They are usually attributed to Richard de Templo,

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[200] 'Sed non terrentur filii virga patris, scientes quia *quos diligit Dominus castigat flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit.*' Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, col. 356.

[201] *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H. E. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962). Mayer's edition is the most up-to-date version of the work and all references to the anonymous first book that will follow in this thesis are to this edition. However, it does not include the second part of the *Itinerarium*. An older but complete version can be found in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 38 (London, 1864), 1.3–450.

a canon of Holy Trinity, London, between 1222 and 1248–50.[202] Indeed, William of Newburgh appears to have been familiar with this first section of the work when writing his *Historia rerum Anglicarum* between 1196 and 1198, which suggests that it was written in the early 1190s and should thus be considered a contemporary account of the defeat at Hattin and the surrender of Jerusalem.[203] The detail with which this event was described further supports this, although, as Helen Nicholson has argued, the lack of geographical accuracy when describing the Holy Land suggests that the author was not an eyewitness to the events of 1187.[204] Little can be said about the intended audience for this part of the *Itinerarium*. However, an interest in English affairs might indicate that the author was writing in England or for an English audience.

The text opens with a passage explaining that Saladin's victories had been a divine punishment for the universal sins of Christendom, and especially for those committed by the inhabitants of the East. According to the author, God had used Saladin as the 'rod of his fury' [*virgam furoris*] and had allowed him to destroy the Christian forces in the East.[205] Using Psalm 77(8):63, the author also suggested that God actively intervened and gave 'his people to the sword'.[206] The Muslim leader and his forces were presented as instruments of divine chastisement. They were ascribed little agency, and according to the first part of the *Itinerarium*, their abilities were certainly not the reason for their victory at Hattin, which God had orchestrated as part of his divine plan for Christendom.[207] The notion that the forces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem might have been defeated because the Muslim army was superior in strength and military skill was further undermined by the author's assertion that Saladin himself had acknowledged that his victory had other causes:

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[202] On Richard de Templo, see Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, 142–50.

[203] H. J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (Aldershot, 1997), 6.

[204] Ibid., 8.

[205] *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, 247.

[206] 'Perplexum igitur in discrimine *conclusit* dominus *in gladio populum suum et hereditatem suam* peccatis hominum exigentibus in cadem tradidit et direptionem.' Ibid., 258.

[207] Ibid., 246.

> He [Saladin] is reported to have often said that not his strength but our sins brought him this victory, and the same result of the events not infrequently confirmed this. In other battles, our army, however small it was, always conquered with divine aid; now, however, because we were neither with the Lord nor the Lord with us, our people were utterly overcome before the conflict, although more than a thousand knights and more than twenty thousand soldiers were thought to have been part of it.[208]

Thus, for the anonymous author of the first part of the *Itinerarium*, the explanation of defeat as a divine punishment diminished the extent to which the Muslim forces could claim credit for their victories in the East. As a result, his account conveyed a sense of confidence in the future of Outremer. It presented a less frightful image of the Muslim adversary, who was not superior in military strength and prowess, while simultaneously suggesting that the Christians had complete control over the outcome of future campaigns to the East. If they pursued the spiritual regeneration that the defeat had shown God desired, they could once again obtain his favour and, with God by their side, they could be sure to regain the lost territories.

The nature of divine punishment

This chapter has examined how defeat was explained as God's vengeance for sin to overcome the tension between the expectation of continued dominance in Outremer with divine assistance and the reality of successive Muslim victories. We have seen how such narratives could influence contemporary morality differently, depending on how they were articulated. Often, it endowed accounts of what had happened with spiritual capital, as authors feigned a familiarity with the legitimate path to redemption by connecting the loss of territory to the salvific potential of

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[208] '…hoc sepius dixisse fertur, quod non sua potentia, sed iniquitas nostra hanc illi victoriam contulit, et hoc ipsum non insolitus rerum comprobabat eventus. In congressibus aliis nostrorum exercitus quantumlibet modicus, divino semper vincebat praesidio; nunc autem, quia nec nos cum domino nec nobiscum dominus, gens nostra penitus ante conflictum subcubuit, cum tamen milites plus quam mille et pedites plus quam XX milia censerentur.' Ibid., 260.

the Christian community. As a result, their efforts to encourage greater devotion held more sway. However, the manner in which contemporaries described the workings of God's punishment differed significantly. The final part of this chapter sets out the different conceptions of divine wrath that authors put forward and explains why they might have chosen to do so.

The source material attests to two broad paradigms of divine punishment that I will refer to as the models of active and passive chastisement. Those who adhered to the former describe God as intervening in human affairs to cause suffering as a punishment and warning to the faithful. They propose that he sought to bring about moral improvement and save souls through his active involvement. In their minds, God strengthened an adversary, unleashed a plague or manipulated the elements to convey disapproval and encourage a change in behaviour. In short, these authors employed language that suggested that God directly influenced worldly events to ensure that Christians felt the consequences of their bad behaviour.

Some commentators, on the other hand, characterised divine chastisement as a more passive act. They proposed that God did not impose external punishments but instead allowed humanity to undergo the terrible, yet inevitable, consequences of their behaviour without stepping in to offer assistance. These authors considered that the world was divinely constructed to reward good actions while chastising morally questionable deeds. As such, they imagined that God simply oversaw this process but did not have to actively involve himself for the negative consequences of sin to be suffered by the faithful. This paradigm suggested a more removed divine approach and thereby allowed for a more

compassionate image of God.[209] Augustine, the principal authority on theology in the twelfth century, had at times explicitly characterised divine punishment for sin in these terms. Indeed, he described it as an abandonment of the faithful by which man was encouraged to leave behind his prideful ways. This is apparent, for instance, in chapters 27 and 28 of his treatise *De natura et gratia*, written in 415 in response to Pelagianism, where he repeatedly describes God as having turned his face away from Christians, using the words of Psalm 29(30):7–8 [*avertisti faciem tuam a me*].[210]

Nevertheless, the former paradigm, which described God as actively involving himself in human affairs to chastise, was more prevalent during the High Middle Ages. This is exemplified by the popularity of the image of God as a judge who metes out punishment to the iniquitous by changing the ordinary

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[209] These different ideas about divine wrath among Christians and the degree to which each is represented in scripture have been a point of considerable contention among modern theologians. See for instance K. L. Yinger, *Paul, Judaism, and Judgment According to Deeds* (Cambridge, 1999), 26–8; J. Wessling, 'A Love that Speaks in Harsh Tones: On the Superiority of Divine Communicative Punishment,' in O. D. Crisp, J. M. Arcadi and J. Wessling (eds.), *Love, Divine and Human: Contemporary Essays in Systematic and Philosophical Theology* (London, 2020), 145–64. Fundamental to this debate has been the article 'Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im Alten Testament?' by Klaus Koch. K. Koch, 'Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im Alten Testament?,' *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 52/1 (1955), 1–42. Initially published in 1955, Koch argued that the God of the Old Testament does not actively involve himself in human affairs to mete out punishment or reward but rather allows for the consequences of human behaviour to play out without interference, merely guaranteeing the moral order. He viewed God as a loving figure who did not seek to impose external punishment on those who had disobeyed him but simply allowed them to undergo the natural repercussions of their actions. Although there have been some proponents of Koch's paradigm, most scholars have disagreed with his understanding of divine retribution in the Old Testament. Early criticism was voiced by Wolfgang Pax and John G. Gammie, while more recent scholars, such as Jordan Wessling, have proposed that the concept of divine retribution certainly exists in scripture and can be described as interventionist. E. Pax, 'Studien zum Vergeltungsproblem der Psalmen,' *Studii biblici Franciscani: Liber annuus XI* (Jerusalem, 1960) 56–112; J. G. Gammie, 'The Theology of Retribution in the Book of Deuteronomy,' *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 32/1 (1970), 1-12; Wessling, 'A Love that Speaks in Harsh Tones,' 155–64. For support for Koch's theory, see, for instance, G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols (Munich, 1957), 1.263–5; J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils- und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und in Neuen Testament* (Göttingen, 1964), 13–9.

[210] Augustine, 'De Natura et Gratia contra Pelagium, ad Timasium et Iacobum,' PL 44, cols. 247–90. See also *De civitate Dei*, ed. and tr. P. G. Walsh, C. Collard and I. Image (Liverpool, 2017), 40. The manner in which Augustine conceptualised divine punishment is discussed in Thompson, 'Augustine on Suffering and Order,' 181–2.

course of events.[211] Building on biblical passages like Psalm 9:8–9, such descriptions present God not only as a divine overseer but also as a divine castigator. These narratives followed the widely held belief that God played an active role in human affairs.

Among those medieval commentators whose descriptions of divine punishment show greater affinity to this latter theory was Caesarius of Heisterbach, Prior of the Cistercian Abbey of Heisterbach near Cologne and author of the *Dialogus miraculorum*.[212] This work, written between 1219 and 1223, is a compilation of 746 *exempla* designed to instruct novices and young monks on the conduct befitting of those who dedicated themselves to the Cistercian life. One of the stories concerns a certain Brother William, who travelled to the Holy Land and met a Muslim envoy with whom he discussed the reasons for Saladin's victories at the end of the twelfth century. This man, referred to as *Admiraldus* by Caesarius, explained that he lived with the Christians in Jerusalem as a young man and tells the monk what he saw there:

> 'There was not one citizen in Jerusalem with so much wealth that he would not expose his sister, daughter or his own wife, which was even more detestable, to the extravagance of the pilgrims for money, who were thereby deprived of the rewards of their efforts. They were all so addicted to the pleasures of taste and flesh that they were no different from beasts. Truly, arrogance ruled in them to such an extent that they never had enough of thinking about the particular way in which they might cut, bind and pin their clothes'… 'Look', he said, 'these are the corruptions as a consequence of which God expelled [*eiecit*] the arrogant and wanton Christians from that land; Indeed, he could no

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[211] See, for instance, Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and tr. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 56–8; Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969–80), 5.284–6; Otto of St. Blasien, *Chronici ab Ottone Frisingensi episcopo conscripti continuatio auctore, uti videtur, Ottone Sancti Blasii monacho*, MGH 20.302–37, 332; Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *Hystoria Albigensis*, ed. P. Guébin and E. Lyon, 3 vols (Paris, 1926–39), 1.100. Cited in S. Throop, *Crusading as an Act of Vengeance, 1095–1216* (Farnham, 2011), 67, 123. For further examples of how God was often thought to actively intervene in human affairs to distribute punishment, see especially ibid., 52–7.

[212] Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. and tr. H. Schneider and N. Nösges, 5 vols (Turnhout, 2009).

> longer endure their great iniquities. Do you think that we would have been able to obtain this by means of our own strength? Never!'[213]

As this passage demonstrates, the *Dialogus miraculorum* largely explained the loss of Jerusalem as the inevitable result of the sinful lives led by the inhabitants of that city. Their love of luxury and worldly pleasures had corrupted them to such an extent that God could no longer bear their presence in the Holy Land. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, according to Caesarius, the Christians in the West also bore some responsibility for the disaster. Indeed, earlier in the same chapter, he had introduced the topic of Saladin's victories as the result of universal sin by employing the formula *peccatis nostris exigentibus*, which, as I have argued, suggests that none should consider themselves to be without fault. Moreover, the rhetorical question at the end of this passage undermined the degree to which the Muslims could be held responsible for their successes, just as Peter of Blois, Henry of Albano and the anonymous author of the first part of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* had done.

More than this, however, the words Caesarius chose to put into the mouth of the Muslim emir also tell us something about how the author conceptualised divine punishment for sin. His use of the verb *eicere* indicates that he believed that God had taken direct action to ensure that defeat would be suffered. In this interpretation of the territorial loss suffered, God did not simply withdraw his assistance and leave the Christians to their own devices but intervened in the affairs of the East to expel the faithful from the Holy Land as a consequence of their moral failures.

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[213] '"Non fuit aliquis civis adeo dives in Ierosolyma, quin pro pecunia sororem, filiam, vel, quod exsecrabilius erat, luxuriae peregrinorum uxorem propriam exponeret, sicque illos mercedibus laborum suorum evacuaret. Ita omnes gulae et carnis illecebris dediti erant, ut nihil omnino a pecoribus differrent. Superbia vero sic in eis regnavit, ut excogitare non sufficerent, quali modo vestimenta sua inciderent, stringerent atque cultellarent. Idem dico de calciamentis."... Ecce", inquit, "ista sunt vitia propter quae eiecit Deus Christianos superbos et luxuriosos de terra ista; non enim diutius potuit tantas illorum iniquitates sustinere. Putas quia nostris viribus obtinuerimus illam? Nequaquam."' *Dialogus miraculorum*, 710–12. For a discussion of this passage and Caesarius' attitude towards crusading, see also W. J. Purkis, 'Crusading and crusade memory in Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus miraculorum*,' *Journal of Medieval History* 39/1 (2013), 100–27.

This interpretation of divine retribution is close to that proposed by the writer and crusade preacher James of Vitry in his *Historia orientalis*.[214] This widely-distributed work was composed between 1219 and 1223–4, during his tenure in the East as Bishop of Acre (1214–1225). It formed the second part of his *Historia Iherosolimitana*, a comprehensive manual written to instruct those who would seek to launch and recruit for future crusading campaigns. While the first part of this larger document proposes a series of reforms that James felt should be adopted to ensure Christian success in Outremer, the *Historia orientalis* describes the last three campaigns, as well as the geography of the Holy Land, the culture of its inhabitants and the contemporary challenges they faced. It was often distributed together with Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina* to promote Frederick II's crusade to the Holy Land.[215]

Towards the end of the work, James gives an account of the defeat at Hattin in which he points to the sins of those who took part in the battle as the cause for what had happened:

> The Lord delivered [*tradidit*] the Christian people into the hands of the impious, their limitless sins demanding it. Indeed, when our men suddenly turned their backs to the enemy, almost all were slaughtered or taken captive, from the most powerful to the least. So great was the fear and cowardice with which God humiliated them that in a reversal of events, one of the enemies pursued a hundred of our men, and

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[214] James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, ed. and tr. J. Donnadieu (Turnhout, 2008). See also, C. Cannuyer, 'La date de rédaction de L'*Historia Orientalis* de Jacques de Vitry (1160/70-1240), évêque d'Acre,' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 78/1 (1983), 65–72; J. Bird, 'The *Historia Orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry: Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text's Audience, Reception, and Utilization,' *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 20 (2003), 56–74.

[215] Bird, 'Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade,' 319.

> many gave themselves freely into enemy hands, having shamefully thrown down their weapons.[216]

According to James, then, divine punishment had not merely meant the withdrawal of celestial aid from the armed forces at Hattin but God's active intervention in the course of events on the battlefield. He had, in effect, handed them over to the Muslims by causing the Christian soldiers to be fearful and cowardly.

Another author who conceptualised God's chastisement for sin as his active intervention in human affairs was the monk who wrote the entry for the year 1221 in the *Annals* of the Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig, in the diocese of Passau. Only a few fragments for the years 1068–1086, 1123–1140 and 1208–1230 are preserved, leaving us with little information about whether the monks at the abbey were generally concerned with making sense of the territorial losses suffered in the Latin East throughout the second half of the twelfth century.[217] Furthermore, the surviving entries primarily deal with local and imperial affairs. However, the entry for the year 1221 is an exception in this regard, as the author turns towards the East to explain the surrender of the recently won city to al-Kamil by stating that,

> as a consequence of the extraordinary judgement of God, the city of Damietta was seized from the Saracens by the Christians who were not harmed in the process, but after a short time, through the urging of a celestial scourge [*verbere celesti*], it was made uninhabitable by a plague of pagans.[218]

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[216] '...tradidit Dominus populum Christianorum, infinitis eorum peccatis exigentibus, in manus impiorum, adeo quod nostri subito terga dantes inimicis fere omnes a maximo usque ad minimum trucidati sunt vel captivitate detenti. In tantum enim formidine et pusillanimitate humiliavit eos Dominus, quod unus ex hostibus versa vice, centum persequebatur ex nostris, et quidam arma sua turpiter proiicientes, in manus inimicorum se ipsos gratis tradebant.' James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, 234–6.

[217] The Annals of survive in a manuscript that is still held at the Abbey of Göttweig. See Göttweig, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex Gottwicensis 180(87), fols. 1r–4v.

[218] 'Damiatensis civitas miro Dei iudicio illesis christianis a Sarracenis possessa est, sed non post multum temporis verbere celesti urgente per pestilentiam paganis inhabitabilis efficitur.' 'Annales Gotwicenses,' MGH SS 9.600–4, 603.

Evidently, the author's understanding of what had happened concerned God's active involvement in the affairs of the crusaders in Egypt. The word *verber* has a punitive connotation when used in reference to humans. In the context of this passage, it takes on the meaning not of a material rod or whip but of a chastisement sent by God to punish the Latin inhabitants of Damietta with 'a plague of pagans'.

It should be noted that these last sources demonstrate that there was no one set paradigm used by those who envisioned God as actively intervening to ensure that the faithful were appropriately chastised for their sins. The anonymous author of the *Annals* of Gottweig Abbey suggested that God had used the Muslims led by al-Kamil as an instrument of his wrath through which they would be forced to surrender the city. Caesarius and James, on the other hand, described God's involvement as being more direct. They concluded that God himself had handed the faithful at Hattin over to Saladin's forces by instilling them with fear and cowardice. Evidently, all three authors felt that God had changed the course of events to the disadvantage of the Christians, but they disagreed on precisely how he had done so.

However, although popular, this approach to divine retribution was by no means universal. Several authors described God's involvement in the loss of territory because of sin as indirect. Instead of suggesting that he had orchestrated events to the disadvantage of the Christians in Outremer, they proposed that his anger was expressed through a reluctance to lend assistance to the Christians in their time of need. Nicholas of Clairvaux, for example, wrote in the earlier-discussed letter to Conan III, Count of Brittany, that God saw what happened at Edessa but pretended not to notice [*videt et dissimulat*].[219] Moreover, as we have seen, Pope Celestine III wrote in his letter to the bishops and prelates of Germany on 1 August 1195 that God had 'allowed' Saladin's forces to occupy sites controlled by the Christians in the Holy Land [*permisit a Sarracenis potenter invadi*].[220] These descriptions of passive divine punishment are interesting because, as

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[219] Nicholas of Clairvaux, 'To Conan III, Count of Brittany,' 52.

[220] Celestine III, *Divitiae summae*, 298.

mentioned above, they present a move away from the generally accepted belief that God actively intervened in the affairs of men.

Similar interpretations were put forward when Jerusalem was lost. Indeed, this idea of passive divine punishment was expressed in one of the letters written by Henry of Albano at some point before 27 March 1188, when Frederick took the cross at Mainz.[221] This document, usually referred to as 'Ex quo vox illa turturis' after its opening line, was composed as an open letter to the princes of Germany to encourage enthusiasm for the campaign launched by the papal encyclical *Audita tremendi*. More likely than not, it was meant to be read aloud to an audience of laypersons and ecclesiastics alike. As I have set out in reference to Henry's *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, he emphasised the notion that divine chastisement was an act of love through which God sought to bring the faithful back onto the path toward salvation. This is illustrated in the letter to the Christians of Germany in which he wrote that

> because the entire way of the Lord is mercy and truth, we must not be so deprived of hope. It should always be kept in mind that he, who scourged in judgement, the sins of the Christian people demanding it, and who had already decided to turn away his eyes from the land because of their lust, has reserved our redemption through his mercy. Indeed, why else might he allow [*permitteret*] the wood of the Cross to be taken away by the pagans if it were not to be crucified once again by them?[222]

For Henry, the defeat to Saladin and the loss of the True Cross were akin to a second crucifixion. In this manner, he proposed that God had once again

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[221] Henry of Albano, 'Ex quo vox illa turturis,' in *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, 11–4. For a biography of Henry see, Y. M.-J, Congar, O. P., 'Henri de Marcy, abbé de Clairvaux, cardinal-évêque d'Albano et légat pontifical,' *Analecta monastica* 5 (Rome, 1958), 1–90.

[222] '…quia universe vie domini misericordia et veritas, eatenus nos deicere non debemus, quia semper ante oculos nobis sit, quod, sui peccatis exigentibus populum christianum, qui iam post concupiscentias suas oculos suos statuerat declinare in terram, de iudicio flagellavit, redemptionem nobis misericordia sua reservavit. Quomodo enim asportari permitteret lignum crucis ab ethnicis nisi iterum crucifigendus ab eis?' Henry of Albano, 'Ex quo vox illa turturis,' 11.

sacrificed himself to save humanity from its downfall. The loss suffered in the Crusader States was not a punishment brought about by divine anger but a way to ensure that the Christian community might obtain salvation. As this passage demonstrates, Henry combined this narrative with an understanding of divine chastisement that was decidedly passive. God 'turned his eyes away' from the people in the East and allowed the faithful to be overcome by the Muslim forces.

Similar perspectives were expressed by several contemporary authors and in a number of responses to the defeat at Damietta in 1221.[223] Why did Henry and these commentators not follow the more prevalent paradigm of active divine punishment but instead described God's interactions with worldly events as non-interventionist in these instances? I believe the answer may lie in the narrative of defeat that they wanted to convey. By presenting divine chastisement as a refusal to lend assistance to the Christians in Outremer, they could convey a gentler image of God. He had simply left the Latins in the East to their own devices rather than having strengthened their enemy or sabotaged their armed forces. This interpretation served those contemporary commentators who, like Henry of Albano, sought to convey that God punished primarily out of concern for the spiritual health of the Christian community, not anger. Had Henry described the loss as the result of God actively working against the army at Hattin, it would have been harder to convince his audience that divine intention was benevolent. The notion of a divine overseer rather than a castigator presented a gentler image of God because it reduces his responsibility for the suffering experienced. This suited those authors who sought to suggest that defeat demonstrated his love.

Conclusions

As this chapter has shown, contemporaries commonly explained defeat in the Latin East as the inevitable result of the moral failings of the Christian community. Their primary purpose in setting out this narrative was to overcome the tension caused by the loss, which resulted from the question of how and why

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[223] 'Annales Pegavienses,' MGH SS 16.232–70, 265; 'Sciatis igitur,' in *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, 2–4; Maistres Renas, 'Pour lou pueple resconforteir,' 77. On the defeat at Damietta, see, for example, *L'Estoire de Eracles*; 'Annales S. Rudberti Salisburgenses,' MGH SS 9.758–810, 782.

an omnipotent God had allowed his people to suffer in their quest to solidify Christian rule in the Holy Land.

In addition to this, and depending on the rhetoric their authors chose to use, those accounts frequently fulfilled several other functions of moral persuasion. As we have seen, many twelfth- and thirteenth-century commentators explained that the adversities faced by the Latin inhabitants in the East were a sign of divine love. Authors like Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter of Blois suggested that God had been disturbed to see that many Christians had given themselves over to iniquities and consequently feared for the fate of their souls and had therefore orchestrated the military successes of the Muslim forces as a warning to the community that its members needed to change their ways to redeem themselves. Such narratives argued that in making sense of what had happened, Christians should focus their attention primarily on the salvific benefit of the defeat rather than on the resulting loss of territory. They asserted that the event should be viewed as an opportunity to demonstrate moral growth and a renewed dedication to God's cause. In this manner, those who imagined the failures of the Latin armies in the East to have been a divine punishment could encourage both spiritual and military enthusiasm by presenting a narrative that endowed their accounts with spiritual capital. Whether all Christians or only the inhabitants of the East were blamed for the defeat influenced the degree to which those living in the West felt that the burden to prove their devotion to Christ and his Church also applied to them.

Furthermore, the notion that God punished only those whom he loved conveyed an image of Christian exceptionalism. It implied that Christians had been chastised because they occupied a unique place in the world as God's chosen people and therefore had to be held to a higher standard than its enemies in the East. The defeat suffered by the faithful should thus be interpreted as a sign of their innate superiority. At the same time, the concept of divine punishment implied that the Muslim forces themselves were not responsible for their military successes, a notion that various authors exploited to encourage confidence in a positive outcome for future campaigns.

Finally, through their explanations of defeat as the inevitable result of the sins of Christians, commentators simultaneously conveyed to their audiences different ideas of divine punishment. As this chapter has shown, we can

distinguish between two main paradigms of active and passive discipline. Some authors, like Caesarius of Heisterbach and the annalist of the Abbey at Gottweig, believed that God actively intervened in human affairs to deliver the Christian inhabitants in the East into the hands of their adversaries. In contrast, others like Nicholas of Clairvaux and Henry of Albano imagined that he punished by withdrawing divine assistance and consequently leaving the faithful to suffer the inevitable consequences of their corruptions. This latter narrative allowed them to present a gentler image of God and was, therefore, particularly conducive to those accounts that portrayed defeat as a sign of divine love and redemptive concern.

The following chapters of this thesis will explore several other narratives which were often conceived to make sense of the losses suffered in Outremer. As we will see, these were often developed to interact with the idea that defeat had been brought about by iniquity. In this way, commentators sought either to reinforce the moral impact of this narrative or to influence contemporary morality in additional ways.

Chapter 2 — 'How Edom Rejoices': Old Testament Imagery and Moral Redirection After Defeat

Introduction

Twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Christians not only used explicit mentions of sin to present the loss of territory in Outremer as an opportunity for salvation. They also made use of biblical imagery to explain the causes of military failure in a manner that simultaneously conveyed the spiritual potential of defeat.

Indeed, a second narrative strategy that was often employed to interpret the repeated successes of the Muslims in the Crusader States was an emphasis on continuity with scriptural history, primarily that found in the Old Testament. Contemporary commentators repeatedly cast the Christian community into the role of biblical protagonists — they were transformed into courageous Israelites, Rachel weeping for her sons or heroic Maccabean warriors defending Jerusalem — while Muslim enemies were identified with the heretical peoples who opposed them: Edomites, Amalekites and Philistines.

The extent to which Old Testament imagery was applied to rhetoric concerning the crusading movement has been the subject of considerable study and debate. Carl Erdmann argued that, while such scriptural paradigms had featured heavily in early calls for Christians to take the cross, they became less important to crusade preaching as time went by.[224] However, recent research on crusade propaganda has challenged this view. Historians such as Penny Cole, Nicole Bériou, Christoph Maier, Jessalynn Bird and Katherine Allen Smith, among others, have argued that references to scriptural history remained central to the rhetoric of crusade propagandists well after the successes of the First Crusade.[225] Their conclusions were supported by the research presented in a

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[224] C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, tr. M. Baldwin (Princeton, NJ., 1977), 273–4; M. Fischer, 'The Books of the Maccabees and the Teutonic Order,' in eds. B. Z. Kedar, J. Phillips and J. Riley-Smith, *Crusades: Volume 4* (London, 2005), 59–71, 63.

[225] Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*; N. Bériou, 'La prédication de croisade de Philippe le Chancelier et d'Eudes de Châteauroux en 1226,' in ed. P. Annaert, *La prédication en Pays d'Oc (XIIe–début XVe siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 32 (Toulouse, 1997), 85–109; A. Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003); Maier, *Crusade Propaganda*; Bird, 'Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade'; K. Allen Smith, *The Bible and Crusade Narrative in the Twelfth Century* (Martlesham, 2020).

recent volume on the topic, edited by Elizabeth Lapina and Nicholas Morton.[226] This chapter builds on this scholarship by demonstrating that contemporaries likewise incorporated Old Testament narratives to make sense of the loss of territory in Outremer and simultaneously used it to steer Christian morality.

By explaining defeat within the framework of scriptural models, authors followed the standard medieval practice of using the Bible to make sense of the world in which they lived. They were aided in such interpretative efforts by standard collections like the *Glossa Ordinaria*, compiled in Laon in the early twelfth century, which allowed authors to construct a connection between scriptural narratives and events taking place in their own time more easily.[227] However, as this chapter will show, the use of Old Testament narratives to explain the loss of territory in the Crusader States was by no means mechanical.

Contemporaries were careful to use imagery that worked within the context of war and military defeat. While discourse on sin in other contexts was often framed in light of different Old Testament passages, such as those concerning Sodom and Gomorrah or the fate of Lot's wife, responses to the loss of territory referred instead to the Wars of the Israelites, the Babylonian

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[226] Lapina and Morton (eds.), *The Uses of the Bible*.

[227] L. Smith, *The* Glossa Ordinaria*: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Boston, 2009), 23–33. The predominant attitude towards the Old Testament was based on passages such as 1 Corinthians 10:6 and Galatians 4:21–31, which explain the relationship between the followers of the New Covenant and their Israelite ancestors. These suggest that, while its laws were made redundant through Christ's mediation, it remained a work of great value for the Christian community because the situations, people and statements described served as pre-configurations of the Gospel. This conceptualisation of the correlation between the two sections of the Bible was summarised by Augustine, who wrote that 'In the Old Testament the New is concealed, in the New, the Old is unveiled' ['quamquam et in vetere novum lateat, et in novo vetus pateat.' Augustine, *Quaestiones in Exodum*, PL 34, 2.73, cols. 547–824, col. 623.]. Moreover, as Erich Auerbach famously argued in response to efforts by the Nazi Party to erase the Old Testament from the canon, the writings of the Israelites have always had real historical value and were never interpreted as purely allegorical. Medieval Christians believed that the events and people described were real and temporal, so we might speak of typological or figural representation rather than allegorical representation. At the same time, the lack of critical analysis of the historicity of the Old Testament (a topic that only began to be properly studied in the time of Erasmus) meant that its narratives were not truly fixed in time. As such, they could more easily be brought forward and engaged with to interpret contemporary events. E. Auerbach, 'Figura,' in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature* (New York, 1956), 11–76. For an overview of attitudes towards exegesis in the Middle Ages, see Beryl Smalley's foundational work on the Bible in medieval thought. B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1952).

destruction of Jerusalem and the Maccabean Revolt.[228] Their authors chose scriptural narratives that told of instances where divine discipline had determined the outcome of worldly conflicts.

In this way, they reminded their audiences that God's intervention in military matters to steer his people back onto the path of righteousness was not unprecedented. The biblical past demonstrated that he had repeatedly punished his people with the loss of territory to encourage greater obedience to his commands. Such rhetoric thus illustrated the workings of God's redemptive efforts within the framework of war. As such, it further justified explanations of defeat as an expression of divine concern for humanity's salvific potential.

At the same time, such narratives suggested that the restoration of territory lost to the enemy depended entirely on the restoration of the community's relationship with God, just as had been the case for the biblical models referenced. The Israelites had only overcome their enemies with divine assistance after placing their fate entirely in God's hands. Similarly, they had been allowed to return from Babylonian exile only when they proved themselves to be obedient followers of God's law once more. Comparisons with these episodes served to suggest that events in the Latin East would follow a similar pattern and that moral regeneration was, therefore, of the utmost importance.

Emphasis on scriptural examples thus had the potential to amplify calls for spiritual renewal. Authors could influence how their audiences ordered their lives around the promise of salvation by constructing typological interpretations of Muslim victories in Outremer. In short, such rhetoric endowed their accounts with a greater degree of spiritual capital as they purported to present a blueprint for individual and communal redemption.

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[228] See, for example, Odo of Cluny, *Collationes*, PL 133, cols. 517–638, 559, 562, 567, 588. See also C. A. Jones, 'Monastic Identity and Sodomitic Danger in the "Occupatio" by Odo of Cluny,' *Speculum* 82/1 (2007), 1–53; Peter Damian, *Liber Gomorrhianus*, PL 145, cols. 147–78; Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Fulconi puero, qui postea fuit Lingonis archidiaconus,' in *Epistolae*, 7, no. 2, 12–22, 16–7; Peter the Chanter, *Verbum adbreviatum: Textus prior*, ed. M. Boutry, CCCM 196A (Turnhout, 2012), 639; Stephen Langton, Commentary on Genesis, Oxford, Trinity College Ms 65, fol. 48rb (thirteenth century). Quoted in P. D. Clarke, *The Interdict in the Thirteenth Century: A Question of Collective Guilt* (Oxford, 2007), 16; On the use of the image of Lot's wife in reference to female sin, see M. H. Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle, and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia, PA., 2001), 45–68.

Narratives of defeat that framed events in the context of the Old Testament could simultaneously influence contemporary morality in several additional ways. Indeed, this chapter will demonstrate that they had the potential to legitimise recovery campaigns and encourage participation in the crusades. Moreover, they could inspire confidence that the lost territories would ultimately be recovered and provided the linguistic register with which Christians could express the anguish they felt upon hearing of the loss of important sacred sites in the Holy Land. At the same time, contemporaries contributed to determining group identity by framing defeat in light of certain scriptural paradigms.

Israelites at war

One narrative strategy that was especially popular in responses to the losses suffered in Outremer was the depiction of the Christians as Israelites assaulted by their enemies. The conflicts that had taken place more than two millennia earlier between the inhabitants of the Levant were not only felt to be representative of the struggle of the Latin inhabitants of the Crusader States but indeed part of the same cosmic struggle that God's people had faced throughout history at the hands of those who were inspired by forces of evil. While the Latin community was identified with the Israelites, the Muslims were identified with the Canaanites and Jebusites and the various peoples that neighboured the Kingdom of Israel during the reigns of Saul, David and Solomon: Philistines, Edomites, Amalekites, Moabites and Ammonites.

This is evident, for instance, in the anonymous 'Chevalier, mult estes guariz', the earliest surviving trouvère song concerned with the crusades.[229] Written in 1146 in response to the loss of Edessa, the composition directly addresses the European knightly class and echoes Pope Eugenius III and Bernard

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[229] 'Chevalier, mult estes guariz,' in Bédier and Aubry (eds.), *Les chansons*, 1–16. The English translation I have given here has been adapted from the Italian translation provided in A. T. P. Radaelli, '"Ki ore irat od Loovis": la vocazione dei cavalieri francesi alla Crociata. Per un lettura di RS 1548,' *Mot so razo* 18 (2019). 41–54. The song survives in a single manuscript from the second half of the twelfth century, Erfurt, Universitätsbibliothek, Dep. Erf. Codex Amplonianus 8° 32, fols. 88r–v.

of Clairvaux's calls for able men to take the cross.[230] The ample use of chivalric language, combined with an incorrect scriptural reference, led various scholars to conclude that the author was also a knight who sought to encourage his peers to take the cross.[231] This has, however, been challenged convincingly by Anna Radaelli, who argued that the register of the song should not be understood as an indication of the author's background but rather as an illustration of his intention to impress an audience of military men with his words.[232] She suggests instead that the author was most likely a member of the clergy, while the vocabulary employed further suggests that he hailed from the Poitou region.[233]

The song begins by setting out what had occurred at Edessa in 1144. The author explained that the 'Turks and the Almoravids' had taken the city and destroyed its monasteries.[234] As a result, God admonished the Christians in Europe to come to his aid and promised those who answered his call that they would be granted salvation.[235] To further strengthen this exhortation, he adds:

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[230] Bédier and Aubry (eds.), *Les chansons*, 4–5; H. Geltzer, 'Zum altfranzösischen Kreuzzugslied, Chevalier, mult estes guariz,' *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 48 (1928), 438–47, 439; S. Schöber, *Die altfranzösische Kreuzzugslyrik des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1976), 72; U. Mölk, 'Das älteste französische Kreuzlied und der Erfurter Codex Amplonianus 8° 32,' in *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philologisch-Historisch Klasse* 10. (Göttingen, 2001), 668–98.

[231] Bédier and Aubry (eds.), *Les chansons*, 15; Mölk, 'Das älteste französische Kreuzlied,' 686.

[232] Radaelli, '"Ki ore irat od Loovis",' 42.

[233] Geltzer, 'Zum altfranzösischen Kreuzzugslied,' 440; Mölk, 'Das älteste französische Kreuzlied,' 681; Radaelli, '"Ki ore irat od Loovis",' 44—5.

[234] 'Chevalier, mult estes guariz
quant Deu a vus fait sa clamur
des Turs e des Amoraviz…'
'Chevalier, mult estes guariz,' 8.

[235] 'Ki ore irat od Loovis
ja mar d'Enfern n'avarat pouur,
char s'alme en iert en Pareïs
od les angles nostre Segnor.' Ibid.

> Now he [God] tells you that the Canaanites [*Chaneleus*] and the people of Zengi, the criminals, have played many villainous games with him. Now pay them their reward![236]
> (4.5–8)

Here, the identification of the Muslim enemy with the Canaanites served to suggest that the conflict in the East was part of a larger battle between the chosen people and their enemies that had been going on since the time of the ancient Israelites. Since no connection is made between this Old Testament representation and the concept of divine punishment, it was not employed to explain the mechanism through which moral failings had caused defeat or to encourage spiritual regeneration. Instead, emphasis on scriptural continuity served here primarily to stress the significance of Zengi's conquest of Edessa as an event that was part of the eternal struggle between Good and Evil. This verse could encourage military mobilisation, because it presented the expedition launched by Pope Eugenius as a means to contribute and be a witness to the fight for the salvation of Christian souls. To forsake this duty would therefore be even more abhorrent, resulting in greater pressure on individuals to take the cross. In chapter 3, I analyse how the song's composer added apocalyptic imagery to further strengthen this notion.

A similar connection to this ancient battle between God's people and their enemies was made in the Chronicle of the Benedictine Abbey of Morigny, compiled between 1095 and 1152.[237] Although the work itself was meant primarily for a monastic audience, the author included a version of the speech given by King Louis VII of France to the nobles at the Council of Vézelay in March 1146 to persuade them to join the campaign to the East launched by the

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236 'Ore vus mande que Chaneleus
e la gent Sanguin, li felun,
mult li unt fait des vilains jeus.
Ore lur rendez lur guerredum!'
'Chevalier, mult estes guariz,' 9.

237 L. M. Mirot, *La chronique de Morigny (1095-1152)* (Paris, 1912). The Chronicle survives in one twelfth-century manuscript, Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, Codex Vat. Reg. lat. 622, fols. 1r–115v (not, as Régis Rech writes in Brill's *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G. Dunphy (Leiden, 2010), 337, Reg. lat. 662).

encyclical *Quantum praedecessores*. Whether the words of this speech were by the author of the Chronicle or based on the original, the episode was clearly inserted to justify crusading exhortations. To this end, the chronicler put the following words into the king's mouth:

> 'Great is the shame which looms over us', he said, 'if the Philistines cause the family of David to be humiliated, if a diabolical people take possession of that which a people who are committed to divine worship have occupied for a long time'…[238]

The conflict between Zengi's forces and the Latin inhabitants of Edessa was identified typologically with the many wars that were fought between the Philistines and the Israelites, according to scripture.[239] The Muslims are cast into the role of the biblical adversaries of David, while the Christians are presented as David's descendants, God's chosen people.

Although the author of 'Chevalier, mult estes guariz' and that of the speech supposedly given by Louis at Vézelay chose different enemies of the Israelites to stand as figures for the Muslims, they both sought to create the suggestion that what had happened at Edessa was part of the same struggle between God's elect and the unelected as that which had been fought in biblical times. In this way, they justified their calls for Christians in the West to take the cross.

It is important to note that medieval exegetes did not usually treat these ancient nations as interchangeable because all had been in conflict with the Israelites at one time or another. Indeed, while all had on occasion challenged or resisted Jewish territorial claims in the Levant, they often played more complicated

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[238] 'Magnum, inquid, dedecus, nobis emerget, si exprobrari ceperit Philisteus familie David, si possidere ceperit gens demoniaca, que gens cultui divino dedita tempore longo obtinuit…' Ibid., 83.

[239] See, for example, 2 Chronicles 28; 1 Samuel 4; 1 Samuel 7; 1 Samuel 14; 1 Samuel 17; 1 Samuel 31; 2 Kings 18. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Weber.

roles in the biblical story than simply that of the antitype of God's elect.[240] The Philistines, for example, were thought to be the descendants of Ham (just as the Canaanites, Jebusites and Amorites) and, alongside the Amalekites, were identified with the Arian heresy in the early Middle Ages. At the same time, however, exegetes were also aware that while the Philistines had captured the Ark of the Covenant, they had returned it to the Israelites after acknowledging its divine properties (1 Sam. 6) and that David had been graciously received by their leader Achish when he fled from Saul (1 Sam. 27), thus reversing the conventional roles of Good and Evil. Similarly, the Gibeonites, a sub-group of the Amorites, established a covenant with Saul, which not they but the Israelite king himself subsequently broke, and God punished with famine (2 Sam. 21). As such, these adversaries of the Israelites were thought to have prefigured different New Covenant episodes and could not always be represented as unequivocal models of apostasy.

Nevertheless, in their responses to defeat suffered in Outremer, authors of songs and chronicles usually presented the relationship between the Israelites and their enemies in a markedly binary way, with the former being portrayed as devoted people of God while the latter were described as agents of evil, apostasy personified.

As the anonymous composition 'Chevalier, mult estes guariz' and the speech contained within the Chronicle of Morigny Abbey demonstrate, such references to Old Testament narratives were primarily used to encourage people to take the cross in the wake of Zengi's conquest of Edessa. However, after the defeat at Hattin and the surrender of Jerusalem in 1187, this rhetoric came to be employed for additional purposes, chief among them a call for greater spiritual devotion in conjunction with explanations of defeat as the inevitable result of a lapse in morality.

This is evident in several contemporary songs, one of which is the anonymous composition known as 'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare'.[241] Like the

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[240] I. Wood, 'Who are the Philistines? Bede's Readings of Old Testament Peoples,' in C. Gantner, R. McKitterick and S. Meeder (eds.), *The Resources of the Past in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 2015), 172–87.

[241] 'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare,' ed. Traill, *Carmina Burana*, 1, no. 50, 176–85.

song 'Quod spiritu', discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, it has survived as part of the *Carmina Burana* collection from the Bavarian Abbey of Benediktbeuern.[242] Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, who were the first to edit the song, argued that it must have been composed shortly after the siege of Tyre was lifted on 1 January 1188.[243] Ulrich Müller suggested a date of 1187, but references to Conrad of Montferrat's success in resisting Saladin attacks make this unlikely.[244] What can be established beyond doubt is that the song was composed after Pope Gregory VIII issued *Audita tremendi*, since it echoes many of the messages central to the encyclical. At the same time, it must have been composed before May 1189, since the author makes it clear that the western leaders had not yet embarked on the Third Crusade.[245]

The composer of the song also explained defeat as a divine punishment for the universal sins of the Christian community. He wrote that Saladin had been 'allowed' [*concessum est*] to ravage the Holy Land after God had looked upon the world and found it iniquitous.[246] To further emphasise this message, he added that 'He [God] gives the whip to the irreverent, punishes the wanting, and with time he chastises those who are foolishly arrogant' (22.1–2).[247] The Old Testament, specifically the episode in which the Ark of the Covenant is stolen by the

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[242] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4660, fols. 15r–16v.

[243] A. Hilka and O. Schumann (eds.), *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols (Heidelberg, 1930), 110.

[244] U. Müller, *Kreuzzugsdichtung* (Tübingen, 1979), 29. Müller does not provide a reasoning for this choice. The following lines referring to Conrad of Montferrat's efforts at Tyre can be found in the fourteenth stanza of the composition:

'Surim solam liberat navita marinus
Marchio clarissimus vere palatinus'

'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare,' 180.

[245] R. J. Doney, 'A Source for One of the *Carmina Burana*,' *Speculum* 27/2 (1952), 191–6.

[246] '…Saladino concessum est vastare
terram, quam dignatus est Christus sic amare […]

Exeunte lunio anno post milleno
centum et octoginta iunctis cum septeno,
quo respexit Dominus mundum sorde pleno…'

'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare,' 176

[247] 'Dat flagella impiis, punit delinquentes,
et per tempus corrigit stulta praesumentes…' Ibid., 182.

Philistines (1 Samuel 4–6) before being returned to Israel, is then used to illustrate the workings of God's punishment:

> In this way, we read that God, who, at that time, had been angered by Israel, judging it from the clouds and the high heavens and inflamed with fiery zeal, handed over the Ark of the Covenant to a cruel people. (23.1–4)

> But although they [the Philistines] considered this act [to have been achieved] through their strength, they were soon forced to bewail what they had done. They assembled to give the Ark back together with gifts, for their insides were rotting.[248] (24.1–4)

These lines demonstrate that the author believed that God had repeatedly punished his people for their sins since biblical times to encourage them to return to the path of righteousness. It is implied that he had handed the True Cross to Saladin just as he had handed over the Ark of the Covenant to the Philistines. By associating the loss suffered in the Latin East with this well-known scriptural episode in this manner, the author's explanation of the defeat at Hattin as a divine punishment was strengthened and legitimised.

The same is true for what was seen as constituting the most effective response to the defeat. By highlighting that God had eventually made sure that the Ark was returned to the Israelites, the song's composer implied that the same mechanism for recovery was available to the Christians. Indeed, he emphasised that, just as has been the case in the Bible, they needed to perform the appropriate

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248 'Sic iratus Dominus quondam Israheli
iudicans ex nubibus et de alto caeli,
archam testamenti accensus igne zeli
tradidisse legitur populo crudeli.

Sed et quamvis viribus haec putabant acta,
sunt compulsi plangere statim sua facta.
Coegerunt reddere munera cum arca,
nam illorum viscera stabant putrefacta.' Ibid., 182–4.

penance and demonstrate a renewed sense of devotion to restore their relationship to God and receive his assistance once again:

> So let us be transformed and let us repent, let us erase with tears the evil we have committed and offer worthy gifts to God so that, satisfied by [our] tears, he may give [us] what we ask for.[249]
> (25.1–4)

In line with the message promoted by *Audita tremendi*, spiritual regeneration thus took centre stage in 'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare'. It was undoubtedly the primary objective of its author. At the same time, the narrative of defeat it puts forward also encouraged confidence in a positive outcome, since it proposed that the fate of the Holy Land lay with the Christians, not their enemies. If they showed themselves penitent and demonstrated renewed devotion, God would return what had been lost to Saladin, just as he had returned the Ark to the Israelites after they had changed their ways. As such, using biblical imagery to validate and illustrate his argument, the song's author proposed that spiritual change was the only way to ensure a reversal of the events of 1187.

It is worth noting that, unlike the rhetoric found in the papal encyclical, this emphasis on faith was not accompanied by a call for military action. This suggests that the composition was not intended for a chivalric audience but for those who were expected to contribute spiritually to the Christian effort in Outremer, primarily ecclesiastics. Latin compositions such as 'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare' were most often written for clerical circles. Contemporary biographical information and internal evidence almost exclusively point towards ecclesiastical authorship and intended audience.[250] It is unsurprising that those who had chosen the religious life likewise raised concerns over the causes of defeat in Outremer, as the fate of the Latin possessions in the East was thought to

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249 'Convertamur igitur et paeniteamus,
mala que commisimus fletu deleamus,
atque Deo munera digne offeramus,
ut placatus lacrimis donet, quod rogamus.' Ibid., 184.

250 W. E. Jackson, *Ardent Complaints and Equivocal Piety: The Portrayal of the Crusader in Medieval German Poetry* (Lanham, MD., 2003), 18.

depend above all on the spiritual integrity of Christians, an effort to which many more could contribute than only those who participated on the battlefield.

Finally, while the author drew comparisons between the ancient Israelites and the Christians, he went one step further in his characterisation of Saladin's forces by identifying them with an array of classical and scriptural enemies. They were no longer simply military enemies of the Christians but were portrayed as present-day representatives of all the peoples who had opposed God's people throughout history. This is evident in an earlier stanza in which the song's author laid out the events leading up to the defeat at Hattin. Not only were the Muslims here described as Turks, Troglodytes and Tartars who had invaded the Holy Land but also as sons of Moab and Ammon, Ishmaelites and Amalekites.[251] According to the author, Saladin's forces had not simply fulfilled a role similar to these enemies at Hattin; they were one and the same: agents of evil who had beleaguered God's Elect throughout history. In this regard, the song differs substantially from *Audita tremendi*. As we shall see, Pope Gregory did draw comparisons with the wars fought by the ancient Israelites but at no point went as far as to describe the conflict in the Holy Land as essentially a continuation of the same struggle.

Yet, 'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare' was not the only composition to employ such rhetoric. The same view was taken by the anonymous author of another song written in response to the surrender of Jerusalem. This text, known as 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea', has received little attention in Anglophone scholarship.[252]

As mentioned above, most Latin compositions were intended for clerical audiences. However, 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea' presents an exception to this rule as

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251 'Veniunt Turcomili atque Trogoditae,
Mauri atque Gaetuli, barbari et Scythae,
Filii Moab, Ammon et Ismahelitae,
Atque cum his omnibus sunt Amalechitae.

Turcos ac Massagetas praecipit adesse;
Tatari atque Sarmates nolunt hinc abesse;
currunt Quadi, Vandili, Medi atque Persae,
undique conveniunt gentes sic diversae.' Ibid., 1.178.

252 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,' AH 33, no. 265, 315.

it directly addresses Christian nobles and admonishes them to take up arms against Saladin's forces in Outremer. Given its exhortative nature, it appears to have been composed after the news of the loss of the Holy City had reached the West but before the first contingents of the Third Crusade set out in 1189. Moreover, the final lines of the lyric appear to contain some information about the identity of the song's composer:

> In compassion, Sicily [*Sicilia*] has taken the tears of a man from Tharsus.[253]
> (10.6–7)

These words have led most modern commentators to conclude that the text was composed in Sicily by a man originally from Tarsus in Cilicia.[254] Rudolf Hiestand proposed the chancellor and archbishop Albert of Tarsus as a possible candidate.[255]

While the purpose of this song was different from that of 'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare', the author of 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea' similarly identified the Sultan's armies with an array of biblical peoples who were described in the Old Testament as having been in conflict with the Israelites. Indeed, the song opens with the following lines:

> Mourn, Zion and Judea, every inhabitant there mourns. How Edom rejoices and how Egypt wins victory; Amalek has been strengthened

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253 'Suscepit Sicilia
In misericordia
Lacrimas Tharsensis.
'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,' 315.

254 F.-W. Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters: Studien zu ihrer geschichtlichen und dichterischen Wirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1960), 174–8; Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, 225, n. 4; J. Schulze, *Sizilianische Kontrafakturen: Versuch zur Frage der Einheit von Musik und Dichtung in der sizilianischen und sikulo-toskanischen Lyrik des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2010), 167.

255 R. Hiestand, '"*Plange, Syon et Iudea*" — Historische Aussage und Verfasserfrage,' *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 23 (1988), 126–142, 132–3.

Jerusalem has collapsed. The sacred sites have been polluted by the offspring of Canaan.[256]
(1.1–8)

This stanza used popular typologies to identify the enemies of Christendom with the ancient enemies of Israel. Particularly strong are the references to Esau, through the mention of Amalek, his son, and the Edomites, who were believed to be his descendants. Such identification of the enemies of the Christians with the line of Esau was widespread throughout the Middle Ages, also frequently being used in reference to the Jews and, indeed, by Jews in reference to the Christians.[257] Since the Bible specifies that God loved Jacob but despised Esau (1 Malachi 1:2–3 and Romans 9:13), the latter and his descendants came to be seen as the quintessential representatives of the unelected. Part of the reason for the frequent use of this specific figural representation in response to the loss of Jerusalem might have been the inclusion of references to Esau in Psalm 136(7), which describes the destruction of the Holy City and subsequent exile in Babylon. As such, it would have felt especially applicable. The author of 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea' was undoubtedly familiar with this psalm, as the eighth stanza of the composition explicitly refers to it.[258]

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256 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,
Plangeant, quotquot sunt in ea,
Quod triumphat Idumaea
Et Aegyptus fert tropaea;
Amalech invaluit
Ierusalem corruit
Loca sancta polluit
Proles Cananaea.'
'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,' 315.

257 G. D. Cohen, 'Esau as Symbol in Early Medieval Thought,' in ed. A. Altmann, *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Cambridge, MA., 1967), 19–48; D. Klepper, 'Historicizing Allegory: The Jew as Hagar in Medieval Christian Text and Image,' *Church History* 84/2 (2015), 308–44; M. H. Hacohen, *Jacob & Esau: Jewish European History Between Nation and Empire* (Cambridge, 2019), 91–136.

258 'Pendet in salicibus
Organum cum lyra.'
'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,' 315.

By placing the loss within the framework of biblical warfare between God's people and their enemies, the author of the song implied that the clash with Saladin's forces in Outremer was the most recent iteration of this struggle, which had been fought since biblical times. This narrative suggested to the song's intended audience that what had happened in 1187 was not an isolated incident but part of a greater conflict between Good and Evil in which God's people had been engaged for millennia.

Such rhetoric had the potential to increase the perceived spiritual and moral significance of the crusades. Those who refused to take the cross were not only presented as letting down the Christian community and the Church but also God himself. The song purposefully blurred the lines between biblical past and contemporary times to create an image of continuity that served the author's exhortation. This message was further amplified by the claim that,

> Probity has vanished; our virtues have withered. The Ark of God has been stolen by the shameless Philistines.[259]
> (2.5–8)

As in 'Heu, voce flebili cogor enarrare', these lines also reminded the audience that the setbacks recently suffered in the struggle between the elected and their enemies had ultimately been caused by the faithful's iniquities.[260] Just as God had punished the Israelites for their perfidy by allowing the Ark to be stolen by the Philistines, he had now punished the Christians with the loss of the True

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[259] 'Probitas evanuit,
Nostra virtus aruit,
Arcam Dei rapuit
Procax Philistaea.'
'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,' 315.

[260] This message is further amplified later in the song:
'Pie Deus, cesset ira.
Verberasti, iam aspira,
Si sit manus adhuc dira,
Quis narrabit Christi mira?' Ibid.
And,
'Peccatorum pro offensis,
Telo cadit Aconensis…' Ibid.

Cross. However, unlike the author of the first song, this imagery was not used to suggest that spiritual regeneration was the path toward restoration of the loss suffered. Instead, the anonymous author used this explanation of defeat as the inevitable result of sin to encourage military mobilisation. This is evident from his final plea to the Christian kings of the world:

> Kings of the world, run. Release your captives and crush the heads of those who are crushing Christ.[261]
> (6.5–8)

By mentioning the release of Christian prisoners, the author thus argued that internal differences should be put aside in favour of a unified effort in Outremer.

Imagery connecting the conflict in the Latin East to the struggle between the Israelites and their enemies was not exclusive to these two songs. It was used by several other authors who sought to make sense of and respond to the defeat suffered at the hands of Saladin.[262] This might not at first seem surprising, as the use of biblical narratives to interpret and make sense of contemporary realities was widespread at this time. However, as I have already argued, it is noteworthy that these authors did not simply adopt more widely used scriptural models to explain the workings of divine redemptive punishment. Instead, biblical exegesis was used in an innovative way. Contemporaries opted for imagery that was particularly relevant to the context of war and defeat in the Holy Land. In doing so, they were able to illustrate not just that God regularly punishes his people for sin but also that this chastisement had historically taken the form of military

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261 'Mundi reges, currite,
Captivos redimite
Et caput conterite
Christum conterentis.' Ibid.

262 Clement III, 'Quam gravis et horribilis' (10 February 1188) in Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, no. 154, 332–3; De nova via nove civitatis', in H. Hagenmeyer, 'Deux poésies latines relatives à la IIIe croisade,' *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881), 582–5, 584; 'Ierusalem, luge, medio dolor orbis in orbe,' PL 155, cols. 1095–98, 1098; Erbo, 'Threni captis Hierosolymis,' AH 33, no. 266, 316–18; Peire Vidal, 'Anc no mori per amor ni per al,' in Reinhilt Richter (ed.), *Die Troubadourzitate im Breviari d'Amor. Kritische Ausgabe der provenzalischen Überlieferung* (Modena, 1976), 356–57; *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*, ed. K. Brewer and J. H. Kane (Abingdon, 2019), 128; 'Graves nobis admodum dies effluxere,' in Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 3.37–8.

defeat and the loss of spiritually significant objects like the Ark of the Covenant. In this way, their use of biblical imagery legitimised their explanations of defeat and their proposed solutions.

Furthermore, it is worth repeating that sources that created such typological connections between biblical figures and contemporary actors inevitably spoke to how Christian society should orientate and identify itself around the same aims and values, strengthening group ties in the process. It is difficult to ascertain whether authors were truly aware of this when constructing their narratives. However, in the face of Muslim claims to lands that played a vital role in Christian historical experience, the reinforcement of a sense of unity among the community against a powerful enemy that threatened their perceived heritage can only have been reassuring.

In the wake of the events of 1187, not everyone applied scriptural imagery as enthusiastically to the context of defeat in the Holy Land as these anonymous authors did. Indeed, commentators who were well-versed in theology often appear to have been more hesitant to identify the Christian community of their times with the Israelites. They recognised that the first part of the biblical canon needed to be viewed through the lens of the New Testament to facilitate salvation and warned against excessive dependence on Old Testament paradigms alone.[263] Many did use imagery concerned with the Israelites to illustrate the workings of divine punishment and give expression to the grief felt. However, they refrained from superimposing Old Testament narratives onto the contemporary events to suggest that the later episode was in any real sense connected to the earlier.[264]

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[263] For instance, as this next section will set out, Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*, 375–408 and Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, 92–3.

[264] This was less of an issue for many Victorine authors (including Ralph Niger), who viewed the first part of the biblical canon as complementary to the New Testament, even collaborating with Jewish scholars on exegesis. See Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 286. See also Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*, 83–195; J. W. M. van Zwieten, 'Jewish Exegesis within Christian Bounds: Richard of St. Victor's *De Emmanuele* and Victorine Hermeneutics,' *Bijdragen tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie* 48/3 (1987), 327–35.

Such hesitation regarding the treatment of present-day events as if they were part of the Old Testament narrative is especially evident in the works of Peter of Blois and perhaps best illustrated in his *Dialogus inter regem Henricum Secundum et abbatem Bonevallis*, written in the early months of 1189.[265] The text is an account of a conversation between King Henry II of England and the abbot (who is not named) of the Benedictine Abbey of Bonneval. It is possible that the dialogue actually took place and that Peter had either been a witness to it himself or was informed of it by someone who had.[266] Indeed, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Peter belonged to the retinue of Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury, who himself was present at the court of Henry in France for much of the second half of 1188 and the first half of 1189. Nevertheless, this is not to say that the text accurately reports the words spoken, as Peter undoubtedly refined and shaped the conversation to suit his style and aims.

We must look at the second half of the conversation for our purposes. The two initially speak about the pressures faced by Henry, chief among which was the anger and bewilderment he felt at the disobedience of his sons (Richard had given homage to the King of France only a few months earlier). The second part, however, is primarily concerned with the upcoming crusade. Here, the abbot attempts to persuade his interlocutor that he should not delay his departure for the Holy Land, so that he might find comfort in furthering God's cause and achieve full remission of his sins.

The organisation of the above-mentioned Bodleian manuscript suggests that the *Dialogus* was meant to precede and be read in conjunction with the *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, a treatise in which Peter stressed the need for a rapid military response to Saladin's victories and implored the leaders in the West to fulfil their crusading vows.[267] It was written as an open letter to the leaders in the West who had taken the cross but not yet departed for the Holy Land.

These two aspects of the document indicate that the *Dialogus* was meant to support the author's exhortatory efforts and was primarily intended for European

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[265] Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*, 375–408.

[266] Southern, 'Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade,' 209.

[267] See page 63. Southern, 'Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade,' 211.

nobles who had taken the cross or were contemplating doing so and the churchmen who advised them and preached the crusade. For the benefit of this audience, the abbot in Peter's account of the conversation issues a warning to Henry about excessive usage of Old Testament imagery. Considering a violent response against his enemies in Europe, the King compares himself to the leaders of the ancient Israelites. They, he argued, often took aggressive action to rebuke their adversaries.[268] However, the abbot strongly rejects Henry's attempt to justify his intention to use force against fellow Christians, albeit his political opponents, as is clear from his response:

> Consider, king, that you are not one of the Jewish people or a disciple of Moses, but one of the chosen people [1 Pet. 2:9], a disciple and professor of Christ.[269]

The Old Testament laws cannot by themselves lead to salvation, he asserted, since they concern only the state of the body and not of the spirit.[270] It was only through the intercession of Christ who taught that one must love one's enemies [Matt. 5:44], and the message he promulgated that Christians could obtain salvation.[271] Therefore, Henry should also follow the law of the New Covenant, not just that of the Israelites. Connecting these broader theological points to the exhortatory aim of the *Dialogus*, the abbot asserted that it was precisely this spiritual avenue to salvation that Christendom had neglected. As a result, the holy

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[268] 'Lego in Veteri testamento duces, reges etiam et prohetas frequenter de hostibus suis gravibus sumpsisse vindictam. Ut autem verbo Helie prophete utar, non sum melior quam patres mei [1 Sam. 18:4].' *Dialogus*, 396. On this section of the *Dialogus*, see also Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 280–2.

[269] 'Attende, rex, quia non es de populo Judeorum aut discipulus Moysis, sed de populo adquisitionis Christique discipulus et professor.' Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*, 389.

[270] 'Porro licet mandata Veteris testamenti, id est legis, ad tutelam corporum pertinerent, saultem tamen anime non habebant…'. Ibid., 390.

[271] '…docet nos non solum inimicis et persecutoribus nostris veniam dare, sed inimicos diligere et pro ipsis orare…'. Ibid., 390.

sites at Jerusalem were lost, and a renewed demonstration of faith in the form of the crusades was necessary to ensure redemption.[272]

Peter evidently recognised that his contemporaries were prone to using Old Testament imagery to interpret and respond to present-day events but often represented the progression from one to the other as entirely continuous. The *Dialogus* highlights that he considered this approach detrimental to Christian spirituality since it risked omitting Christ's all-important intercession and distracting from the proper path to salvation by focusing on the material rather than the spiritual.

However, this is not to say that Peter rejected all references to the first part of the biblical canon in explaining the territorial losses suffered in 1187. While he underlined that the Christians should not view themselves as identical to the ancient Israelites, he did not shy away from pointing out certain parallels between the conflict in Outremer and biblical narratives of war. Indeed, we have already seen that Peter drew upon Old Testament imagery in his *Passio Raginaldi*, discussed in the previous chapter.[273] Using Isaiah 42 and Daniel 3 to argue that the defeat at Hattin and the surrender of Jerusalem had been the result of divine punishment for sin, he wrote,

> 'Who,' said the same prophet [Isaiah], 'handed Jacob over to become loot, and Israel to the plunderers? Was it not the Lord, against whom we have sinned?' [Is. 42:24] 'all you have done to us, you have done by a proper judgment,' [Dan. 3:31] since we have sinned against you and have not obeyed your commands….'[274]

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[272] 'Rex. 'Nonne via Ierosolimitana posset vere confessis et penitentibus pro omni satisfactione sufficere ad salutem?' Abbas. 'Posset utique, et hec erat precipue spes mea in Christo, ut in labore huius vie deo satisfacerent qui alio modo penitentiam agere negligebant. Sed peccatis nostris exigentibus, derelicta est via domini que ducebat ad vitam: video homines ambulantes in viis diaboli, festinantes ad mortem, crux, que nos redemit capta est et non est qui eam redimat, sepulcrum et templum atque cetera loca, que dominus sua corporali presentia consecravit, tenentur et prophanantur ab impiis, unde et verba me dolore sunt plena [Iob 6:3]'.' Ibid., 407–8.

[273] See page 63.

[274] '*Quis dedit,* ait idem propheta, *Iacob in direptionem et Israel vastantibus? Nonne dominus ipse cui peccavimus? Revera omnia que fecisti*, domine, *in vero iudicio fecisti*, quia peccavimus tibi et mandatis tuis non obedivimus…'. Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 33–4.

Here Peter used the Scriptures not to suggest that what had happened was a continuation of the struggle between the Israelites and the Babylonians, as described by Isaiah and Daniel, but to argue that the mechanism through which it had occurred was the same: God's just chastisement for the sins of his people. By explaining the defeat in light of these familiar scriptural passages, Peter made his explanation for what had happened in the Latin East more convincing and gave defeat a greater spiritual significance. This was further emphasised by a passage in which he gave a brief account of the many attacks on the Jews of Jerusalem described in the Old Testament and early-Christian texts, from the attacks by the Moabites and Philistines to the destruction of the Temple by Titus and Vespasian.[275] For every one of these episodes, the instrument of God's scourge had been different, but each had been allowed to inflict suffering upon the chosen people because of their sins. Saladin's forces had achieved victory in a similar manner, Peter asserted.[276] He closes the passage with a citation from Psalm 29(30):6: 'so when he is angry he humbles those he exalts when he is pleased, for wrath is in his indignation and life in his approval.'[277] As such, Peter left no room for doubt that the only path towards the recovery of the Holy Land was to appease divine anger by turning away from worldly corruptions and dedicating oneself to God's cause. Like the Israelites, they must put their faith entirely in the hands of their Lord to obtain redemption so that they might return to Jerusalem, just as those in Babylonian exile had been allowed to return after they demonstrated a renewed respect for the divine law. While the *Dialogus* shows that Peter felt it was essential to recognise the importance of Christ's intercession and the role of the New Covenant, he clearly felt that appropriate examples from the Old Testament could nonetheless serve a purpose in reminding people that spiritual renewal was the only path toward recovery of the lost land.

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[275] Ibid., 48–9. For a discussion of this paragraph, see also Cole, 'Christian perceptions,' 29.

[276] 'Hec omnia in terra illa nuper accidisse cognovimus, nam, ut verbum prophete assumam, *non poterat dominus ulterius portare propter malitiam impiorum hominum*…' Ibid., 49.

[277] '…sic humiliat iratus, quos placatus exaltat, *nam ira in indignationis eius et vita in voluntate eius*.' Ibid., 29.

Some of Peter's contemporaries were likewise careful to avoid the suggestion that the conflict in the Latin East was part of the same struggle as that faced by the Israelites of the Old Testament. Unlike in the Chronicle of Morigny Abbey and the anonymous songs discussed above, episodes from the first part of the biblical canon were not brought into the present by these authors but merely held up as templates of how God punished and rewarded.

This is evident, for example, in the encyclical *Audita tremendi.* As we have previously established, Pope Gregory VIII explained the defeat at Hattin as a divine punishment for the universal sins of the Christian community.[278] To validate his explanation of what had occurred and to emphasise that the loss suffered was a necessary step toward redemption, the pope used familiar imagery from the Old Testament:

> We must not believe that these things have happened because of the injustice of an angry judge, but rather because of the iniquities of an erring people, as we read that when the people were converted to the Lord, 'one persecuted a thousand and two put to flight ten thousand' [Deut. 32:30].[279]

This is a reference to the Song of Moses found in Deuteronomy 32:1–43. The prophet recounts the punishments God brought upon the Israelites after they abandoned the Covenant and began to worship the gods of the land on which they had settled. While they were more numerous than their enemies, the Israelites were driven away because of God's wrath. According to Gregory, this verse demonstrated that the events that had taken place in Outremer in 1187 had followed a set pattern described repeatedly in the Scriptures. The elected were defeated due to their disregard for divine law so that they might realise their mistakes and perform the appropriate penance. Peter would later use this same

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[278] See pages 59–60.

[279] 'Nos autem credere non debemus quod ex iniustitia Iudicis ferientis, sed ex iniquitate potius populi delinquentis, ista provenerunt, cum legamus quod, quando populus convertebatur ad Dominum, persequebatur unus mille, et duo fugabant decem millia…'. Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, 92–3.

verse in the *Conquestio* to support his calls for spiritual regeneration.[280] Only through renewed devotion, the pope asserted by referencing another scriptural passage, could the losses sustained at the hands of Saladin be overturned:

> On the other hand, the army of Sennacherib was destroyed by an angelic hand when the people [of Jerusalem] themselves were quiet [2 Kings 18:36; 2 Kings 19:35; 2 Macc. 15:22; 2 Chronicles 32:21].[281]

After the Israelites, led by the pious Hezekiah, had entrusted their fate to God alone and resorted to prayer, the Assyrian army had been overcome by divine strength alone. Saladin's forces would similarly be shattered, the pope implied, if the Christians likewise dedicated themselves entirely to the faith.

Rather than suggesting that the conflict in Outremer was a continuation of the struggle between the Israelites and their enemies, Gregory used specific passages from the Old Testament to illustrate the workings of divine chastisement typologically. The crusaders were not presented as 'new Israelites', nor were Saladin's armies identified with their ancient enemies. Instead, various episodes from the first part of the biblical canon were used to exemplify how God punished those who disregarded his law and helped those who demonstrated to be wholly devoted. In this way, the pope's assertion that the suffering of the inhabitants of Outremer had been the just result of sins committed appeared more impressive and legitimate by presenting it as a familiar part of God's redemptive designs.

In short, the biblical exegesis that underpinned these responses to the loss of territory was by no means mechanical. Contemporaries selected specific narratives that worked within a military context and had the potential to explain the causes of and remedies to defeat. Moreover, authors approached the scriptures in different ways when making connections with their present day realities. Some like the composer of 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea' enthusiastically applied Old

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[280] 'Quomodo persequebatur unus mille et duo fugabant decem milia?' Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 93. Peter also referred to this same scriptural verse in the *Passio*, but there it is interpreted slightly differently than it had been in the papal encyclical and later would be in the *Conquestio*.

[281] '…imo, ipso populo quiescente, exercitum Sennacherib angelica manu consumptum.' Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, 93.

Testament imagery to the context of the crusades. Others, like Peter of Blois, were more conservative in their approach and emphasised that narratives from the first part of the biblical canon should be viewed through the lens of the New Testament.

In the words of the prophet Jeremiah

A second scriptural theme that was applied enthusiastically to the context of defeat in Outremer centred around the prophecies of Jeremiah, who was believed to have been responsible for both the Book of Jeremiah and the Book of Lamentations.[282] Divine chastisement and the need for repentance are central to both texts. As such, authors appear to have considered many passages within as appropriate models through which the loss of territory in the Latin East as a result of sin could be explained. Moreover, the mournful tone of the prophet was ideally suited to give expression to the grief felt at the news of significant defeats.

References to the words attributed to the prophet are most common in those accounts written after Hattin and the surrender of Jerusalem. While the defeats at Edessa, Harim, Banyas and Damietta do not appear to have prompted the use of its imagery quite as frequently, the parallels with the suffering of the exiled Jerusalemites described in Jeremiah and Lamentations were undeniable when news of Saladin's victories in 1187 made their way across Christendom.

This is likewise evident in the encyclical *Audita tremendi,* which, as we have seen, made ample use of Old Testament models to explain the workings of divine anger and grace. Indeed, after describing the scale of the destruction caused at Hattin, the pope concluded the *narratio* with a reference to Jeremiah 9:1:

> While we may have to follow the prophet in saying: 'Who may give water for my head and a fountain of tears for my eyes, and I will cry night and day for those among my people who were murdered,' [Jer. 9:1] we must not be so dejected that we decide to abandon the faith

[282] Recent scholarship has shown that it is unlikely that Jeremiah composed the Book of Lamentations, suggesting instead that it is a compilation of the work of several different poets. See, for instance, C. W. Miller, 'The Book of Lamentations in Recent Research,' *Currents in Biblical Research* 1/1 (2002), 9–29; J. Kalman, 'If Jeremiah Wrote It, It Must be OK: On the Attribution of Lamentations to Jeremiah in Early Rabbinic Texts,' *Acta Theologica* 29/2 (2009), 31–53.

> and believe that God's indignation at his people is such that he would allow himself to become angry at the actions carried out by a community of sinners and will not quickly bring relief through his mercy when he has been placated by penance and that he will not quickly bring about exultation after lamentation and tears.[283]

By suggesting that the words spoken by Jeremiah were applicable in the wake of the defeat at Hattin, the pope strengthened his broader message that it had been the result of divine chastisement for iniquity. Just as the prophet lamented the moral corruption of the people of Jerusalem and God's inevitable punishment for their disobedience, so the pope mourned the iniquities of the Christian people, which had caused a divine scourge in the form of military defeat. However, according to Gregory, this should by no means be taken as a challenge to the notion that God's nature was ultimately merciful. Just as the Israelites had eventually been forgiven once they had corrected their behaviour, the Christian community would rejoice as their possessions were restored once appropriate penance had been carried out.

Following the example set by *Audita tremendi*, commentators frequently used the narratives found in Jeremiah and Lamentations to provide an example of the mechanism through which loss had been suffered. Moreover, in words ascribed to Jeremiah, they found the linguistic register to articulate the anxiety felt after the loss of territories in Outremer, thereby providing a means of catharsis for author and audience. Both books were felt to contain messages of direct relevance for medieval Christians. Regarding Lamentations, this is evident from the many exegetical works that emphasise the interpretative significance of the words contained within, including the influential commentary by Paschasius Radbertus

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[283] 'Nos autem licet cum propheta dicere habeamus: *quis det capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrimarum et plorabo nocte ac die interfectos populi mei*, non tamen adeo nos deicere debemus, ut in diffidentiam decidamus et credamus sic deum populo suo iratum, ut quod communium faciente peccatorum fieri permisit iratus, non cito per misericordiam penitentia placatus alleviet et post lacrimationem et fletum exultationem inducat.' Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, 7. Peter of Blois would later use the same scriptural verse in several of his works concerning the loss of Jerusalem. See, for instance, Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 75, as well as a poem written by the same author in 1193 entitled 'Quis aquam tuo capiti'. Idem, 'Quis aquam tuo capiti,' in C. Wolin (ed.), *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, CCCM 128 (Turnhout, 1998), 257–62.

discussed in the previous chapter.[284] However, Jeremiah was likewise believed to contain moral lessons highly applicable to the medieval world, even though fewer commentaries of this part of the Old Testament were written.[285] Of course, the significance of Jeremiah and Lamentations also transcended scholarly circles since both texts had central roles in the liturgical calendar and sermons.[286]

Specific elegiac themes were particularly popular in response to the events of 1187. Indeed, the image of Rachel weeping, found in Jeremiah 31:15 (and copied in Matthew 2:18), seems to have been particularly attractive.[287] The image of a mother's grief for the children she was unable to bear was turned into a lament for the children of Israel who were born only to be lost in exile. Medieval theologians not only understood this scriptural passage to be a prefiguration for the Massacre of the Innocents but the grieving matriarch was also believed to symbolise the personified Mother Church, *Ecclesia*, who mourned for the spiritual inadequacy of the Christian community.[288] It is in this sense that commentators employed the imagery of Rachel weeping in their explanations of why Christian territories had been lost to Saladin's forces.

Henry of Albano used it in the thirteenth treatise of his *De peregrinante civitate Dei*.[289] Here the papal legate and crusade propagandist argued that

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[284] See pages 39–40.

[285] J. A. Schroeder, 'Medieval Christian Interpretation of the Book of Jeremiah,' in J. Lundbom, C.A. Evans and B. Anderson (eds.), *The Book of Jeremiah: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation* (Leiden, 2018), 414–34.

[286] Lamentations was, of course, central to the liturgy of the Holy Week and would also come to play a pivotal role in the later movement towards an increased emphasis on the suffering of Christ, particularly Lamentations 1:12. D. H. Green, *The Millstätter Exodus: A Crusading Epic* (Cambridge, 1966), 410. Davis, "'Ye that pasen by þe weiye",' 437; E. L. Lillie, 'O vos omnes qui transitis per viam,' in E. L. Lillie and N. H. Petersen (eds.), *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan* (Copenhagen, 1996), 205–20; For sermons see, among others, Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, 92, 95, 133, 187, 219.

[287] 'Haec dicit Dominus: Vox in excelso audita est lamentationis: luctus, et fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos, et nolentis consolari super eis, quia non sunt.' Jeremiah 31:15.

[288] Ælfric, *Sermones Catholici*, in B. Thorpe (ed.), *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* 2 vols (London, 1844–46), 82; 'Verum haec [Rachel] in genere Ecclesiae typum praetulit…' Hrabanus Maurus, 'Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri octo,' PL 107, cols. 727—1156, col. 763D.

[289] See pages 96–7.

Saladin's victories were first and foremost spiritual disasters caused by the sins of Christians. I have already argued that Henry used the Old Testament, specifically Hebrews 12:6, to stress that his contemporaries should take what had happened in Outremer as an opportunity for redemption. However, as we will see throughout this chapter, his use of this first part of the biblical canon was more extensive than this. In the opening section of the text, to set the scene of devastation, which the author felt accurately described the Holy City in the wake of its surrender, Henry used Psalms 86(7):3 and 47(8):9, of Job 31:30 and Isaiah 22:2. This part of the text culminates with a reference to Rachel adapted from Jeremiah 31:15 and Matthew 2:18. Indeed, Henry asked rhetorically,

> What else should today be the voice of the Church, if not that of Rachel, which means 'ewe', fertility having been parted with, Naomi's loveliness having been shrouded in darkness [Ruth 1–4], deploring her ruins in a fourfold way as those Jeremiah described?[290]

According to the papal legate, then, no image could describe the devastation of the Holy City more clearly or appropriately than that of Rachel in mourning. Of course, this image was considered all the more applicable because the narrative in Jeremiah too describes a loss suffered because of a transgression of divine law. By using this imagery in his account, Henry not only delivered an impressive plea for military mobilisation by suggesting that the situation in the East was as dire as that described by the prophet. Indeed, he also provided an explanation of the events with which Christians were familiar. As in the case of the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians, Jerusalem also had now been destroyed because of the sins of God's people. As such, the imagery of Rachel weeping had the potential to make explanations of defeat as a divine punishment more convincing, as was the case with depictions of the Christians as Israelite warriors. Such rhetoric also amplified the exhortatory nature of the text by implying that the

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[290] 'Quae hodie alia debet esse vox Ecclesiae, nisi ut Rachelis, quae ovis interpretatur, amissa fecunditate, offuscata Noemi venustate, ruinas suas deplorans quadrupliciter eas cum Jeremia describat?' *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, cols. 351. The mention of the 'fourfold' nature of Lamentations is a reference to the four distinct laments treated in chapters 1 to 4. Henry elaborated on this in the first tract of the *De peregrinante*, cols. 259—60.

disaster was one of literal biblical proportions and, as a result, warranted a response from the Christian community which was equal, if not greater, than that shown by the Israelites.

The image of Rachel weeping was combined with that of the Israelites at war in the above-mentioned song 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea'. As we have seen, its anonymous author cast Saladin's forces into the role of Israel's ancient enemies and borrowed from Psalm 136(7), which, in the Vulgate, was also attributed to Jeremiah.[291] In this way, the conflict between the Christians and the Muslims was transformed into a biblical struggle between the people of God and their enemies. This depiction was further strengthened by a reference to Jeremiah 31:15, as the composer asserted that, 'Rachel laments mournfully, no one consoles her…' (3.3–4).[292]

Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert suggested that by using these lines, the song's author sought to portray the defeat at the hands of Saladin's forces as a second Massacre of the Innocents.[293] However, throughout the composition, the song refers almost exclusively to examples from the Old Testament. A conclusion more consistent with the rhetoric displayed in the poem's other stanzas would be that the author wanted to portray the suffering of the inhabitants in the East as a second Babylonian destruction of the Holy City. Accordingly, he used the image of Rachel weeping here to extend his suggestion that the conflict between the Latin Christian and Muslim forces in Outremer was a continuation of the long-fought Israelite struggle against God's enemies. Just as, due to their disobedience and corruption, they had been punished with defeat at the hands of the Babylonians, so too now had the Christian community been punished for its sins at the hands of the most recent instrument of divine vengeance: Saladin.

The image of Jeremiah 31:15 would continue to feature frequently in documents concerned with the crusading movement and with the fate of the

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[291] The Vulgate version of Psalm 136:1 bears the superscription: 'Psalmus David, Jeremiae.'

[292] 'Rachel tristis lamentur,
Eam nemo consolatur…'.
'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,' 315.

[293] F.-W., Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters: Studien zu ihrer geschichtlichen und dichterischen Wirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1960), 177.

Christian territories in Outremer. It often played a central role in Gregory IX's rhetoric, especially in bulls like *Vox in Rama* (June 1233) and *Rachel suum videns* (November 1234).[294]

However, in responding to the events of 1187, even greater emphasis was placed on references to the Book of Lamentations. As authors sought to acknowledge what had happened and determine how Christendom would react, they turned to what they believed to be the poetic expressions of grief recorded by the Prophet Jeremiah for the destruction of Jerusalem in the sixth century BCE. Using these scriptural references, Christian authors could convey the gravity of the situation in the Latin East by proposing that the prophecies of Jeremiah were fulfilled in the territorial losses suffered in the late twelfth century. Just as those who had used the image of Rachel weeping had done, they emphasised that what had happened was a disaster of equal proportions to one of the most impressive narratives of the Old Testament. Such rhetoric, in turn, served to convince their audiences that a significant response was warranted in the form of greater spiritual devotion, which could be demonstrated through the preaching of or participation in the Third Crusade.

References to Lamentations were especially prevalent in Latin compositions written after the news of Saladin's victories at Hattin and Jerusalem reached Western Europe. An example of this is the poem 'Iuxta Threnos Ieremiae', which has come down to us as part of Roger of Howden's *Gesta*, as well as his later *Chronica*, where it is attributed to Berter of Orléans 'who speaking thus inspired the souls of many to take the cross'.[295] The composition, written at some point between the surrender of Jerusalem in 1187 and the first movement of armies to the East in 1189, has received some attention in modern scholarship but is in much need of an updated study.

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[294] Gregory IX, *Vox in Rama* (11 June 1233), MGH Epp. saec. XIII, 1, no. 537, 432–4; Gregory IX, *Rachel suum videns* (17 November 1234), in ibid., 1, no. 605, 491–5.

[295] 'Eratque quidam clericus dictus Berterus Aurelianensis qui ad crucem accipiendam multorum animos excitavit, dicens…' Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2.330–2; Idem, *Gesta*, 2.26–8. The version contained within Roger of Hoveden's work has also been published separatedly. See Berter of Orléans, 'Iuxta threnos Ieremiae,' in F. J. E. Raby (ed.), *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse* (Oxford, 1959), no. 201, 297–300. All references to the song hereafter are to this edition.

Most importantly, none of the existing editions and discussions of the poem have recognised that it also survives separately from Roger of Howden's text, in a single manuscript fragment dating from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. It is part of a composite codex compiled at the Benedictine Abbey of Esternach in Luxembourg but now held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France as Ms. lat. 8917.[296] The text of Berter's composition can be found on fol. 102v, which, although the left-hand side of the folio was removed at some point, preserves the entirety of the poem.[297] I have identified several textual variances between this version and that found in Roger of Howden's *Chronica*, which warrant a new edition of 'Iuxta threnos Ieremiae' that takes this second document into account.

Moreover, while the poem is a rare example of a Latin composition whose author is known to us by name, previous studies of the text have not usually considered Berter's background when preparing their analyses. In fact, surviving source material that has the potential to shed light on his life and career has largely been ignored by Anglophone studies of the composition.[298] Nonetheless, while biographical information relating to Berter of Orléans is certainly scarce, it sheds light on the intended audience of the composition and is, therefore, valuable

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[296] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 8917, fol. 102v (twelfth century).

[297] Ibid.

[298] Some scholars have actually pointed to a lack of source material, perhaps unaware of the work which John R. Williams did in the 1920s and, more recently, by Charles Vulliez and Thomas Haye. R. J. Doney, *Crusade Songs: Latin Exhortations, With Some Remarks on Vernacular Counterparts* (PhD diss., University of Illinois, 1951), 174; Jackson, *Ardent Complaints and Equivocal Piety*, 17. For Williams, Vulliez and Haye see note 273 below.

to our understanding of precisely whose behaviours and beliefs might have been influenced by this particular narrative of defeat.[299]

[299] There are indeed just two contemporary mentions of a cleric named Berter that can be connected to the author of 'Iuxta threnos Ieremiae' with confidence. The first is found in an anecdote included by Roger at an earlier point in his work and places him at the papal court between 1173 and 1175 as an ambassador of Henry, the Young King. The second is an anonymous letter to an unknown recipient that confirms the story and similarly mentions a 'magister Bert'. However, Williams, Vulliez and Haye have further speculated that the 'magister Berterus' mentioned in a gloss that accompanies Walter of Chatillon's *Alexandreis* in several thirteenth-century manuscripts is the poet Berter of Orléans. The author of this annotation suggests that this 'Berterus' was Walter's rival for the romantic affections of the powerful Archbishop William 'White Hands' and that the latter's decision to send this 'Berterus' to the papal court as his envoy caused Walter's to write the *Alexandreis*. I see no reason to doubt the conclusions drawn by Williams, Vulliez and Haye. Given that Walter wrote his work between 1178 and 1182, and we know from Roger of Hoveden that Berter had travelled to Italy just a few years earlier, it is not unlikely that he maintained contacts at the papal court and was therefore called upon again not long after. That Henry would have employed the same man to speak on his behalf at the papal court as William, King Louis VII's brother-in-law, is also not unthinkable, given that the young king was in conflict with his father at this point. Walter of Châtillon, *Alexandreis*, ed. M. L. Colker (Padua, 1978), xv–i; J. R. Williams, 'William of the White Hands and Men of Letters,' in C. H. Taylor and J. L. La Monte (eds.), *Anniversary Essays in Mediaeval History* (Boston, MA., 1929), 365–87; C. Vulliez, *Des écoles de l'Orléanais à l'université d'Orléans (Xe - début XIVe siècle)* (PhD diss., Université Paris X — Nanterre, 1993), 479—92; T. Haye, *Päpste und Poeten: Die mittelalterliche Kurie als Objekt und Förderer panegyrischer Dichtung* (Berlin, 2009), 56–7. They also identify Berter of Orléans with the 'Bertredus' mentioned in one of Walter of Châtillon's poems. See, D. A. Traill, 'Walter of Chatillon's Prosimetron "In Domino confido" (W.3): Where and when was it performed?' in M. C. Diaz y Diaz and J. M. Diaz de Bustamante (eds.), *Poesía latina medieval (siglos V-XV)*, (Florence, 2005), 851–62.

Indeed, contemporary evidence ties Berter to Orléans during the second half of the 1180s.[300] This suggests that the text was most likely intended in the first instance for the people of Orléans, after which it was distributed more widely, eventually reaching Roger of Howden and the monks at Esternach Abbey.

Furthermore, the content of the composition suggests it was composed with a lay audience in mind. Indeed, it is explicitly exhortative and addresses itself to military men who could be expected to respond to the papacy's calls for a new campaign in aid of the Crusader States in the wake of the defeat at Hattin. Additionally, Roger's introduction indicates that the poem was meant to be

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[300] In his 1929 article, Williams tentatively connected the 'Berterus' mentioned in the gloss and the composition's author to a canon of the same name, who is described as a canon of the Cathedral church of Sainte-Croix in Orléans in several charters. He is referenced, for instance, as 'magister Berterus', a canon [*concanonicus*] of both Sainte-Croix and Chartres, in a document written by Geoffrey of Berou, dean of the chapter at Chartres, at some point between 1166 and 1189. Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, G 376. Edited in *Cartulaire de Sainte-Croix d'Orléans (814-1300)*, ed. E. Jarry and J. Thillier (Paris, 1906), no. 77, 149–50. For Geoffrey of Berou, see L. Merlet and R. Merlet, *Les Dignitaires de l'Église Notre-Dame de Chartres (Archives du diocèse de Chartres, V)* (Chartres, 1900), 14. As Williams pointed out, William 'White Hands' had been bishop of Chartres between 1164 and 1175. Therefore, it is possible that the Berter mentioned in the gloss and the cleric mentioned in Geoffrey's charter were the same, having met the archbishop while at Chartres as a canon and subsequently grown close to him. Finally, some have speculated that this canon, if indeed the same figure as the 'magister Berterus' referenced in the gloss, would go on to become archdeacon of Cambrai in the 1190s, as there are several documents that attest to a 'magister Berterus, Cameracensis archidiaconus' who appears to have been close to the archbishop. Specifically in the surviving letters from Stephen of Tournai (PL 211, nos. 99, 123, 208, 241). Williams, 'William of the White Hands,' 374; Vulliez, *Des écoles de l'Orléanais*, 479–80. Nevertheless, there is no concrete evidence that connects this Berter to Orléans. Vulliez identified several additional charters which mention this same canon named Berter, including at least three that place him in Orléans in the years 1186 to 1189. Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, H 22, 233. Edited in *Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. M. Prou and A. Vidier, 2 vols (Paris, 1900–12), no. 260, 147–8; Orléans, Archives départementales du Loiret, H 22, 284. Edited in Prou and Vidier, *Recueil des chartes*, no. 241, 117–8; *Les chartes originales de l'ancien Hôtel-Dieu d'Orléans*, ed. C. Cuissard (Orléans, 1900), no. 11, 26–7; Vulliez, *Des écoles de l'Orléanais*, 487–90. Considering that it was by no means a common name, as contemporary evidence demonstrates, it is not unlikely that this figure is the 'clericus dictus Berterus Aurelianensis' mentioned in Roger's work. Indeed, suppose the canon named Berter did become archdeacon of Cambrai. In that case, only one other figure named Berter can be identified in the French source material of this period. He was abbot of Saint-Euverte at Orléans between 1194 and 1200, but since he is referred to as 'prior' in a document from 1182, he cannot be the same person as the canon from the charters mentioned above. In short, biographical evidence tells us that, whether it was the canon who composed 'Iuxta threnos Ieremiae' or the man who went on to become abbot of Saint-Euverte, it is highly probable that the author of the poem was at Orléans when news came of the defeat at Hattin and, soon after, of the surrender of Jerusalem.

performed orally. Therefore, we might imagine a scenario in which it was performed in support of broader preaching efforts in the town, perhaps serving a para-liturgical function, as Cecilia Gaposchkin has argued was often the case for Latin crusade compositions.[301]

To this end, then, Berter made ample use of citations from Lamentations. The words thought to belong to the prophet Jeremiah are used to convey the gravity of the situation in the Holy Land and render his appeal for military support more impressive. The author opens with reference to Lamentations 1:4:

> Just as in the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the roads to Zion are bewailing that there is no one to visit the Sepulchre on the solemn day [Easter], or to bring to mind the misfortune of that prophecy.[302]
> (1.1–6)

On the one hand, these lines stressed that the destruction caused by Saladin's victories had been immense, on par with that caused by Nebuchadnezzar, and that it would require a powerful response. On the other hand, they conveyed that the loss suffered was not just a temporal loss but, more significantly, a spiritual one. Above all, the prophet mourns not for the physical devastation caused but for God's desertion of Jerusalem as punishment for the disobedience of its people and the consequent neglect of the Holy Places. So too, Berter suggested, should the Christian community come to understand the events of 1187: as a spiritual disaster.

This rhetoric was strengthened by the subsequent identification of the Muslim adversary in the East with the Philistines, God's preferred instrument of wrath, at different points throughout the Old Testament. The composition refers

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[301] Gaposchkin, 'The Echoes of Victory,' 246.

[302] 'Iuxta threnos Ieremiae,
vere Syon lugent viae
quod sollempni non sit die
qui sepulchrum visitet
vel casum resuscitet
huius prophetiae.'
Berter of Orléans, 'Iuxta threnos Ieremiae,' 297. For discussion of line 1.3 see Green, *The Millstätter Exodus*, 410–1.

explicitly to the episode detailed in 1 Samuel 4–6 of the theft and subsequent return of the Ark of the Covenant:

> New Philistines have once again captured the cross, the cross of him who was condemned, they have taken the Ark of God, the Ark of the New Covenant, the object of ancient prefiguration, after taking the prefiguration of that object.[303]
> (5.1–6)

Just as God had allowed the Israelites to be defeated by the Philistines near Eben-Ezer and the Ark, which had been carried into battle to secure victory, to be taken because of the sins of Eli (1 Sam. 2 and 3), so too now were the Christians defeated in the East and was the Holy Cross, taken. The captivity of the Ark is presented as an antecedent of the capture of the Cross by Saladin. In this way, Berter implied that the losses recently suffered in Outremer had a similar spiritual cause and that a renewed show of devotion was the point of departure for any military response. Indeed, victory could not be achieved if the relationship with God was not first restored. It is no surprise, then, that this is the central theme of the poem's final exhortation:

> When you hear what my intentions are, take up the cross and with devotion declare: 'I commend myself to him, who gave up body and

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303 'Novi rursum Philistaei,
Cruce capta, crucis rei
Receperunt archam Dei,
Archam novi foederis,
Rem figurae veteris
Post figuram rei.'
Berter of Orléans, 'Iuxta threnos Ieremiae,' 298–9.

life as a sacrifice when he died for me.[304]
(11.1–6)

According to the poet, the Christian community must dedicate itself to God's cause, just as Christ had shown devotion to man through his sacrifice on the Cross.

Various other Latin compositions, written in response to Saladin's military successes, likewise used language adapted from Lamentations to stress that the loss of the Holy City was, above all, a religious disaster. Passages from this part of the Old Testament were used to show that just as the prophet had mourned not for the physical destruction of the worldly Jerusalem but for the loss of God's assistance and the consequent inability to attend to its ritual sacrality. Similarly, the Christian community ought to mourn the loss primarily as something detrimental to their relationship with God that thus formed an obstacle on the path to salvation.

For example, references to Jeremiah's words appear in the composition 'Threni captis Hierosolymis' by a certain Erbo and in the anonymous compositions 'Miror cur tepeat' and 'Sede, Sion in pulvere'.[305] All three were written in the years immediately following the loss of the Holy City to incite both

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304 'Cum attendas ad quid tendo,
crucem tollas, et vovendo
dicas: 'illi me commendo
qui corpus et animam
expendit in victimam
pro me moriendo.' Ibid., 300.

This is one of the stanzas for which BnF, Ms. lat. 8917, fol. 102v differs most significantly.
'Cum adtendis ad quid tendo,
crucem tollas et commonendo
dicas: 'illi me rependo
qui corpus et animam
expendit in victimam,
pro me redimendo.'

305 Erbo, 'Threni captis Hierosolymis,' AH 33, no. 266, 316–8. Wilhelm Fink identified the author with Erbo II, Abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of Prüfening (1168–1187), but this conclusion has generally been rejected. W. Fink, 'Abt Erbo II. von Prüfening, der Verfasser der sog. Quirinalien = Metellus,' *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 60 (1946), 53–75; J. Szövérffy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung: ein Handbuch*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1964–65), 1.146; 'Miror, cur tepeat,' AH 33, no. 267, 319–20; 'Sede, Sion in pulvere,' AH 21, no. 234, 164.

spiritual renewal and military mobilisation. By responding to what had happened with words taken from Lamentations, their authors proposed that the context of the defeat suffered in Outremer was comparable to that of the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem. Indeed, their use of this scriptural narrative to make sense of Saladin's victory implied that the losses of 1187 likewise had a spiritual cause. The Christians had been chastised by God for their sins, just as the Israelites had been punished for their disobedience. The composers of these three songs suggested that the Latin response should take this into account and, first and foremost, be guided by a renewed show of devotion. Moreover, in support of broader preaching efforts, these compositions stressed that God had prepared an opportunity for this exact purpose in the form of the Third Crusade, which should be seized upon by all who were in a position to take the cross.

At the same time, such rhetoric built on scriptural references that showed how God had historically involved himself in military affairs to punish his people for sin could assuage anxiety about the future of the Holy Land and convey confidence in the outcome of the planned campaigns to Outremer. As authors associated their interpretations of what had happened in 1187 with biblical instances of territorial loss caused by divine chastisement which had ultimately been overturned when God's people abandoned their sinful ways, it was implied that the events in the Latin East would follow a similar pattern. They were all aware that the period of exile in Babylon described by Jeremiah and Lamentations had eventually ended as the Israelites renounced their iniquities. In the same way, Christians had to abandon their sinful conduct and demonstrate their dedication to God's cause. If they followed this guidance, God would return to their side, just as he had returned to the Israelites' side and restored Jerusalem to their ownership. Not only did this give the impression that authors using this rhetoric were aware of a blueprint for redemption of sorts, giving them spiritual capital, but such rhetoric could also reassure a distraught audience and soften the shock felt throughout Christendom in the wake of the defeat.

It is important to note that beyond its potential to encourage greater devotion and the taking up of arms in defence of the Holy Land, the use of passages from Lamentations also allowed authors to give expression to the grief felt and provide their audience with a linguistic register with which they might do

the same. In this manner, their rationalisations of the defeats suffered simultaneously stimulated a degree of catharsis.

The Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and the Psalms

It was for these same purposes — the encouragement of spiritual revival, the expression of confidence in a positive outcome and a sense of catharsis — that several passages from the Psalms, which similarly lament the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar and the subsequent period of exile, were also frequently referenced in response to defeat.

Psalm 136(7), likewise attributed to Jeremiah, was felt to be particularly representative, as is evident from its use in a variety of sources, including the above-discussed composition 'Plange, Sion et Iudaea', attributed to Albert of Tarsus, as well as a *conductus* known as 'Quomodo cantabimus', which some modern scholars have attributed to Philip the Chancellor.[306]

Yet, references to this psalm, which reflects the longing of the exiled Israelites for Jerusalem, were by no means limited to Latin lyric. Indeed, they also featured in more elaborate, systematic expositions on the subject of Saladin's victories and the required response. For example, Peter of Blois quoted from this

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306 'Pendet in salicibus
Organum cum lyra [Ps. 136(7):2].'
'Plange, Sion et Iudaea,' 315.

'Quomodo cantabimus,
sub iniqua lege [Ps. 136(7):4].'
'Quomodo cantabimus,' AH 21.165, no. 235. Guido M. Dreves, who edited this volume of the AH, attributed the *conductus* to Philip the Chancellor, but Joseph Szövérffy questioned the legitimacy of Dreves' conclusions on the matter [Szövérffy, *Annalen*, 2.199—200]. Peter Dronke did, however, include 'Quomodo cantabimus' in his tentative bibliography of Philip [P. Dronke, 'The Lyrical Compositions of Philip the Chancellor,' *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 25 (1987), 563–92, 590]. See also Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, 268–73 and, more recently, M. Everist, *Discovering Medieval song: Latin poetry and music in the Conductus* (Cambridge, 2018), 225–9.

part of the Scriptures in the *exordium* of his *Passio Raginaldi*.[307] In this part of the treatise, he criticised the failure of European leaders to keep their promises of crusade after the initial enthusiasm they had shown in reaction to the news of the defeat at Hattin and the surrender of the Holy City. This passage uses Psalm 136(7) to negatively contrast European leaders with the mournful Israelites who thought of nothing else but a return to Jerusalem. The *Passio* encouraged Christian leaders to follow the example of the Israelites in exile. Peter evidently felt that in this instance, Psalm 136(7) would be most appropriate for the encouragement of renewed spiritual fervour and mobilisation for God's cause.[308]

One psalm that appears to have been considered even more suitable in accounts written in response to defeat suffered in the Holy Land was Psalm 78(9). Having been composed as a lament for the devastation and consequent ritual pollution of the Temple at the hands of the Babylonians led by Nebuchadnezzar, it was considered especially applicable in the wake of Saladin's victories for the same reasons as the works attributed to Jeremiah were. As such, it was used in a wide variety of genres, from Pope Gregory VIII's *Audita tremendi* to Latin poems and contemporary *conducti*, as well as treatises, letters and the liturgical rituals instituted after the surrender of the Holy City.

Using its opening verse — 'O God, the pagans have entered your inheritance, they have polluted your holy temple' — this scriptural reference came

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[307] 'Now the word of the cross, which had recently inflamed the minds of the faithful with an unheard of ardour of love, has been buried by such a decrease in fervour and sluggishness, that it seems as if the Lord had sent down the spirit of sleep and the forgetfulness of death to the sons of men. Where is the devotion of those, who once spoke sobbingly with sighs and a rushing flood of tears: 'If I forget you, Jerusalem, let my right hand be forgotten' [Ps. 136(7):4]? Those in whom the love of Christ was kindled by their devotion, fell away from faith and love which are in Christ, and the army of God turned to wickedness…' ['Nunc autem verbum crucis, quod nuper fidelium mentes inaudito fervore caritatis accenderat, sic tepuit, sic accidie torpore sepultum est, ut spiritum soporis et oblivionem mortis filiis hominum videatur dominus immisisse. Ubi est eorum devotio, qui singultuosis quandoque suspiriis et impetuosa lacrimarum inundatione dicebant: *Si oblitus fuero tui, Ierusalem, oblivioni detur dextera mea*? Hii, quos in obsequium suum inflammaverat amor Christi, a fide et caritate, que in Christo est, degenerantes dei militiam in malitiam converterunt…']. Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 31.

[308] Psalm 136(7) was likewise used by Innocent III in *Post miserabile* to encourage support for the Fourth Crusade. Innocent III, *Post miserabile*, 70. Furthermore, it was used in responses to the loss of Damietta. See, for example, 'Chronicon Turonense,' MGH SS 26.458–76, 469; James of Vitry, 'Sermo ad crucesignatos vel crucesignandos,' in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, 82–98, 88.

to be used widely in statements on what the impact might be of Muslim possession on the sacred nature of the lost holy sites. The role played by this psalm in responses to defeat will therefore be set out in more detail in the last chapter of this thesis, which discusses how rhetoric concerned with ritual pollution was harnessed as an instrument for moral persuasion.

Maccabean warriors

This chapter has demonstrated that the use of Old Testament narratives concerning the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem and subsequent exile of the Israelites was applied widely after the defeat at Hattin and the surrender of Jerusalem. However, analysis of earlier source material, produced after the losses of Edessa, Harim and Banyas, reveals that authors did not often integrate these particular biblical paradigms into their responses to these defeats. The reason for this is apparent: the parallels with a scriptural episode centred around the loss of the Holy City would have been far less evident to those responding to these earlier losses because Jerusalem was still in Christian hands at that time. As a result, any comparison with the events described by Jeremiah and his peers would have appeared unsuitable.

Nevertheless, these earlier authors likewise looked to the Old Testament to find models that could explain why defeat had been suffered and assist in their efforts to steer contemporary morality. The above-discussed anonymous song 'Chevalier, mult estes guariz' and the Chronicle of the Abbey of Morigny demonstrate that, at times, authors depicted the Christians as Israelites assaulted by their enemies. As we have seen, by explaining the loss in these terms, they implied that the conflict in Outremer should be viewed as part of the timeless struggle between God's elect and their enemies, the outcome of which was always subject to divine favour. However, in addition to suggesting the connection with the Israelites of the First Temple period to render defeat more immediate in the Christian imagination and to illustrate the mechanism of divine punishment, some authors also turned towards the Jerusalemites of the Second Temple period.

More specifically, they used the Books of the Maccabees, whose protagonists had been a favourite paradigm of Christian warfare in the East since

the start of the First Crusade.[309] This part of the Old Testament did not pose the same issues for authors writing after the surrender of Edessa, Harim or Banyas as scriptural narratives concerning the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem might have done, because the story of the Maccabees did not centre around the loss of the Holy City. Therefore, their struggles would have appeared more suitable to the situation in Outremer before 1187.

The apocryphal Books of Maccabees essentially contain two different typological paradigms. The first is that of the heroic warrior family of Mattathias and his son Judas Maccabaeus who revolted in 169 BCE in response to Antiochus IV Epiphanes' attempts to suppress Jewish practices in Judea. This episode is described throughout both 1 and 2 Maccabees. The second model is that of the Maccabean martyrs killed by the same Seleucid ruler over their refusal to violate the dietary laws set out in Leviticus. This came to be most widely represented by the image of a mother mourning for her martyred sons, told in 2 Maccabees 7.[310]

This second narrative was placed within a Christian framework early on through the writings of the Church Fathers.[311] At the same time, its protagonists were accepted by Augustine as proto-Christian models of martyrdom, becoming

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[309] Allen Smith found that there were 49 separate references to the Maccabees in the major narrative sources of the period between c. 1095 and 1146. Allen Smith, *The Bible and Crusade Narrative*, 57, 215.

[310] The episode also features in 4 Maccabees 5–18, a later text of uncertain date which was part of the Septuagint but not of the Vulgate.

[311] See, for example, Ambrose of Milan, *De Iacob et vita beata*, PL 14, 597–638; John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in Sanctos Maccabaeos et in matrem eorum*, I-III, PG 50, 617–28; Idem, *De Eleazro et de septem pueris*, PG 63, 520–30; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio XV, In Machabaeorum laudem*, PG 35, 912–33. For an overview of the imagery of the Maccabean martyrs in early Christian writings, see also M. Schatkin, 'The Maccabean Martyrs,' *Vigilae Christianae* 28 (1974), 97–113; R. Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées: de l'histoire de juive au culte chrétie. Les homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostom* (Leiden, 2007).

an important motif from that time onwards.[312] However, the Maccabean warriors were regarded with a certain degree of scepticism by the Church Fathers. They argued that the Incarnation had replaced the need for worldly warfare with a call to partake in the internal spiritual struggle against vice that existed within every Christian soul.[313] It was not until the ninth century that theologians began to show an interest in the narrative of Mattathias and his family. At this point, they began to be reinterpreted as spiritual rather than military soldiers.[314] From this time onward, the Maccabean warriors were cited more frequently and held up as model warriors, combatting vice and seeking salvation rather than material

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[312] Augustine, *Sermo 300. In solemnitate martyrum Machabaeorum*, PL 38, cols. 1376–80; Ziadé, *Les martyrs Maccabées*; J. W. van Henten, 'The Christianization of the Maccabean Martyrs: The Case of Origen,' in J. Leemans (ed.), *Martyrdom and Persecution in Late Antique Christianity. Festschrift Boudewijn Dehandschutter* (Leuven, 2010), 333–51; E. Lapina, 'The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch,' in G. Signori (ed.), *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective* (Leiden, 2012), 147–59; J. W. van Henten, 'The Maccabean Martyrs as Models in Early Christian Writings,' in D. J. Wertheim (ed.), *The Jew as Legitimation: Jewish-Gentile Relations Beyond Antisemitism and Philosemitism* (New York, NY., 2017), 17–32; J. Wright Knust, ''Who Were the Maccabees?' The Maccabean Martyrs and Performances on Christian Difference,' in I. Saloul and J. W. van Henten (eds.), *Martyrdom: Canonisation, Contestation and Afterlives* (Amsterdam, 2020), 79–104.

[313] See, for instance, Origen, *In Lib. Iesu Nave, homiliae XXVI*, GCS 30, homil. 15.1, 381–2. See also H. J. Cadbury, 'The Basis of Early Christian Antimilitarism,' *Journal of Biblical Literature* 37/1 (1918), 66–94; Lapina, 'The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch,' 150.

[314] See, for instance, Hrabanus Maurus, 'Commentaria in libros Machabaeorum,' PL 109, col. 1125–256; 'Vita Sancti Udalrici Episcopi Augustensis,' PL 142, cols. 1183–204, col. 1194; *Diplomata Belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta*, ed. M. Gysseling and A. C. F. Koch, 2 vols (Tongeren, 1950), 1.144–5. For further examples, see J. Dunbabin, 'The Maccabees as exemplars in the tenth and eleventh centuries,' in K. Walsh and D. Wood (eds.), *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley* (Oxford, 1985), 31–41; Fischer, 'The Books of the Maccabees,' 61–3; N. Morton, 'The Defence of the Holy Land and the Memory of the Maccabees,' *Journal of Medieval History* 36/3 (2010), 275–93, 278–80; O. Münsch, 'Hate Preachers and Religious Warriors: Violence in the *Libelli de Lite* of the Late Eleventh Century,' in ed. Signori, *Dying for the Faith*, 161–76. See also H. Keller, '*Machabaeorum pugnae*: Zum Stellenwert eines biblischen Vorbilds in Widukinds Deutung der ottonischen Königsherrschaft,' in H. Keller and N. Staubach (eds.), *Iconologia sacra: Mythos, Bildkunst und Dichtung in der Religions- und Sozialgeschichte Alteuropas: Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1994), 417–37.

gains.[315] Their devotion to God, not their military prowess, made the Maccabean warriors meaningful models to Christian authors at this time.

Nevertheless, the decades preceding Urban II's launch of the First Crusade witnessed a shift away from this exclusively spiritual interpretation of these scriptural models.[316] During the early years of the Investiture Contest, various military leaders and soldiers, who supported the papacy in its efforts against the German emperors, received accolades comparing them to Judas Maccabaeus.[317] As such, while association with the Maccabean warriors retained a strong spiritual quality because it represented those fighting for God's Church, it was simultaneously placed within a framework of real military conflict. Supporters of the papacy were portrayed as engaged in a righteous war in defence of the faith, just as the sons of Mattathias had been in response to the oppression of Antiochus.

Considering this connection with the concept of just war and the legitimation of violence in the name of religion, it is unsurprising that the narrative of the Maccabean warriors, together with that of the martyrs choosing to die for their faith, was subsequently adopted with great enthusiasm in accounts of the First Crusade.[318] While the image of the Maccabean martyrs disappeared almost entirely from crusading discourse after that time, the capture of the Holy City in 1099 appears to have only encouraged typological identification of the inhabitants of the young Crusader States with the leaders of the Jewish Revolt.

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[315] This is evident, for instance, in the work of Aelfric of Eynsham. Aelfric of Eynsham, *Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 2 vols (London, 1881–1900), 2.113. Lapina argues that the Maccabean warriors were often typologically related to the saints. Lapina, 'The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch,' 150–1. See also Dunbabin, 'The Maccabees as exemplars,' 36–7; Morton, 'The Defence of the Holy Land,' 278–80.

[316] Ibid., 279.

[317] Bonizo of Sutri, 'Liber ad amicum', MGH Ldl 1.568–620, 599; Rangerius of Lucca, 'Vita metrica s. Anselmi Lucensis episcopi,' MGH SS 30.1152–1307, 1234; 'Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium,' MGH SS 7.134–234, 223. See also Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*, 74.

[318] Fulcher of Chartres and the Genoese chronicler Caffaro refer to both in their respective accounts of the expedition. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), 117, 589; Caffaro of Genoa, *De liberatione civitatum Orientis*, in L. T. Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori* (Rome, 1890), 103; For a discussion of the references to the Maccabean martyrs in both these texts see, Lapina, 'The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch,' 152.

Parallels with the descendants of Mattathias, who had eventually defeated the Seleucid army and restored the Second Temple, were only strengthened by the initial success of the Christians. We know, for instance, that the now lost tombstone of Baldwin I, King of Jerusalem from 1100 until he died in 1118, referred to him as 'Iudas alter Machab[a]eus', a second Judas Maccabaeus.[319]

Some contemporary commentators, most notably Guibert of Nogent, argued that such comparisons were inappropriate as the merit of the First Crusade exceeded that of the Maccabean campaign. Whereas the Maccabees had intended to guarantee the old law of carnal commandments, the crusaders' motivations, they argued, were first and foremost spiritual.[320] They desired to protect the churches in the East and propagate the faith. As Peter of Blois would argue in his *Dialogus* nearly a century later, Guibert felt that Old Testament models needed to be understood through the spiritual lens of the New Testament to be of benefit for the moral instruction of medieval Christians.

Others opted for a still more divergent approach by characterising not the Christian crusaders but their adversaries as Maccabees, in much the same manner as they might employ the label of Philistines or Canaanites.[321]

These different approaches to the role of the Maccabean warriors in the first decades of the twelfth century demonstrate the complex nature of Christian engagement with the first part of the biblical canon, especially at a time of widespread hostility against the Jewish communities in Europe.[322] It highlights that there was no consensus on the extent to which the protagonists of the Old Testament could be held up as paragons of virtue in their own right, without

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[319] *Corpus Inscriptionum Crucesignatorum Terrae Sanctae (1099–1291)*, ed. S. de Sandoli (Jerusalem, 1974), 57–8. Several medieval accounts confirm this, see, for instance, Pierre of Beauvais, *Olympiade*, 510–14.

[320] Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, 240, 273, 290; Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 7, 119, 141; E. Lapina, 'Anti-Jewish Rhetoric in Guibert of Nogent's *Dei gesta per Francos*,' *Journal of Medieval History* 35/3 (2009), 239–53.

[321] *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. J. Nelson (Tuscaloosa, AL., 2003), 189; Morton, 'The Defence of the Holy Land,' 282.

[322] For a discussion of violence committed against the Jews in the context of crusading, see J. S. C. Riley Smith, 'Christian Violence and the Crusades,' in A. Sapir Abulafia (ed.), *Religious Violence Between Christians and Jews: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2002), 3–20.

explicit typological connections to events and figures described in the New Testament.

Still, critical attitudes towards identification with the Maccabean warriors appear not to have influenced later discourse, as favourable comparisons to Mattathias, and his sons continued to be made in sources concerned with the Latin East. Certainly, as the successes of the First Crusade began to be reversed, starting with the defeat at Edessa, contemporary figures frequently turned to the narrative of the Maccabean warriors, presenting them as pious defenders of the faith as they sought to determine the Christian community's response to the event.

Reference to the heroic protagonists of the Maccabean Revolt initially served primarily to encourage people to take the cross, as is evident from the encyclical *Quantum praedecessores*. To strengthen the pope's call to arms, mention was made of the Maccabean warriors:

> May that Mattathias be an excellent example to you, who exposed himself to death together with his sons and his family and did not hesitate to abandon whatever he owned in the world to conserve the laws of his ancestors. With the cooperation of divine aid and through many hardships, he and his descendants triumphed courageously over their enemies.[323]

The Maccabees' willingness to leave behind their material possessions and put themselves in harm's way for their faith is praised to encourage the Christian community to follow in their footsteps by taking up the cross. In this way, the pope created a sense of obligation by proposing that it was now up to the Latin community to uphold the heroic devotional efforts of their ancestors. That contemporary authors were well aware of this potential of accounts that referred to the deeds of previous generations is evident from a passage recorded in the late twelfth-century Swabian *Historia peregrinorum*, an anonymous report of Frederick

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[323] 'Sit vobis etiam in exemplum bonus ille Mathathias, qui pro paternis legibus conservandis se ipsum cum filiis et parentibus suis morti exponere et, quicquid in mundo possidebat, relinquere nullatenus dubitavit atque tandem divino cooperante auxilio per multos tamen labores de inimicis tam ipse quam sua progenies viriliter triumphavit.' Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores*, 91.

Barbarossa's campaign to the East.[324] Its author aptly recorded that 'to read about the courageous deeds of ancestors help listeners in modern times to relate to their virtue and acts as an incentive.'[325]

Eugenius presented Mattathias' refusal to perform pagan sacrifices in violation of the old law [1 Macc. 2], a narrative that would appear to share few parallels with the situation at Edessa, as the epitome of pious warfare because it was the act that instigated the Maccabean Revolt. Evidently, the pope did not share Guibert's feeling that such comparisons were inappropriate, nor does the encyclical include any indication that Christian endeavours in the East were of a more spiritual nature than the struggles of the Maccabees. The omission of any mention of the intercession of Christ created the suggestion that the historical progression from the Maccabean Revolt to the crusades had been entirely linear, thereby allowing the protagonists of the conflict against the Seleucid Empire to be presented as appropriate exemplars for the medieval Latin community.

Similarly, a contemporary continuation of Cosmas of Prague's Chronicle, written by an anonymous monk at the Bohemian monastery of Sázava, praised Bernard of Clairvaux's exhortatory efforts in the wake of the defeat at Edessa using the following words:

> Upon hearing of the invasion and the persecution that the pagan Zengi carried out in the vicinity of Jerusalem, he encouraged Louis, King of France and all the French people to take up arms and join God's expedition to Jerusalem; just as Mattathias had encouraged his sons…[326]

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[324] *Historia peregrinorum*, MGH SS rer. Germ N. S., 5.116–72. For further context, see G. A. Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Farnham, 2013), 7–9.

[325] 'Apud modernam etatem interdumforcia veterum gesta legendo revolvere et iuvat auditores et congruit incitamento virtutum.' *Historia peregrinorum*, 117.

[326] 'Venerabilis abbas Clarevallensis Bernhardus, Deo et hominibus carus, audiens invasionem et persecutionem quam Sanguin paganus fecit in confinio Ierusalem, sicuti Mathathias adhortabatur filios suos, sic adhortatus est regem Franciae Luodewicum omnesque Francigenas gentes armata manu in expeditione Dei ire Jerusalem…' *Monachi Sazavensis continuatio Cosmae*, PL 166, cols. 273–300, 293.

Perhaps inspired by the message contained within *Quantum praedecessores*, which we know was sent to the Duke of Bohemia and was likely read out to a wide variety of audiences around the region, the author of this entry for the year 1147 similarly presented Mattathias as an exemplary figure.[327] In this instance, however, the father of the Maccabees was used as a model preacher and the driving force behind the revolt rather than as a military leader. As such, he was considered a model not of the crusaders but of those who preached the cross. The author evidently felt that his fellow monks should replicate such recruitment efforts upon hearing of Zengi's victory.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the author of this entry located Edessa '*in confinio Ierusalem*', although it is more than 680 kilometres from the Holy City. This suggests that, in the popular imagination, the Christian concept of the *terra sancta* included territories far beyond the region between the Mediterranean Sea and the River Jordan due to a lack of accurate geographical information. How accounts of defeat can shed light on medieval imaginings of the Holy Land will be discussed more extensively in the third chapter of this thesis.

References to the Maccabean warriors continued to be made in the decades that followed the loss of Edessa in an effort to encourage European Christians to come to the aid of the inhabitants of the Latin East.[328] In *Audita tremendi*, Gregory VIII appealed to the words spoken by Judas Maccabaeus, according to 1 Maccabaeus 3:58–9, on the eve of the Battle of Emmaus:

> Consider how the Maccabees, inflamed out of zeal for divine law, encountered every extreme danger to free their brothers. They taught that not only resources but also one's life should be put on the line for the safety of their brothers, encouraging each other while saying: 'Gird yourself and be valiant sons, because it is better for us to die in war than to witness the misery of our people and our sanctuary.' And as they did this, having been placed under one law, you, who have

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[327] Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 59.

[328] See, for instance, a letter sent by Geoffrey Fulcher, Preceptor of the Temple, to King Louis VII in September of 1164 describing the defeat suffered at Harim. Geoffrey Fulcher, 'Ad Ludovicum regem Francorum,' RHGF 16, no. 195, 60.

> been led towards the light of truth through the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and have been prepared by the examples of many saints, might do it without any trepidation.[329]

Like the earlier *Quantum praedecessores*, the encyclical portrayed the Maccabean warriors as exemplars, as soldiers inspired by faith and love for their community. However, it is poignant that the authors of the later encyclical appear to have been concerned with justifying their use of such Old Testament models, as the last line of the passage cited above demonstrates. While *Audita tremendi* was in many ways inspired by the encyclical issued by Eugenius, it is certainly distinct in this aspect. Care was taken to highlight that the historical progression from the Jewish revolt to the Christian crusades had not been linear but was interrupted by the intercession of Christ. The latter had endowed the Christian enterprise in the East with a spiritual, salvific quality absent from the Maccabean endeavour.

This emphasis on the distinctive nature of the New Covenant in references to episodes from the first part of the biblical canon appears to have been symptomatic of a broader move away from unqualified comparisons with the Israelites and their descendants. As previously discussed, the importance of acknowledging the spiritual significance of the Incarnation was also highlighted by Peter of Blois.

Other crusade propagandists similarly used the imagery of Mattathias and his sons in their responses to the losses suffered in 1187, taking care to note the unique nature of Christian spirituality. However, rather than appealing to this part of the Old Testament solely to encourage participation in the Third Crusade, certain commentators additionally used it to determine how defeat at the hands of Saladin should be understood. They drew parallels with the Maccabean warriors not just to promote what they believed to be the most appropriate response to what had happened but also to explain why territory had been lost to the Muslims.

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[329] 'Attendite, qualiter Macchabaei zelo divinae legis accensi pro fratribus liberandis extrema quaeque pericula sunt experti et non solum substantias sed et personas pro fratrum docuerunt salute ponendas, exhortantes se ipsos atque dicentes: *accingimini et estote filii potentes, quoniam melius est nobis mori bello quam videre mala gentis nostrae et sanctorum*. Et quod illi sub una lege constituti fecerunt, vos per incarnationem domini nostri Iesu Christi ad lucem veritatis adducti et multorum instructi exemplis sanctorum sine trepidatione aliqua faciatis…' Gregory VIII, *Audita tremendi*, 9.

One such author was the papal legate Henry of Albano. As we have already seen, the thirteenth treatise of his *De peregrinante civitate Dei* used a variety of examples taken from familiar scriptural paradigms. This allowed the author to make his interpretation of the loss as a divine punishment for the sins of the Christian community more impressive by showcasing how God's chastisements for immorality had influenced conflicts throughout history. Perhaps inspired by Gregory's encyclical, Henry supplemented these references with a series of extensive citations from 1 Maccabees. After inserting the imagery of Rachel weeping for the loss of her children (Jer. 31:15 and Matt. 2:18), the papal legate reproached his fellow Christians for mourning the loss of the earthly Jerusalem before that of the spiritual Jerusalem. He asserted that if sin had not caused the latter's collapse, the former would still be intact:

> First, the ruin of the earthly Jerusalem was lamented, even if the ruin of the spiritual Jerusalem preceded it; and no adversaries would have injured the earthly [city] if iniquity had not dominated the spiritual Jerusalem first.[330]

To emphasise the significance of the spiritual city, which is used as a metaphor for Christian devotion, the papal legate drew parallels with the plight of Mattathias and his family.[331] However, in contrast to *Quantum praedecessores* and *Audita tremendi*, the protagonists of the Maccabean Revolt are not praised as soldiers ready to sacrifice themselves in battle but as model mourners and

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[330] 'Primo igitur terrenae Ierusalem ruinam deploret, licet eam spiritualis Ierusalem ruina praecesserit; nec terrenae ulla nocuisset adversitas, nisi prius dominata fuisset iniquitas Ierusalem spirituali…' Ibid., col. 351.

[331] Ibid., col. 352. For a discussion of this paragraph, see also Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, 69.

dedicated servants of the old law who piously grieved for the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus.[332]

This served two clear functions. In the first place, it highlighted that devotion should be central to how the community chose to respond to the events of 1187. Just as the Maccabees had demonstrated their dedication to the old law through their grief at the sight of the profanation of their sanctuaries, so too the Christians should mourn the destruction caused by Saladin. However, the Christian *sanctum sanctorum*, Henry argued, could not be found in the earthly Jerusalem given over to Saladin but in the spiritual Jerusalem that had been lost even before that time due to moral corruption. While the Maccabees venerated temporal things, the Christian community was devoted to the spiritual, the eternal. Indeed, Henry wrote,

> These are the holiest of holies of Christians. These no old age can erase, no change of time can alter, they cannot be polluted by the sacrilege of enemies.[333]

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[332] 'What also do we hear from Mattathias, who, seeing the bad things done by Antiochus to the people, which I have mentioned, spoke up. He said, 'Woe is to me. Why was I born to see this, the ruin of my people, the ruin of the holy city, and dwell there when it was delivered into the hands of the enemies? The sanctuary has fallen into the hand of strangers; her temple is like a dishonoured man. The vessels of her glory have been carried away into captivity, her old men have been slain in the streets, and her young men die by the sword of the enemies' [1 Macc. 2:7—9]… And then Mattathias and his sons tore off their clothes, covered themselves with sackcloth and lamented vehemently [1 Macc. 2:14]. If those carnal men, knowing only the flesh and venerating worldly rituals, were in such inconsolable pain after the profanation of their sanctuaries, what are the Christians to do, who do not serve the old way of the written word but walk the new way of the spirit… [Rom. 7:6].' ['Quid etiam Mathathias, videns mala quae fiebant ab Anthiocho in populo, quid, inquam, dixerit, audiamus. Vae mihi, ait. Ut quid natus sum videre contritionem populi mei, et contritionem civitatis sanctae, et sedere illic, cum datur in manibus inimicorum? Sancta in manu extraneorum facta sunt, templum eius sicut homo ignobilis. Vasa gloriae eius captiva abducta sunt; trucidati sunt senes eius in plateis; et juvenes eius ceciderunt in gladio inimicorum… Et scidit vestimenta sua Mathathias, et filii eius, et operuerunt se ciliciis, et planxerunt valde. Si carnales illi homines sola carnalia sapientes, et carnales caeremonias venerantes, ad sanctorum suorum profanationem adeo inconsolabiliter doluerunt, quid facturi sunt Christiani, qui non in vetustate litterae serviunt, sed in novitate spiritus ambulant…'.] Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante*, col. 352.

[333] 'Haec sunt Christianorum Sancta sanctorum; haec nulla vetustate deleri, nulla temporum varietate mutari, nulla possunt profanatione hostium inquinari.' Ibid., col. 353.

Therefore, while the Christians should show themselves to be similarly devoted in their grief for what had been lost, the focus should be on the spiritual rather than the temporal aspect of that loss. For the Maccabean warriors, it had been the loss of physical objects which became the subject of their mourning, but Christians should grieve the loss of spiritual rectitude. This disaster was all the more catastrophic and, therefore, demanded an even greater response. Furthermore, since the surrender of the physical Jerusalem was merely the inevitable consequence of widespread moral corruption, the improvement of contemporary spirituality had to be central to how the community would react to what had happened. As such, the suggested military campaign had to be built upon a foundation of greater devotion.

In the second place, the reference to the Maccabees in Henry's treatise helped to define how the Christian community should come to understand the losses suffered in 1187. It connected the conflict in the Crusader States typologically to the scriptural struggles between the chosen people and their adversaries, between those who sought to further God's cause and those who sought to obstruct it. Using such rhetoric, Henry suggested that the conflict against Saladin should be viewed as another such episode in the cosmic battle between the forces of Good and Evil. This, in turn, had the potential to strengthen his calls for military mobilisation because it presented the expedition launched by Gregory as a means to contribute and be a witness to the fight for the salvation of Christian souls. To forsake this duty would, therefore, be all the more shameful, and, as a result, pressure to take the cross was consequently increased.

The example of the Maccabean warriors would continue to be used both in crusade propaganda and in efforts to make sense of military setbacks suffered in the East. For example, in his account of the initial failure of the northern-Italian contingents of the Fifth Crusade to take Damietta in 1219, Oliver of Paderborn referenced a passage concerning the wars fought under the leadership of Judas Maccabaeus. He suggested that the crusaders' lack of success resulted from their ill-advised desire to showcase their strength instead of relying on the strategy dictated by divine power. To illustrate this, he referred to the example of Joseph and Azariah, two commanders in the Maccabean army, who had been forbidden from engaging in hostilities with neighbouring peoples but ignored this order to

win glory for themselves. They had likewise relied on their strength rather than on divine counsel.[334]

Conclusions

As this chapter has demonstrated, such emphasis on continuity with the biblical past could serve several moral functions for both author and audience, depending on the exact imagery used and how this connection was articulated.

Most significantly, references to Old Testament episodes could show that God had regularly punished sins by causing defeat and that he thereby hoped to encourage his people to seek redemption. By connecting their explanations of territorial loss to familiar scriptural passages, authors could thus reinforce their suggestions that military failure provided an opportunity for Christians to obtain salvation. This, in turn, legitimised their calls for greater devotion and moral renewal. In short, authors could increase their spiritual capital by referencing specific scriptural passages because it created the impression that they were giving their audience instructions on how they might save their souls.

When combined with biblical examples that suggested that the best way to demonstrate renewed devotion was by committing oneself to a military response built upon strong spiritual foundations, such rhetoric could support mobilising efforts for the crusades. Their exhortations were further strengthened when authors established links with the heroic deeds of certain protagonists of the Old Testament, particularly the Maccabean warriors, to encourage participation in a new campaign. By highlighting the notion that the current generation was following in the footsteps of those whom they considered their biblical ancestors, emphasis on continuation could create a sense of obligation to uphold the heroism shown for God's cause in the past.

At the same time, such references to episodes from the first part of the biblical canon could inspire confidence that the lost territories would ultimately be recovered. By associating recent defeats with biblical instances of territorial loss

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[334] 'Instrumenta contra civitatem parata multiplici conatu defensorum Damiate combusta sunt fere omnia. Pisani, Jenuenses, Venetiani firmiter asserebant, se civitatem expugnaturos per quatuor naves, super quas scale pendebant; *sed ipsi non erant de genere virorum illorum, per quos facta est salus in Israel*; volebant enim sibi nomen facere, cum tubis et calamillis et signis multis progressi.' Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, 211–2.

that had eventually been reversed through renewed spiritual devotion and the consequent restitution of divine mercy, authors created the impression that events in Outremer would follow a similar pattern. Indeed, the different Old Testament figures they were compared to eventually achieved victory once their relationship with the divine had been restored. Time and time again, Old Testament episodes depict the Israelites as ultimately triumphing over rival nations after having placated God with a renewed reverence for the old law. Therefore, the use of these narratives in response to Outremer's defeat implied that the Christians would likewise ultimately conquer their adversaries if they abandoned their sinful ways.

Furthermore, the mournful tone of certain parts of the Bible, mainly that found in Jeremiah and Lamentations, provided the linguistic register with which authors could express the grief felt at the loss of territories in the East. Especially in making sense of Saladin's victories in 1187, they found in the words of the prophet Jeremiah the language with which to articulate the impact of the loss of the Holy City. In this manner, references to the Old Testament had the potential to provide catharsis for both author and audience.

Finally, responses to territorial loss that harnessed imagery from the first part of the bible served to strengthen community ties. Coherence between different members of a community is largely contingent upon the extent to which people identify with the same historical narrative. Accounts of defeat that connected the struggle of the Christians in the East to various episodes from the Old Testament contributed to this by encouraging the visualisation of a shared past. Such recognition of a familiar etiological story would have been significant in the face of Muslim challenges to the notion that the Crusader States belonged to Christendom. Indeed, identification with the Israelites and their successors, who had lived in the Levant for over a thousand years, strengthened European claims to the region (based in the first place on its importance as the location of Christ's life and passion).

As we have seen, some authors, such as Guibert of Nogent and Peter of Blois, warned against unqualified usage of Old Testament paradigms, noting the importance of recognising the spiritual significance of the Incarnation. Yet, such calls for a more nuanced approach to Christian engagement with such scriptural narratives by no means signified a total rejection of references to the first part of

the Bible. Instead, these authors highlighted that commentators should take care to place those precedents within a framework of Christian spirituality. At times, this distinction was lacking in more popular responses to defeat.

While the manner in which scriptural references were employed thus differed, there appears to have been a general recognition of the rhetorical value of such imagery in determining how the Christian community would come to make sense of the loss of important sites in the East. As such, it is no surprise that Old Testament narratives remained central to discourse concerning the failures of the crusading movement throughout the thirteenth century. For example, one only has to take a brief look at the crusade sermons of Eudes of Châteauroux to see that they frequently demonstrate a reliance on similar biblical paradigms to explain strategic setbacks and encourage a military response built upon strong spiritual foundations.[335]

[335] Eudes of Chateauroux, *Sermones*, in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, 128–75.

Chapter 3 — Loss of Territory and Apocalyptic Expectations

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I argued that commentators constructed comparisons with the Israelites to strengthen the connections they drew between military defeat and salvation history with the intention of influencing contemporary morality. However, the unexpected loss of territory in the pursuit of God's cause not only inspired reflection upon parallels with the biblical past but also triggered engagement with scriptural prophecies about the future. Indeed, evidence demonstrates that responses to defeat frequently used apocalyptic speculation to present the event as a spiritual disaster and thereby shape behavioural codes. Authors were drawn to scenarios based on the last chapters of Isaiah ('Trito-Isaiah'), Daniel's visions (chapters 7-9), the little apocalypses from the synoptic gospels (Matthew 24, Luke 21), as well as excerpts from the Pauline epistles (Romans 11 and 13, 2 Corinthians 6:2, 1 Thessalonians 5 and 2 Thessalonians 2). In line with broader twelfth-century trends, authors interpreting these texts in the wake of defeat did not usually give exact timings or detailed calculations to determine precisely when the end would arrive but instead remained rather vague on the subject.

At the time of the first substantial loss of territory in Outremer, that of Edessa in 1144, the use of such discourse in the context of the crusades was not a new phenomenon. Although historians disagree to what extent End Time speculation motivated Christians to join the First Crusade, there can be no doubt

that apocalypticism was at times used to fuel enthusiasm for the campaign.[336] Prophecies indicated that Christian possession of the Holy City was a necessary prelude to the appearance of the Antichrist at Jerusalem and the ensuing apocalyptic events.[337] As such, the capture of the holy places was at once seen as a means to the Last Events and a divinely prophesied goal in itself.[338] Such interpretations were strengthened by the fact that the twelfth century witnessed a general shift away from spiritual readings End Time revelations, which Augustine had promoted and had been dominant throughout the early Middle Ages, towards the increased historicising of prophecy.

However, when Christ did not return after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, there was a gradual movement away from eschatological interpretations

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[336] Guibert of Nogent framed Urban's sermon at Clermont in explicitly apocalyptic terms. *Dei gesta per Francos*, 111–7. On the idea that apocalyptic concern was an important mobilising factor, see N. Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1957), 61–70; B. E. Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA., 2009), 55; T. M. Boyadjian, *The City Lament: Jerusalem Across the Medieval Mediterranean* (Ithaca, NY., 2018), 88. The strongest proponent of this interpretation is Jay Rubenstein. See J. Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for the Apocalypse* (New York, 2011); Idem, 'Crusade and Apocalypse: History and the Last Days,' *Questiones Medii Aevi Novae* 21 (2016), 159–88. For a contrasting view, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade*, 35. Riley-Smith argued that such 'hysteria', as he described it, likely affected only a minority of crusaders. See also N. Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2004), 11. On this historiographical debate, see C. T. Maier, 'Crusade and Rhetoric against the Muslim Colony of Lucera,' *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995), 343–85. For a comprehensive update on this discussion, see C. W. Connell, 'Missing the Apocalypse in Preaching the Crusades,' in M. E. Parker, B. Halliburton and A. Romine (eds.), *Crusading in Art, Thought and Will* (Leiden, 2018), 186–215.

[337] The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw a rise in popularity of several prophecies based on the seventh-century Syriac Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, which Adso of Montier-en-Der had further developed in his tenth-century *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*. According to these predictions, a Last World Emperor would appear and reestablish the Roman Empire before marching his forces to Jerusalem. There he would surrender his crown to God, after which the reign of the Antichrist would commence. Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypse*, ed. and tr. B. Garstad (Cambridge, MA., 2012); Adso of Montier-en-Der, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, ed. D. Verhelst, CCCM 45 (Turnhout, 1976). On these prophecies, see H. Möhring, *Der Weltkaiser der Endzeit. Entstehung, Wandel und Wirkung ener tausendjährigen Weissagung* (Stuttgart, 2000); J. Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps: l'interprétation prophétique des invasions musulmanes dans la chrétienté médiévale* (Paris, 2007); Rubenstein, 'Crusade and Apocalypse,' 171–5.

[338] Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 266–7. It is worth noting that Rubenstein has argued against this idea. See Rubenstein, 'Crusade and Apocalypse,' 177–88.

towards a more worldly narrative, a process that Flori has termed 'le démythisation eschatologique'.[339]

It was only after the loss of Edessa that the Latin Christian presence in Outremer was once again widely described in apocalyptic terms. Such rhetoric was likewise used repeatedly after the surrender of Jerusalem and in a few cases in the aftermath of al-Kamil's conquest at Damietta. This chapter will argue that the reason for this was that it endowed accounts with spiritual capital by presenting the conflict in the East as a spiritual conflict. Military losses suffered in the East were no longer simply worldly events but instead became instances of cosmic importance as landmarks within God's plan for the End Times. The strict duality that organised the Christian universe into spiritual time on the one hand and earthly time on the other was abandoned. In doing so, authors spoke to how faith was to be lived on an individual, as well as a communal level. Like the previously discussed narrative strategies, speculation about the last days thus allowed authors to influence contemporary morality.

At the same time, it had the potential to alleviate anxiety caused by the tension between the expectation of continued Christian dominance in the East and the reality of successive Muslim victories. Authors proposed that the loss had been an unfortunate but necessary part of the divinely ordained path towards the Last Judgement, thereby explaining how it could be that God's adversaries had triumphed without simultaneously undermining divine omnipotence. In this way, commentators could mitigate the psychological impact of defeat on the community.

It is possible to distinguish between several narratives that authors used to place the loss of territory in an apocalyptic light. Although distinct in how they framed their discourse on the matter, all implied that the loss suffered should be understood as a necessary element of God's design for the movement towards the Last Days and, in this way, could influence behavioural codes by connecting defeat to salvation history.

Some authors suggested that the suffering was akin to or part of the suffering of the Last Days. They implied that the hardships endured were not arbitrary but part of a divinely ordained plan. This is evident, for example, in the

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[339] Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 272.

accounts of those authors who wrote that the loss suffered was akin to or part of the Final Judgement. Other commentators combined accusations that defeat was a divine punishment, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, with references to a period of apocalyptic apostasy. More precisely, they used biblical passages to suggest that the iniquitous behaviour in question resulted from the arrival of the Antichrist, as Paul had predicted in 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12 and John of Patmos in Revelation 13. Only after this episode of deception and submission to evil would Christ return and could God's people be saved. Others still viewed the conflict between Christians and Muslims in the East as a component of the apocalyptic war predicted by Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21 and Revelation 12, 16 and 17, among others.

These interpretations not only proposed that the loss suffered was part of a divinely ordained plan in which the Latin community played an active role but also conveyed an implicit optimism. Indeed, every member of the Christian community would have been aware that the tumultuous events of the Last Days were to be followed by the triumph of Christ. Responses to defeat that placed the event in an apocalyptic atmosphere thus simultaneously conveyed that the tables would ultimately turn in favour of the Latin community. Some authors made a point of highlighting this hopeful outlook by contrasting the tribulations recently experienced at the hands of the Muslims with promises of imminent Christian glory. Their responses emphasised that the adversaries of Christ had temporarily emerged victoriously, only for them to be struck down shortly in accordance with the prophecies found in the final chapters of Revelation. In this way, commentators were able to explain the defeat while also alleviating the anxiety felt by the community.

Finally, territorial loss and the recovery expeditions launched in response were at times actually presented as a catalyst for the events of the Last Days. Some authors suggested that Christians could be active agents in creating the right conditions for the apocalypse, contrary to scripture and the convictions of some of their contemporaries, such as Joachim of Fiore. Instead of following the traditional interpretation that the faithful would be restricted to prayer and martyrdom during the *eschaton*, these accounts proposed that crusaders could themselves realise the promise of salvation. This fostering of the idea that one

could hasten the march towards the Last Judgement is known as 'catastrophic messianism'.[340] As we will see, this narrative strategy appears to have been especially popular in the mid-twelfth century due to the prominence of certain Sibylline texts.

Authors who made such allusions to the events of the Last Days thereby presented an acceptable explanation for defeat that challenged neither God's omnipotence nor the legitimacy of Latin expansion in Outremer. This chapter will demonstrate that such rhetoric often served to amplify suggestions that the sins of the Christian community had caused the loss of territory. Yet, I will also argue that there were instances where it was used as a stand-alone interpretation of what had happened. In both cases, apocalyptic interpretations of the loss of territory additionally had the potential to influence contemporary attitudes and behaviours more broadly. Authors conflated the spiritual and the earthly to suggest that military failure bore upon salvation history.

Firstly, speculation about the End Times could encourage a rekindling of spiritual fervour as authors implied that only a limited time remained to secure redemption. Combined with an assertion that participation in campaigns to the East provided an opportunity to demonstrate renewed devotion, this could simultaneously strengthen mobilisation efforts. The same was achieved by those who suggested that expeditions against the Muslims in Outremer could hasten Christ's return.

Secondly, such narratives could assuage the fears caused by the loss of territory by highlighting scriptural visions of post-apocalyptic peace and Christian glory. This allowed the community to imagine that the enemy's dominance would not be long-lived as they would soon be struck down in accordance with God's plan for the Last Days.

Thirdly, apocalyptic discourse could provide the linguistic register with which Christians could express the anxiety felt upon hearing of the loss of territory in the Holy Land. Abstract feelings of fear and resentment that accounts of decisive Muslim victories often attest to would have been difficult to grapple

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[340] H. S. Gregg, 'Three Theories of Religious Activism and Violence: Social Movements, Fundamentalists, and Apocalyptic Warriors,' *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28/2 (2016), 338–60, 348; M. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (Berkeley, CA., 2000), 156.

with.[341] As the previous chapter has set out, some turned to biblical narratives of the Israelites in an attempt to mitigate this by providing a familiar framework through which to interpret defeat. The sources under discussion in this third chapter demonstrate that many commentators likewise recognised the value that apocalyptic prophecies might have in this regard. Indeed, by presenting biblical instances of apocalyptic suffering as parallel to the experience of medieval Christians, commentators equipped their audience with the communicative tools with which to articulate their feelings and come to terms with their perceived significance.[342]

Finally, apocalyptic interpretations had the potential to reinforce in- and out-group identity. By presenting the conflict in Outremer as part of the expected End Time struggle between God's forces and their enemies, authors played into the idea of a strict division between Good and Evil, with the Christians on the one hand and the Muslims on the other. As a result, violence was more easily justified as this sharp dichotomy left no room for nuanced consideration of the enemy's humanity. Differences are amplified and similarities overlooked. Indeed, this is what Alison McQueen has termed 'the false sense of moral clarity' that often accompanies the political use of apocalyptic discourse and which can further legitimise military campaigns.[343]

In short, apocalyptic speculation not only served to make sense of territorial loss by suggesting that it was part of God's plan for the Last Days, the exact manner in which authors constructed their narratives determined how such rhetoric could further influence contemporary attitudes and behaviours.

Analogies of End Time suffering

As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, contemporaries used different narrative approaches to place defeat in the context of Holy War in an apocalyptic

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[341] 'Caeteri omnes fere confracti, capti, trucidati et vinculis mancipati sunt ab ipsis Parthis, proh dolor!' 'Epistola Januensium ad Urbanum papam,' in W. Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis*, RS 49, 2 vols (London, 1867), 2.11–3, 12.

[342] This function of apocalyptic discourse was explored comprehensively by Adela Yarbro Collins in her study of the origins and authorship of the Book of Revelation. A. Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia, PA.,1984).

[343] A. E. J. McQueen, *Political Realism in Apocalyptic Times* (Cambridge, 2018). 196.

framework. One way authors achieved this was by equating the hardships experienced by the Christians in Outremer with the tribulations that God's people were expected to face in the period leading up to the Last Judgement. In this manner, commentators could suggest that the anguish experienced by the Christian community was not random but served a distinct purpose as a component of the divinely intended course of events towards the end of time. Such narratives implied that the loss suffered did not challenge expectations of what should have happened but was part of a predestined design.

Bernard of Clairvaux, for instance, referred to this form of apocalyptic speculation in his *De consideratione ad Eugenium papam*, a text written between 1148 and 1152 to provide advice to Pope Eugenius III.[344] The prologue to the second book of this text, known as the *Apologia super consumptionem Ierosolymitarum*, was written right after news of the failure of the Second Crusade had reached the West in 1148. Here, Bernard reevaluated his initial response to the defeat at Edessa and justified his prominent role in the organisation of the ill-fated campaign. Reflecting on his feelings at the time, Bernard wrote that 'the Lord, provoked by our sins, appeared to have judged the earth before the anticipated time [1 Cor. 4:5], in fairness but having forgotten his mercy'.[345] This line indicates that when news of the loss of Edessa reached the West, Bernard initially placed the event in an apocalyptic light by suggesting that what had occurred should be interpreted as part of the suffering that was expected at the Last Judgement.

Although the words of the sermons preached by Bernard to promote the Second Crusade have not survived, it is certainly possible that they likewise associated Zengi's victory at Edessa with the End Time. Indeed, as we will see further on in this chapter, Bernard had expressed apocalyptic concerns in an earlier letter that sought to encourage mobilisation, albeit in a slightly different

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[344] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De consideratione ad Eugenium papam,' 3.379–473.

[345] '…cum Dominus scilicet, provocatus peccatis nostris, ante tempus quodammodo visus sit iudicasse orbem terrae in aequitate quidem, sed misericordiae suae oblitus.' Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De consideratione,' 410.

form.[346] Moreover, such rhetoric would have served an important purpose for the abbot. In the first part of this thesis, I argued that Bernard presented the loss of Edessa as a divine punishment for the sins of the Christian community. Additional efforts to place the event within an apocalyptic framework would have complemented this narrative. Such speculation added to the urgency of Bernard's appeal for spiritual renewal as it indicated that only a limited time remained to change one's ways and secure redemption. This would have been particularly effective at a time when the concept of purgatory was yet to be fully developed. It amplified his broader argument that God had prepared a path to salvation in orchestrating the Muslim conquest of Edessa and that Christians needed to respond with an appropriate show of devotion.

In response to the failure of the Second Crusade, Bernard distanced himself from his earlier interpretations of the loss of Edessa as an apocalyptic event. The *Apologia* suggests that he understood the lack of success in Outremer as an indication that man could not fully comprehend God's designs. He asked, 'How does humanity's arrogance dare to criticise what it cannot at all understand?'.[347] Bernard thus appears to have moved away from his initial assessment of the loss of Edessa and closer to Augustine's view that humanity cannot possibly grasp God's providential plan.

Yet, despite Bernard's later rejection of apocalyptic interpretations of defeat suffered in the Latin East, such imagery was again used in response to Saladin's victories four decades later. One of the earliest surviving reports of the defeat at Hattin repeated Bernard's reference to the Last Judgement almost word for word.[348] This letter, which purports to have been sent from Genoa to Pope Urban III at some point between July and September 1187, opens with the

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[346] Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad universos fidelis,' in *Epistolae*, 8, no. 457, 432–3. For a discussion of eschatological speculation in Bernard's works, see also B. McGinn, 'St Bernard and Eschatology,' in M. B. Pennington (ed.), *Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies presented to Dom Jean Leclercq* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 161–85; H.-D. Kahl, 'Crusade Eschatology as seen by St Bernard in the years 1146 to 1148,' in M. Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, NY., 1992), 35–47; K. Skottki, '"Until the Full Number of Gentiles Has Come In": Exegesis and Prophecy in St Bernard's Crusade Related Writings,' in Lapina and Morton (eds.), *The Uses of the Bible*, 236–72.

[347] 'Et quomodo tamen humana temeritas audet reprehendere quod minime comprehendere valet?' Bernard of Clairvaux, 'De consideratione,412 '.

[348] 'Epistola Januensium ad Urbanum papam,' in Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, 2.11–3.

announcement that 'We have learned of the judgement that God has pronounced these days in those regions, and how provoked by our sins, appears judged the earth before the anticipated time [1 Cor. 4:5], in fairness but having forgotten his mercy.'[349] John Pryor has argued that the document is a forgery because there is no record of either this letter or the original report from the East on which it is based in the city's diplomatic archives.[350] However, the fact that it was addressed to Urban, who died soon after news of Hattin reached the papal court, together with the author's plea that the pope should 'Assemble the nations and join the peoples together, install enthusiasm for the campaign… to recover the Holy of Holies and regain the blessed land…' indicates that it is nonetheless likely to be a contemporary response.[351] This is confirmed by the fact that the letter was inserted into Roger of Hoveden's *Gesta*, most likely written before 1192.

Given the exhortative character of the letter, it is unsurprising that its author compared the suffering of the Christians at Hattin to the misery of the condemned at the time of the Last Judgement. This rhetoric allowed him to propose that defeat had a spiritual cause and thus warranted a response from Christendom's spiritual leader. Like the sources discussed in the first chapter, it indicated that the fundamental reason for the failure of the Latin armies was that they had lost divine support. In this way, the author explained why God had allowed the defeat without questioning the legitimacy of Christian expansion in the East. At the same time, it added a sense of immediacy to the call for aid by suggesting that the end of time was at hand and only a short period remained to ensure salvation for the papacy's subjects.

Other contemporary commentators chose different apocalyptic narratives of suffering to explain the losses sustained in 1187. This is the case, for instance, for the anonymous author of the first book of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*. As

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[349] 'Didicimus iudicia quae operatus est Deus in partibus illis his diebus, et quomodo provocatus peccatis nostris ante tempus quodammodo visus est iudicare orbem terrae in aequitate, sed misericordiae Suae oblitus.' Ibid., 11.

[350] J. H. Pryor, 'Two *excitationes* for the Third Crusade: The Letters of Brother Thierry of the Temple,' *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25/2 (2010), 147–68, 164, no. 167.

[351] 'Convenite gentes et adunate populos, et ad recuperanda sancta sanctorum et ad recuperandam terram illam beatissimam… cor in humerum date.' 'Epistola Januensium ad Urbanum papam', 12.

illustrated in the first chapter of this thesis, he repeatedly emphasised that the only reason for Saladin's success was that God had abandoned his people as a punishment for their sins.[352] However, one passage in the text placed this interpretation in a decidedly apocalyptic light. Here, the author described how Guy of Lusignan's chamberlain received a vision while the army was advancing to meet Saladin. It explains how he saw that 'an eagle flew over the Christian army, holding seven missiles and a crossbow in its talons, and cried in a terrible voice: "Woe to you, Jerusalem".'[353] This lament is a reference to Revelation 8:13, in which an eagle (or angel, depending on the codices used) announces the afflictions pronounced by God over the sinful in a final effort to encourage humanity to repent before the Last Judgement: 'And I saw and heard the voice of an eagle flying through the midst of the sky, speaking with a loud voice, "Woe, woe, woe, to the inhabitants of the earth"…'.[354] By connecting his account to this passage, the author implied that the defeat against Saladin was part of those partial judgements (sometimes referred to as the trumpet judgements) expected to be visited upon one-third of the earth's population according to Revelation 8, as a final warning meant to encourage repentance before the Last Judgement. Like Bernard and the author of the letter supposedly sent to Pope Urban II, the author of the *Itinerarium* here framed his assertions that defeat had been a divine punishment in an apocalyptic light. As a result, his negative assessment of the spiritual health of the Christian community was endowed with a greater sense of urgency. Not only had Saladin's victories been a warning to the faithful that they needed to abandon their sinful ways, but they represented a final attempt by God to ensure the redemption of his people. By proposing that military failure was so acutely critical to Christian salvation, the spiritual capital that was conferred upon the author as a result of his explanation for defeat was increased. Indeed, the author of the *Itinerarium*'s repeated criticism of contemporary morality was more

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[352] See pages 97–9.

[353] '…quod quedam aquila christianum transvolaret exercitum, que VII missilia et balistam gestans in pedibus voce terribili personabat: *Ve tibi Ierusalem!*' *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, 257.

[354] '…et vidi et audivi vocem unius aquilae volantis per medium caelum dicentis voce magna vae, vae, vae habitantibus in terra…' Revelation 8:13. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Weber.

likely to inspire spiritual renewal because it stressed that this was humanity's last chance, as set forth in the first chapter of this thesis.

The loss of Damietta likewise evoked analogies of apocalyptic suffering. This is evident, for instance, in an anonymous addition to Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina* that survives in a single manuscript from the first half of the fifteenth century.[355] While we cannot establish with certainty that it is an eyewitness account, the detail given in the addition certainly suggests that it was written by someone contemporary to the Fifth Crusade. It has distinctly religious overtones, indicating that it was probably intended for an ecclesiastical audience, just as the original text had been. Like the sources discussed above, the anonymous addition evoked imagery of End Time judgement and suffering to explain the defeat. The author began by describing how the crusaders who had taken Damietta in 1219 '… provoked the anger of the Almighty against them by growing sluggish from laziness and drunkenness and gazing eagerly at earthly riches….'[356] Yet, just as in the *Itinerarium*, this explanation for the loss of territory was subsequently framed as an apocalyptic event. Using the words of Zephaniah 1:15, the author wrote of the day that Damietta was handed over to al-Kamil that, '"That day is a day of wrath"'.[357] These lines had a distinct apocalyptic connotation, as evident from their association with Revelation 20:11–5, Matthew 25:31–46, 1 Thessalonians 4:6, and Luke 21:25 in the 'Dies irae' sequence, composed before or during the thirteenth century.[358] As such, the author of this addition to the *Historia Damiatina* encouraged his audience to interpret the loss of the city as part of the hardships that God was expected to visit upon the disobedient during the Last Days. As I showed in the first chapter of this thesis, those accounts that explained military failure as a necessary punishment for

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[355] Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs 231, fols. 43v–44r. Darmstadt addition to Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina*, in H. Hoogeweg (ed.), *Die schriften des Kölner domscholasters, späteren bischofs von Paderborn und kardinal-bischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus*, vols 201–2 (Tübingen, 1894), 280–2.

[356] 'Hiis ita gestis peregrini nostri otio et crapula torpentes et lucris terrenis inhiantes contra se iram Omnipotentis provocabant…' Darmstadt addition to Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina*, 280.

[357] 'Hec enim est dies illa, de qua scriptum est: *Dies illa dies ire* etc…' Ibid, 281.

[358] Szövérffy, *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, 2.220–4.

widespread moral corruption had the potential to inspire spiritual renewal. However, by placing his initial interpretation that the defeat to the Ayyubids in Egypt had been divinely sanctioned in the context of God's apocalyptic designs, the anonymous author rendered his criticism of contemporary morality more urgent.

Apostasy and the Antichrist

Other authors likewise framed the interpretation that the sins of the Christian had caused defeat in light of the Last Days but did so in a slightly different manner. They suggested that the immorality for which God had punished the community was due to the appearance of the Antichrist. Predictions about this time of widespread apostasy and the divine chastisement that was to follow can be found in several passages of the New Testament, including Matthew 24:10–2, 2 Thessalonians 2:1–12 and Revelation 13.

Peter of Blois was among those who evoked such references to end-time apostasy and consequent judgement in response to the loss of territory. This is especially evident in his *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane*, an exhortation aimed at the princes of western Europe meant to be read in conjunction with the earlier discussed *Dialogus inter regem Henricum Secundum et abbatem Bonevallis*.[359] Both works asserted that Saladin's victory had been a divine chastisement for Christian iniquity. However, the rhetoric of the *Conquestio* suggests that Peter believed that this lapse in morality was due to the influence of the Antichrist. Indeed, he reinterpreted Revelation 18:7, which sets out the divine punishment visited on the city of Babylon for its corruption under the rule of the Antichrist, to speak directly to the experience of the Christians in Outremer. Originally, the verse reads, 'Give her as much torment and sorrow as she [Babylon] has glorified herself and lived in luxury.'[360] However, in Peter's *Conquestio,* the passage was transformed to apply to the citizens of Jerusalem, suggesting that it was they who had fulfilled the prophecy of Revelation 18 by submitting to the depravity of the Antichrist. He writes, 'You have been given as much torment and sorrow as you have glorified

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[359] See pages 128–30.

[360] '…quantum glorificavit se et in deliciis fuit tantum date illi tormentum et luctum…' Revelation 18:7. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Weber.

yourself and lived in luxury.'[361] In this way, the loss suffered at the hands of Saladin was portrayed as the inevitable consequence of that period of immorality expected before the Final Judgement. Such rhetoric amplified the spiritual capital of Peter's account. It implied that a return to the right path, through a renewed dedication to God's cause, had to be achieved rapidly as the world would soon be brought to an end.

This interpretation of the loss of Jerusalem was made even more explicit in the Occitan composition 'Ara nos sia guitz', written by the troubadour Gaucelm Faidit in 1201 or 1202.[362] Born into a family of knights in the Limousin, Gaucelm would travel to Outremer as part of the Fourth Crusade.[363] He wrote about this campaign, as well as earlier expeditions in the poems he composed for his patrons. These included Geoffrey II, Duke of Brittany and fellow troubadour Dalfi d'Alvernha, Count of Clermont and Montferrat. For a time, Gaucelm also resided and worked at the court of Richard I.

'Ara nos sia guitz' laments the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 and denounces those who had refused to join the Fourth Crusade or delayed their departure. It is particularly critical of King Philip II of France. Gaucelm blamed the lack of enthusiasm among the faithful to recover 'the holy places and the road for the pilgrims that Saladin took from us…' on the wickedness of the Christian community.[364] Their actions are portrayed as a direct betrayal of God, who had orchestrated the campaigns as a test for his people.[365] The troubadour subsequently placed this interpretation of events in an apocalyptic context. He

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[361] 'Quantum glorificasti te et fuisti in deliciis, tantum data sunt tibi tormenta et luctus…' Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 79.

[362] Gaucelm Faidit, 'Ara nos sia guitz,' ed. and tr. J.-D. Mouzat, *Les Poèmes de Gaucelm Faidit Troubadour du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1965), 460–7.

[363] Ibid., 26 and 40.

[364] '…lo sanz luocs…
que nos tolc Saladis…' Ibid., 462.

[365] '…Dieus vol et essaia
los pros e-ls arditz;
et aquels a chauzitz,
e laissa los aunitz
e l'avol gen savaia
per cui es trahitz.' Ibid., 461.

proposed that the reluctance among Christians to respond to the losses in Outremer with a show of devotion was caused by the arrival of the Antichrist. Many, he wrote, had submitted to this cosmic adversary:

> Now, the Antichrist has risen, to the great damage of the world, so that all goodness loses heart and all evil has grown: he has seized the wealthy sinners, he has taken them and sent them to sleep; and this sin, which fills them with dread, keeps them mournful and sad.[366]
> (4.1–8)

This interpretation of events and commentary on Christian morality resembles the prophecy found in 2 Thessalonians 2:8-12. Like Revelation 18, this part of scripture predicts a period of increased immorality before the Final Judgement. More precisely, it suggests that God would send the Antichrist to earth as a test to determine who would stand by their faith and who would betray him by submitting to this great figure of evil.

We cannot determine with certainty whether Gaucelm drew inspiration from this particular prophecy directly and historicised it or whether he was simply inspired by a general awareness of the predicted sequence of the events. However, the stanza cited above undeniably gives the impression that Christendom was witnessing a period of apostasy after the loss of Jerusalem, instigated by the arrival of the Antichrist. The notion that Saladin's victory was a divine punishment was thereby placed in an apocalyptic context. The lapse in morality that the world was witnessing should not be seen as part of the ordinary ebb and flow of spirituality caused by human weakness but as stemming from interference by cosmic forces of evil.

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366 'Oimais es Anticristz
al dan del mon issitz ;
que totz lo bes s'esmaia,
e-l mals es saillitz,
qe-ls fals rics a sazitz
e pres et endormitz ;
e-l pecatz qe-ls esglaia
los ten morns e tristz…' Ibid., 461–2.

This narrative provided an explanation for the loss of the city, resolving the tension between the expectation of Christian dominance in Outremer and the reality of decisive defeat, and added to the troubadour's calls for spiritual regeneration. Indeed, it encouraged a process of introspection by stressing that the spiritual consequences of not responding to God's test with greater devotion and enthusiasm for his cause in the Holy Land would be significantly graver than the original defeat itself.

Apocalyptic Holy War

The same function was fulfilled by another narrative frequently found in the source material, which integrated such discourse into their interpretations of defeat in a still different manner. Indeed, after the loss of Edessa and especially after the loss of Jerusalem, authors often chose not to focus on ideas of apocalyptic wrath or apostasy caused by the Antichrist but suggested instead that the loss and planned recovery expeditions were part of the final confrontation between the forces of Good and Evil. This cosmic conflict was expected to precede the Last Judgement, in line with various scriptural prophecies, including Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21 and Revelation 12, 16 and 17.

This interpretation is evident, for instance, in the anonymous Old French song 'Chevalier, mult estes guariz'. As discussed in the previous chapter, it was composed shortly after the loss of Edessa, and its primary aim was to encourage mobilisation for the Second Crusade among the knights of France.[367] I have argued that the anonymous trouvère described Zengi's forces as Canaanites to present the conflict in Outremer as a contest between God's chosen people and their enemies in which the faithful needed to participate. In this manner, he sought to underscore the significance of the campaign launched by Pope Eugenius. However, to achieve this, the song's composer looked not only to the biblical past but also to scripture's prophecies for the future. Indeed, in the second part of the composition, the upcoming crusade is portrayed as the theatre for the final cosmic contest between Good and Evil that was prophesied to occur before the Last Judgement, asserting that:

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[367] 'Chevalier, Mult Estes Guariz,' 10. See pages 114–6 for a discussion of this source.

God has launched a tournament between Hell and Paradise and asks all his friends who wish to defend him not to fail him…
(5.1–5)

Because the son of God the Creator has fixed a day to be at Edessa, there the sinners will be saved![368]
(6.1–3)

In these lines, the composer suggested that the loss of Edessa was divinely orchestrated to provide an occasion for a final confrontation between the forces of Good and Evil. At the same time, the city takes the place of the plain of Megiddo as it is revealed as the location for this decisive conflict and the site where the faithful will be saved. In this way, the author of the song conflated the spiritual and the worldly by positing military failure in Outremer and the campaign launched in its wake as catalysts for salvation. This suggestion that defeat bore upon God's designs for Christian redemption, in turn, gave the author a degree of spiritual capital that lent further legitimacy to his appeal.

The apocalyptic imagery is further amplified as the song praises those who, out of love for God, would take the cross and accomplish vengeance in his name.[369] Here, the crusaders are identified with the instruments of divine wrath, a scriptural allegory that would have been familiar to many. They become the armies of the Lamb from Revelation 17:14, the iron rod and the sharp sword by which God would strike down the nations according to Revelation 19:15. They are

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368 'Deus ad un turnei pris
Entre Enfern e Pareïs,
Si mande trestuz ses amis
Ki lui volent guarantir
Qu'il ne li seient failliz.

Char le Filz Deus al Creatur
a Rohais estre ad mis un jorn.
La serunt salf li pecceür!' Ibid., 10.

369 'Ki bien ferrunt pur s'amur,
Irunt en cel besoin servir
[…]
Pur la vengance Deu furnir.'
'Chevalier, Mult Estes Guariz,' 10. It should be noted that there are several missing lines in this stanza.

no longer engaged in a worldly contest but were transformed into the agents of God's final triumph over the forces of evil.

Such rhetoric had the potential to amplify and justify the composer's call to arms. It presented participation in the Second Crusade as a way to contribute and be a witness to the cosmic conflict that would precede the end of the world. To neglect this duty would, therefore, be all the more problematic. Furthermore, by presenting the struggle between the Christians and Muslims in Outremer in such uncompromising terms, as a fight between the forces of Good and Evil, hell and paradise personified, the song could influence contemporary morality in another way. This aggressive reinforcement of in- and out-group identity through apocalyptic social comparisons could inspire confidence. It had the potential to mitigate the effects of the traumatic experience of defeat by affirming their continued superiority as God's chosen people. Moreover, it dehumanised the enemy and, thereby, further legitimised a violent response.

Given the moral potential of this narrative of an apocalyptic contest, it is unsurprising that it was also used frequently in response to the defeat against Saladin in 1187. Indeed, it can likewise be found in an account of an exhortative sermon preached by Henry, Bishop of Strasbourg, to a congregation of German nobles in December 1187.[370] According to the anonymous *Historia peregrinorum*, which contains the only surviving version of the bishop's words, he claimed that hitherto 'no one has been moved by the injury [done] to his Saviour so that again it may be possible to say: "I have trodden the winepress alone and from the nations, not a man is with me."'[371] This is a reference to Isaiah 63:3, in which the image of Christ in the winepress is used as an allegory for God passing judgement on the unbelievers by himself, as none of his people had come to assist him. In the New Testament, this image took on an apocalyptic meaning, as is evident from its inclusion in Revelation 14:20 and Revelation 19:15, where it is used to demonstrate the workings of divine vengeance during the Last Days. By referring to the biblical image of the winepress, the Bishop of Strasbourg thus associated

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[370] *Historia peregrinorum*, MGH SS rer. Germ. N. S. 5.123–4.

[371] '…non est quem sui moveat salvatoris iniuria, ut rursum dicere possit: "torcular calcavi solus et de gentibus non est vir mecum".' *Historia peregrinorum*, 123. For more on the imagery of the winepress, see D. S. Irudayaraj, *Violence, Otherness and Identity in Isaiah 63:1-6: The Trampling One Coming from Edom* (London, 2017).

the fight against the Muslims with apocalyptic war. The campaign launched in the wake of Saladin's victory is presented as an opportunity to assist God in carrying out the final vengeance on the unbelievers.

It is noteworthy that Revelation and Isaiah do not in themselves encourage such mobilisation. According to scripture, the protagonists of the Last Days would be Christ and his divine agents, while the influence of the faithful would be restricted to prayer and martyrdom. Nevertheless, although originally quietist, these biblical texts do contain the potential to inspire military enthusiasm. They can easily be manipulated by those who reference them to achieve this exact effect, as demonstrated by the anonymous 'Chevalier, Mult Estes Guariz' and the sermon given by the Bishop of Strasbourg.[372] Indeed, as I have argued, apocalyptic speculation endowed crusading exhortations with a sense of urgency. It underscored that only a limited period remained to demonstrate one's devotion to God and secure redemption. As such, it simultaneously stimulated enthusiasm for the crusades, which were presented as divinely ordained.

At the same time, it is possible that this urgency inspired a feeling of individual liberation in some people, as all other worldly duties came to be seen as subordinate to the fulfilment of one's participation in the ultimate conflict between God's forces and his adversaries. Certainly, the suggestion that a community is living through the final days has the potential to undermine one's present reality.[373] It disconnects individuals from their day-to-day lives and thereby assuages the inner conflict one might feel when leaving to participate in crusading expeditions, allowing them to leave their homes behind more easily.

Considering the moral potential of this interpretation, it is unsurprising that several of the Bishop of Strasbourg's contemporaries likewise portrayed the conflict in the East as an apocalyptic war. This is true, for instance, of Peter of Blois. As we have seen, Peter used different narratives to render his conviction that the defeat at Hattin and the surrender of Jerusalem had been a divine punishment for sin more impressive. In the last chapter, I showed that Peter contrasted the

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[372] J. J. Collins, 'From Prophecy to Apocalypticism: The Expectation of the End,' in B. J. McGinn, J. J. Collins and S. J. Stein (eds.), *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism* (New York, 2003), 64–88; McQueen, *Political Realism*, 43.

[373] W. A. Meeks, 'Apocalyptic Discourse and Strategies of Goodness,' *The Journal of Religion* 80/3 (2000), 461–75, 468.

repentant attitude of the Israelites after the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem with the lack of devotion shown by the Christians. Moreover, in the pages above, I have argued that he used apocalyptic references in his *Conquestio de dilatione vie Ierosolimitane* to suggest that the immorality that had caused God to punish Christendom was caused by submission to the Antichrist. In his *Passio Raginaldi,* all these different rhetorical tools were combined to legitimise his explanation for defeat in Outremer and give his call for spiritual renewal greater sway.

At the beginning of the treatise, Peter clarified that Saladin's victory had been a divine chastisement.[374] To demonstrate the legitimacy of this interpretation and highlight that God had acted out of love, he subsequently referred to familiar examples of the workings of divine justice from the Old Testament.[375] However, he simultaneously placed Saladin's victory at Hattin in an apocalyptic light at several points throughout the treatise. In the first instance, he achieved this by giving the same explanation for defeat as we find in the *Conquestio*. Peter likewise implied that the moral decline he believed had caused military failure could be identified with that period of end-time Apostasy, set out in Revelation 18:

> We know that this [his indignant anger] has recently fallen upon everyone in that land, indeed, to use the word of the prophet, "The Lord cannot carry himself differently in the face of the wickedness of impious men": For their sins are piled up to heaven, and God has remembered the crimes of his people [Rev. 18:5]….[376]

As discussed in reference to the *Conquestio*, this passage from Revelation refers to the divine punishment visited upon Babylon for its corruption after having submitted to the rule of the Antichrist. By applying this allegory to the Christian community, Peter suggested that the immorality he witnessed was caused by the interference of forces of apocalyptic malevolence.

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[374] See pages 63–5.

[375] See pages 95 and 130–1.

[376] 'Hec omnia in terra illa nuper accidisse cognovimus, nam, ut verbum prophete assumam, *non poterat Dominus ulterius portare propter malitiam impiorum hominum*: pervenerant enim peccata eorum in celum et recordatus est dominus iniquitatum populi sui…' Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 49.

This interpretation that the end of time was fast approaching was further strengthened by the author's portrayal of the Third Crusade as part of the final confrontation between the forces of Good and Evil that Revelation had prophesied. The integrity and devotion of those who had taken the cross were contrasted with the immorality of the Christians who had caused God to abandon his people. The crusaders are depicted as willing instruments of divine wrath who would face the Muslims, emissaries of the apocalyptic evil. Indeed, according to Peter, Saladin's forces had constructed 'The Synagogue of Satan' in Outremer, an image from Revelation 2:9 that describes the activity of those who were prophesied to persecute God's people during the Last Days.[377] A few lines further down, he denounced the Ayyubid army in terms reserved for the 'Whore of Babylon':

> This is that woman of whom is written in Revelation 'I saw that woman drunk on the blood of the martyrs and of Jesus Christ [Rev. 17:6]' and 'her sins are piled up to heaven, and God had remembered her crimes'. It is written, 'Give back to her as she has given to you; mix in the cup double what she has mixed, give her as much torment and sorrow as she glorified herself in luxury [Rev. 18:5–7]'.[378]

The *Passio Raginaldi* demonstrates the versatility of medieval applications of the Book of Revelation. Indeed, the fourteen references to the Apocalypse of John that can be found within this text show that the abstract nature of this text allowed for the historicising of its prophecies in a wide variety of contexts, even within a single work.

Perhaps not entirely surprising, Saladin is also referred to as 'that Antichrist' and denounced three times as 'the son of perdition', a figure who appears in John 17:12, as well as 2 Thessalonians 2:3 and has traditionally been

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[377] 'Vindica, domine, sanguinem servorum tuorum, quem in iniuriam nominis tui fudit, Christe Iesu, synagoga Sathane, congregatio perditorum.' Ibid., 54–5.

[378] 'Hec est mulier illa, de qua legitur in Apocalipsi: *Vidi mulierem ebriam sanguine martyrum Iesu Christi* et *pervenerunt peccata eius usque ad celum recordatus est dominus iniquitatum eius. Reddite*, inquit, *illi sicut et ipsa reddidit vobis, in poculo, quo miscuit, miscete ei duplum, quantum exaltavit se in deliciis, tantum date ei tormenta et luctum*.' Ibid., 55.

equated with the Antichrist.[379] It is possible that Peter intended these descriptions as moral denunciations rather than apocalyptic markers. Indeed, many twelfth-century authors were quick to accuse their opponents of being the Antichrist as a political invective rather than an announcement that the end was near.[380] Peter himself would compare Duke Leopold of Austria to this figure of evil in a later letter.[381] Nevertheless, such rhetoric certainly amplified the apocalyptic atmosphere created throughout the work.

Peter closed his treatise by encouraging the faithful to take up their role as agents of God in much the same manner as Henry, Bishop of Strasbourg, had according to the *Historia peregrinorum*. Indeed, the *Passio Raginaldi* likewise instructed the Christian community to take up its role as the instrument of God's end-time wrath: 'Just as we pray that his kingdom might arrive,' wrote Peter, 'so we should strive to increase his dominion and that the peoples are made subject to him "with an iron rod"', a reference to Psalm 2:9 and Revelation 2:27, 12:5 and 19:15. Here, the spiritual and the worldly are conflated to suggest that military action against the Muslim adversary was a part of the divine plan for the End Times. Using the allegory of the 'iron rod', it is implied that those who would join the Third

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[379] 'Sic ergo filios perditionis exaltat dominus ut gravius allidantur et iustos allidit temporaliter ut gloriosius exaltentur.' Ibid., 38; 'Congregaverat ille Babilonius canis [Saladinus], ille filius perditionis, universos fere principes nationum…' Ibid., 40; '…atque potius impulsi et oppressi quam capti in conspectu illius Antichristi oblati sunt.' Ibid., 40; 'Porro ille filius perditionis Saladinus, cuius funesto et dampnato nomine invitus et dolens hanc epistolam contamino, biennali spacio non cessaverat premiis, precibus et promissis fere universos principes et populos nationum congregare…' Ibid, 46. Saladin was described in similar terms in the *Conquestio*. Moreover, in a song composed in early 1193, Peter denounced the entire Muslim population in Outremer in the same way. See, *Conquestio*, 84; Peter of Blois, 'Quis aquam tuo capiti,' in C. Wollin (ed.), *Petri Blesensis Carmina*, CCCM 128 (Turnhout, 1998), 257–62.

[380] Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, used Antichrist imagery as an invective against antipope Anacletus II. Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad Magistrum Gaufredum de Loratorio,' in *Epistolae* 7, no. 125, 307–8. For a discussion of this denunciation, see B. McGinn, 'Saint Bernard and Eschatology,' in M. B. Pennington (ed.), *Bernard of Clairvaux: Studies Presented to Dom Jean Leclercq* (Washington, D.C., 1973), 161–95. For a general discussion of the political use of such accusations, see also H. D. Rauh, 'Eschatologie und Geschichte im 12. Jahrhundert. Antichrist-Typologie als Medium der Gegenwartskritik,' in W. Verbeke, D. Verhelst and A. Welkenhuysen (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages* (Leuven, 1988), 333–58.

[381] Peter of Blois, 'Ad Conradum Archiepiscopum Moguntinum' (1192), PL 207, no. 143, cols. 428–33, col. 430.

Crusade would not just be confronting an earthly enemy but would instead play a role in effecting the final triumph of Good over Evil before the Last Judgement.

In short, the *Passio Raginaldi* represents a coming together of two narratives discussed in this chapter. Firstly, Peter argued that the loss of Jerusalem was the direct result of a divine chastisement for sin. To render this interpretation more impressive, he proposed that this lapse in morality was caused by submission to apocalyptic forces of evil. It was portrayed as part of that period of apostasy, which scripture had predicted would occur before the Second Coming. Secondly, Peter described the subsequently planned Third Crusade as an apocalyptic war. The Muslims were transformed into the agents of the Antichrist and those who had taken the cross into instruments of God's wrath.

Such rhetoric allowed Peter to justify his assertion that the campaign launched by Pope Gregory VIII in response to the defeat at Hattin was, above all, a spiritual enterprise. Moreover, it added a sense of urgency to his exhortation by suggesting that participation in the crusade was no regular redemptive action but the last opportunity to fight for God's cause and secure salvation. It should also be noted that Peter's rigid division between the Christians as divine agents and the Muslims as representatives of apocalyptic evil reinforced in- and out-group identity while conveying a sense of Christian exceptionalism. This could inspire confidence in a positive outcome of the planned crusade while also legitimising violence against the enemy. To be sure, then, Peter's use of multiple narrative themes endowed his response to the events of 1187 with significant spiritual capital that, in turn, amplified the potential of these works to influence contemporary morality.

Fellow papal propagandist Henry of Albano likewise placed the failures of the Christians in the face of the Muslim threat in an apocalyptic light. He similarly suggested that the conflict in Outremer was part of the final confrontation between the forces of Good and Evil before the Last Judgement. Moreover, as in Peter's work, the faithful were assigned a decisive role as agents of God. They were no longer passive pawns, restricted to prayer and martyrdom during the Last Days but were transformed into active agents invited to help to

bring about the final victory of Christ. Henry expressed this interpretation most clearly in the previously discussed thirteenth treatise his *De peregrinante civitate Dei*.[382]

Like Peter, the papal legate combined different narrative themes to present a more convincing argument for military action based on solid spiritual foundations. Indeed, the suggestion that defeat had been a divine chastisement for the sins of the Christian community was strengthened not only through comparison with the suffering of the Israelites, as set out in the last chapter, but also through apocalyptic speculation. One passage, in particular, stands out as the bishop draws his audience into his apocalyptic vision of the events towards the end of the text. Using the evangelist reading of Daniel 7–12, in which the presence of the 'abomination of desolation' had come to be identified as an apocalyptic apparition (possibly linked to the Antichrist), Henry writes:

> During that hour [that we are witnessing], which the crucifixion announced, the future tribulation will be so great, as there has not been since nations have begun to exist. Moreover, when introducing this prophecy of Daniel, he [Matthew] said, 'So when you see standing in the holy place the abomination of desolation, let the reader understand' [Matt. 24:15]. Understanding this — that we have caused that desolation to be in the holy places — and we are causing it to remain in that very place even longer…[383]

This passage identified Saladin and his army with imagery of apocalyptic evil found in the Gospels. In the visionary chapters of the Book of Daniel (7–12), the 'abomination of desolation' refers to the profanation of the Temple by Antiochus IV. However, in the second century, the authors of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark reinterpreted the imagery not as an action but as an unknown individual associated with the fall of Jerusalem during the Last Days, perhaps the same figure

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[382] See pages 96–7, 107–8, 136–7, 158–9.

[383] 'Hora, inquam, illa, de qua crucifixus praedixit, tantam futuram esse tribulationem, quanta non fuit, ex quo gentes esse coeperunt. Ubi etiam prophetiam Danielis inducens, *Cum videritis*, inquit, *abominationem desolationis stantem in loco sancto, qui legit intelligat* [Matt. 24:15]. Nos igitur hoc intelligentes, desolationem istam, quam in loco sancto esse fecimus, stare ibidem diutius faciamus…' Henry of Albano, *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, col. 359.

as the 'son of perdition' of John 17:12 and 2 Thessalonians 2:3.[384] His arrival was predicted to be followed by a period of tribulation, Christ's descent to earth and humanity's final assessment.[385] By associating the Muslims with this apocalyptic figure, Henry amplified his argument that God had orchestrated defeat. It implied that Saladin's victory was an unfortunate but essential step in the divinely ordained march towards the Last Judgement.

At the same time, the second part of the passage quoted above placed the Christians at the centre of these events, contrary to the relatively passive role scripture assigned to humanity during the Last Days. Indeed, he proposed that their enemies had occupied and continued to dominate the Holy City only because of the reluctance of the faithful to abandon their sinful ways and commit to God's cause. Those who had taken the cross are depicted as fighting the final battle between Good and Evil using this discourse, thereby highlighting the urgency of the expedition as the last opportunity for securing redemption. As a result, the treatise could influence contemporary morality by connecting the defeat in Outremer and the planned campaign to salvation history in much the same manner as the *Passio Raginaldi*.

While both Peter of Blois and Henry of Albano thus inserted apocalyptic speculation into their responses to the defeat at Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem, such rhetoric found its fullest expression outside the circle of papal propagandists. Indeed, it is in the writings of Joachim of Fiore that the conflict in Outremer was most explicitly portrayed as part of the final conflict between God's agents and his enemies.[386] Having gained what he understood to be a spiritual understanding of the Book of Revelation, the Calabrian abbot developed a division of history into three distinct periods or *status*; that of the Father, of the Son and the Holy Ghost.

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[384] Mark 13:14. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Weber.

[385] Matthew 24:21–35. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. Weber.

[386] There is no shortage of excellent studies on the life and works of Joachim of Fiore, as well as his influence over later thinkers and movements. See, for instance, M. W. Bloomfield, 'Joachim of Flora: A Critical Survey of his Canon, Teachings, Sources, Biography and Influence,' *Traditio* 13 (1957), 249–311; B. McGinn, *The Calabrian Abbot: Joachim of Fiore in the History of Western Thought* (New York, NY., 1985); M. Reeves, *Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future: A Medieval Study in Historical Thinking* (Stroud, 1999); E. R. Daniel, *Abbot Joachim of Fiore and Joachimism: Selected Articles* (Farnham, 2011); M. Riedl, *A Companion to Joachim of Fiore* (Leiden, 2017).

Events that occurred in one *status* were understood to be linked vertically and horizontally, that is to say, spiritually and historically, to events that had happened or were expected to happen in another.[387]

Beyond this trinitarian notion of time based on the *status*, Joachim developed a parallel division of history into two *tempora*, the first stretching from Adam to the birth of Jesus Christ and the second from the incarnation to the end of history.[388] Each of these *tempora* was divided further into seven *etates*.[389] The abbot viewed himself as living in the final years of the second age, or sixth *etas*, of the second *tempus*, the end of which would be marked by the apex of Muslim power, as well as the reign of the Antichrist.[390] Out of this crisis, the third *status*, characterised as a spiritual utopia, would ultimately emerge.[391]

Although events in the Holy Land did not take up a central position in Joachim's works and the abbot did not actively promote further military expeditions to Jerusalem, he did engage with the loss of the Holy City on a few occasions.[392] Most striking are the references to Saladin, who is depicted not just as a worldly enemy but as a great figure of apocalyptic evil. The first such characterisation can be found in Joachim's *Liber introductorius in Apocalypsim*, written

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[387] See, for example, Joachim of Fiore, *Liber introductorius in Apocalypsim*, in ed. K. Patschovsky and K.-V. Selge, *Joachim von Fiore: Expositio super Apocalypsim et opuscula adiacentia*, MGH Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters 31 (Wiesbaden, 2020), 1.521–677, 1.545–52.

[388] Ibid., 552; Idem, *Liber de Concordia Novi ac Veteris Testamenti*, ed. E. R. Daniel (Philadelphia, PA., 1983), 2.1.12–3, 81–3.

[389] Idem, *Liber introductorius*, 1.569–74.

[390] Ibid.

[391] Ibid., 1.546; E. R. Daniel, 'Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades,' *Tradtio* 25 (1969), 127–54, 130–1.

[392] Historians have disagreed about the degree to which Joachim felt that further crusades would be fruitful. Brett E. Whalen, among others, has argued that Joachim did not believe that future expeditions to the East were necessary, writing that, according to the abbot, 'they were an abortive attempt to accomplish things contrary to the will of God.' See B. E. Whalen, 'Christendom, Crusade, and the End of Days: The Dream of World Conversion (1099–1274),' in N. al-Bagdadi, D. Marno and M. Riedl (eds.), *Apocalyptic Complex: Perspectives, Histories, Persistence* (Budapest, 2018), 143–56, 146. Benjamin Kedar, on the other hand, has proposed that Joachim was not a critic of the crusades but merely felt that spiritual regeneration would be more effective. B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, NJ., 1984), 112–6.

between 1198 and 1199 as an addition to the *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, begun in 1196, and a revision of the earlier *Enchiridion super Apocalypsim*.[393] Here, the abbot describes the Muslim leader in light of the sixth head of the dragon found in Revelation 13 and 17, as well as the 'little' or 'eleventh horn' introduced in Daniel 7:24:

> The sixth head of the dragon is that of which is said: 'and another king shall arise after them, and he will be stronger than those who came before' [Dan. 7:24]. Although, I suspect that that king of the Turks, named Saladin, represents the beginning of the sixth head. He has begun to tread on the Holy City and has grown strong, our sins needing to be laid on our necks more heavily than we expected. As such, Saladin is either that [figure] mentioned in the Book of Daniel the prophet, or he is not that but another who is about to arrive after him. In any case, all this is to refer to that sixth king of whom John said: 'and one is' [Rev. 17:10]. Indeed, everything may be completed under this one [Saladin], but it is also possible that the sixth king will appear under a different name in the future after that which is written about the eleventh king is fulfilled, who will subdue three kings and will speak against the highest: 'and believing he can change the times and laws, you are handed into his hands for a time, times and half a time' [Dan. 7:25].[394]

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[393] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber introductorius in Apocalypsim*, 521–677; Idem, *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527; reprint, Frankfurt, 1964); Idem, *Enchiridion super Apocalypsim*, in ed. Patschovsky and Selge, *Joachim von Fiore*, 271–433.

[394] 'Sextum caput Draconis ille est de quo dicitur in Daniele: *Alius rex surget post eos, et ipse potentior erit prioribus*, quamvis initium sexti capitis a rege isto Turchorum, Salatino nomine, sumptum putem, qui nuper calcare cepit sanctam civitatem, quique — peccatis nostris exigentibus — in cervicibus Christianorum supra quam putavimus crassatus est… Sive ergo Saladinus iste ille sit, qui est scriptus in libro Danielis prophete, sive non iste ille sit, sed alius qui venturus est post eum, indifferenter tamen referendum est hoc totum ad sextum illum regem, de quo dicit Iohannes: *Et unus est*, quia et possibile est totum istud sub isto compleri, et possibile est sub nomine sexti regis alium consurgere post presentem, in quo compleatur, quod scriptum est de undecimo rege, qui, *humiliatis tribus regibus, contra Excelsum* verba *loquatur*, *putans quod possit mutare tempora et leges, traditis* eis *in manu eius in tempus et tempora et dimidium temporis*'. Joachim of Fiore, *Liber introductorius*, 1.577–8.

This passage shows that, according to Joachim, Saladin was likely to be the embodiment of that eleventh, or little horn, which appears in the apocalyptic vision of Daniel 7 as an end-time figure of great military power.[395] Moreover, it indicates that the abbot believed that the sins of the Christian community had acted as a catalyst for the sultan's rise to power. The passage also demonstrates that the abbot identified this prophecy with that of the 'beast from the sea' found in Revelation 13 and the 'scarlet beast' introduced in Revelation 17, in line with Christian tradition.[396] These were considered distinct visualisations of the same apocalyptic enemy as they were both described as having seven heads and ten horns. The *Liber introductorius* suggested that Saladin might well be the sixth of these heads, an apocalyptic adversary who had been prophesied to appear. He would signal the end of the second *status* before being defeated by Christ, as set out in Revelation 19:20–1.[397]

Earlier in the same text, Joachim had confirmed that he believed that all parts of the beast were related to the Antichrist, with its heads being the most destructive element:

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[395] … porro cornua decem ipsius regni decem reges erunt et alius consurget post eos et ipse potentior erit prioribus et tres reges humiliabit et sermones contra Excelsum loquetur et sanctos Altissimi conteret et putabit quod possit mutare tempora et leges et tradentur in manu eius usque ad tempus et tempora et dimidium temporis…' Daniel 7:24–5. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem,* ed. Weber.

[396] '… et vidi de mare bestiam ascendentem habentem capita septem et cornua decem…' Revelation 13:1; '…et vidi mulierem sedentem super bestiam coccineam plenam nominibus blasphemiae habentem capita septem et cornua decem…' Revelation 17:3. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem,* ed. Weber.

[397] '…et adprehensa est bestia et cum illo pseudopropheta qui fecit signa coram ipso quibus seduxit eos qui acceperunt caracterem bestiae qui et adorant imaginem eius vivi missi sunt hii duo in stagnum ignis ardentis sulphure et ceteri occisi sunt in gladio sedentis super equum qui procedit de ore ipsius et comnes aves saturatae sunt carnibus eorum…' Revelation 19:20–1. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem,* ed. Weber.

> Of the red Dragon… The devil is that dragon. All evil men are his body. His heads are those who, as rulers, excelled among evil men and those they ruled and surpassed them in terms of wickedness.[398]

This passage suggests that Joachim believed that the historical figures he identified with the seven heads of the beast from Daniel and Revelation were all manifestations of the Antichrist. The abbot did not conceive of this doomsday figure as a singular individual. Instead, the Antichrist is depicted as a broader cosmic entity to which the dragon was assigned as a universal symbol. This force of evil found expression through various agents who at different times embodied it, the most recent of these manifestations being Saladin. Later in the *Expositio*, Joachim suggested that this succession of wicked rulers would culminate in the arrival of the two most destructive Antichrists. The first was identified with the seventh head of the dragon, while the second was symbolised by its tail and was linked to the prophecy of Gog and Magog.[399]

Evidently, Joachim believed that the defeat against the Muslims in 1187 was significant not just as a warning that widespread immorality had angered God but also as an event of apocalyptic importance. He proposed that Saladin's victory should be understood as a necessary step in the movement towards the Final Judgement, because it had been divinely ordained that he would rise to dominance and eventually fall before the final Antichrist could arrive. His narrative thus presented an innovative resolution to the tension between the expectation of continued Latin dominance in the Crusader States with God's assistance and the reality of repeated defeat. It challenged neither divine omnipotence nor the belief that the expansion of Christendom in the Holy Land

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[398] 'De Dracone rufo… Draco iste Diabolus est, corpus eius sunt omnes reprobi, capita ipsius hii, qui principantur inter reprobos et ipsos quoque, quibus presunt, precedunt et precellunt in malum.' Joachim of Fiore, *Liber introductorius*, 1.574.

[399] Joachim had first introduced this notion that there would be multiple Antichrist-like figures in the short oration titled *De ultimis tribulationibus*, written in the early 1190s. Joachim of Fiore, *De ultimis tribulationibus,* ed. K.-V. Selge, 'Ein Traktat Joachims von Fiore über die Drangsale der Endzeit: *De ultimis tribulationibus*,' *Florensia* 7 (1993), 7–35. For a discussion on Joachim's theory of multiple Antichrists, see also, R. E. Lerner, 'Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore,' *Speculum* 60/3 (1985), 553–70.

was in line with God's designs. Indeed, Joachim proposed that the loss of Jerusalem was an unfortunate but inevitable part of salvation history.

The *Liber figurarum*, a composition of drawings and accompanying text produced by Joachim's disciples either under his supervision or shortly after his death, similarly presented an apocalyptic interpretation of the loss of Jerusalem.[400] This work, which records and clarifies some of the abbot's key ideas using various figures, received little attention until Leone Tondelli brought to light a thirteenth-century manuscript containing the text and images in 1939.[401] The existence of two further copies was subsequently confirmed, both of which were also written in the thirteenth century.[402] The *Liber figurarum* likewise proposed that Saladin, or one who would succeed him, should be identified with the sixth head of that apocalyptic dragon that would persecute the Christians and 'bestow crowns of martyrdom on the elect'.[403] Furthermore, as in the *Liber introductorius*, Joachim (or indeed his disciples) suggested that the rise of Saladin as an apocalyptic figure and

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[400] Joachim of Fiore, *Liber figurarum*, ed. L. Tondelli, M. Reeves and B. Hirsch-Reich, *Il Libro delle figure dell'abate Gioachino da Fiore*, 2 vols (Turin, 1953). For further context, see also M. J. Reeves and B. Hirsch Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore* (Oxford, 1972), esp. 75–98 regarding the authorship of the work.

[401] L. Tondelli, *Il Libro delle figure dell'abate Gioachino da Fiore*, 2 vols (Turin, 1939).

[402] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms 255 A, fols. 5r–17v; Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile Urbano, Ms R, fols. 1r–20v; Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms A 121, fols. 87r–96v. The Reggio Emilia manuscript is an indirect copy of the Oxford manuscript. In contrast, the Dresden manuscript contains simpler illustrations and a version of the work that diverges from the other two at several points. All three contain the figure of the dragon with seven heads and accompanying text. For further details on the manuscript transmission and the characteristics of individual manuscripts, see *Liber figurarum*, 2.13–34, as well as L. Tondelli, 'Nuove prove della genuinità del Libro delle Figure di Gioacchino da Fiore,' *La scuola cattolica* (1942), 3–23; B. Hirsch-Reich, 'Das Figurenbuch Joachims von Fiore,' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 21 (1954), 144–7; Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, 99–116.

[403] 'Deinde post paucos annos curabitur plaga eius, et rex qui erit super illud, sive iste Salahadinus si adhuc vivet, sive alius pro eo, congregabit exercitum multo maiorem quam prius et concitabit prelium generale adversus electos dei et multi coronabuntur martirio in diebus illis.' *Liber figurarum*, 3, tav. xiv.

his military successes should be interpreted as a divine punishment for the sins of disloyal Christians.[404]

The accompanying image depicts the seven-headed dragon. Six of them are already known, as the labels above indicate: 'Herod', 'Nero', 'Constantine', 'Mohammed', 'Mesemothus' (most likely a reference to the caliph of the Almohad Empire) and 'Saladin'.[405] As Beatrice Hirsch-Reich and Marjorie Reeves have pointed out, there appears to have been no doubt in the illustrator's mind that the sixth head represented the Ayyubid Sultan, contrary to the more hesitant tone of the text which accompanies the figure.[406] To be sure, the *Liber figurarum*, then, is even more explicit than the *Liber introductorius* in its depiction of Muslim dominance in the East as an apocalyptic phenomenon.

A third indication of Joachim's view of Saladin as a manifestation of or precursor to the Antichrist is found outside the abbot's works. It is recorded in a report by Roger of Hoveden of a meeting between Joachim and King Richard of England at Messina in the winter of 1190 or 1191.[407] According to the *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, Joachim recounted his vision of the seven-headed dragon, naming Saladin as the sixth head, to Richard as the king prepared to set out for Acre to join the Third Crusade.[408] The abbot suggested that the sultan would soon be defeated, allowing for the appearance of that Antichrist, symbolised by the

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[404] 'Et quidem illorum intentio per omnia et in omnibus prava erit, sed tamen inviti et nescientes facient in utroque voluntatem Dei, sive in occidendis iustis quos oportet coronari martirio, sive in iudicandis impiis, a quibus corrupta est in sanguinibus terra.' Ibid.

[405] Ibid. The names given are the same in each of the three surviving manuscripts that contain the *Liber figurarum* in full. For the identification of the fifth head, see Daniel, 'Apocalyptic Conversion,' 132, n. 28.

[406] Reeves and Hirsch-Reich, *The Figurae of Joachim of Fiore*, 148.

[407] Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta, 2*.151–5. The conversation was also mentioned by Robert of Auxerre. See Robert of Auxerre, *Chronica*, 154–5. For a detailed discussion of the meeting and the legitimacy of the account see M. J. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), 6–10.

[408] 'Quod idem Joachim interpretatur dicens, reges septem, scilicet Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus, Saladinus, Antichristus; ex his quinque ceciderunt, scilicet Herodes, Nero, Constantius, Maumet, Melsemutus; et unus est, scilicet Saladinus, qui in praesenti opprimit ecclesiam Dei, et eam cum sepulcro Domini, et sancta civitate Jerusalem, et cum terra in qua steterunt pedes Domini, in servitutem redigit…' Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, 2.152.

dragon's seventh head.[409] However, Roger of Hoveden's later work, the *Chronica*, gives a slightly different version of events.[410] In this account of the meeting, Joachim likewise identifies Saladin with the sixth head of the dragon but does not predict an imminent victory for the Christian armies. Instead, he suggests that the Ayyubid sultan was to dominate Outremer for another seven years before he would eventually be defeated. This revision likely stemmed from the fact that Roger wrote this later work with knowledge of the Third Crusade's failure to regain Jerusalem in mind.

Taken together, the *Liber introductorius*, the *Liber figurarum* and Roger of Hoveden's record of the meeting at Messina put it beyond doubt that Joachim viewed the loss of Jerusalem as an event of great importance for salvation history. The abbot portrayed the conflict in Outremer as part of the end-time confrontation between God's faithful and agents of apocalyptic evil that scripture had predicted. He thereby proposed that Saladin's victory had been a crucial step in the divinely ordained scheme for the movement towards the ultimate triumph of God and the Last Judgement.

There is no evidence to suggest that Joachim used his discussion of the loss of Jerusalem as an event of apocalyptic importance to encourage Christians to take the cross. His works and the account of his meeting with Richard I show that he did not believe military action could effectively challenge Saladin's forces since God alone could determine when and how this phase in the movement towards the Last Judgement would end. In this way, the abbot's response to defeat in Outremer differs significantly from that of the above-discussed papal propagandists.

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[409] 'et ipse [Saladinus] in proximo amittet regnum Ierosolimitanum et interficietur; et milvorum rapacitas peribit, et erit illorum strages maxima, qualis non fuit ab initio mundi; et fiet habitatio eorum deserta, et civitates illorum desolabuntur; et Christiani revertentur ad amissa pascua, et nidificabunt in eis.

Et conversus ad regem Angliae ait, "Haec omnia reservavit Dominus et per te fieri permittet, Qui dabit tibi de inimicis tuis victoriam, et Ipse nomen tuum glorificabit in aeternum, et tu Ipsum glorificabis, et in te Ipse glorificabitur, si in opere coepto perseveraveris." "Et unus nondum venit," id est Antichristus. De isto Antichristo dicit idem abbas de Curacio, sentire quod iam natus est, quindecim annos habens a nativitate: sed in potestate sua nondum venit.' Ibid., 2.152–3.

[410] Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 3.75–9.

Visions of post-apocalyptic Christian glory

Nevertheless, every one of the accounts discussed in this chapter shares that in associating the loss of territory in the Holy Land to the events of the Last Days, their authors conveyed a sense of optimism about the future. Inherent in these narratives was the belief that God's people would ultimately triumph. Indeed, scripture assured the faithful that the adversities they faced would be temporary and come to an end after the Second Coming. The vision of peace that invariably accompanied Christian speculation about the eschaton allowed people to imagine a future in which their enemies are struck down for good. As Wayne Meeks has argued regarding the impact of the Book of Revelation on early Christianity, apocalyptic discourse thus has the potential to compensate for asymmetrical power relationships.[411] It could give a group that had lost authority to another confidence that the roles would ultimately be reversed. As such, it was an especially useful tool for the Christian community as they tried to come to terms with repeated Muslim victories. Contemporaries could use apocalyptic speculation to give their audience hope for a better future and relief from anxiety caused by the loss of spiritually significant regions.

Although this message was intrinsic to all narratives that connected events in Outremer to the Last Days, some authors chose to make this message more explicit by highlighting those scriptural passages that spoke of the expected triumph of God's people. This is the case, for example, in a letter sent by King Henry II of England to the princes and ecclesiastics in the East.[412] It was recorded by Roger of Hoveden, who dated the document to 1188. The text invokes a vision of a post-apocalyptic future in which Israel emerges victoriously out of darkness; a message echoed in Revelation 21 with the arrival of the New Jerusalem. More specifically, King Henry suggested to the recipients of the letter that the armies coming from Europe as part of the Third Crusade would bring about this deliverance. He writes:

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[411] Meeks, 'Apocalyptic Discourse and Strategies of Goodness,' 463–8.

[412] King Henry II of England, 'Ad patriarchas Antiochiae et Jerusalem, et ad Raimundum principem Antiochiae, et alios Christianos Orientalis ecclesiae,' Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2.342–3.

> We believe that that prophecy by Isaiah has now been fulfilled: Jerusalem, lift up your eyes and look around you: "All who have gathered, have come to you. Then you will look and be radiant; your heart will wonder and swell. The abundance of the sea will be turned over to you, the might of the nations will come to you" [Is. 60:4–5].[413]

The passage from Isaiah cited here predicts the return of God's people to Jerusalem during the Last Days, after which an era of peace would be inaugurated as Israel's enemies surrender and the redeemed are saved. By suggesting that the participants of the Third Crusade would fulfil this eschatological prophecy, King Henry thus conveyed confidence in the outcome of the enterprise through the use of apocalyptic language.

A similarly optimistic use of scriptural prophecy regarding the Last Days can be found in the anonymous *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*.[414] The earlier of the two distinct parts which make up this work is an anonymous account of the defeats suffered by the Christian armies in 1187, written within a few years of the surrender of Jerusalem. There had been considerable debate about the authorship of this part of the *Libellus*. While most scholars have argued that the author had a military background, recent editors Keagen Brewer and James Kane have challenged this conclusion.[415] They noted that the exegetical

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[413] '…quoniam illud credimus Isaiae vaticinium iam completum: Jerusalem, leva in circuitu oculos tuos et vide: omnes isti congregati venerunt tibi. Tunc videbis et afflues, et mirabitur et dilatabitur, cor tuum, quando conversa fuerit ad te multitudo maris, fortitudo gentium venerit tibi.' Ibid., 2.342.

[414] *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*, 114–7.

[415] On the suggestion that the author was a soldier or knight, see Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 485; B. Hamilton, *The Leper King and his Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2000), 11–2; Nicholson, in *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, 4. For Kane and Brewer's recent refutation of this theory, see Brewer and Kane, in *Libellus*, 9–50, esp. 23–5 and 44; H. Kane, '"Blood and water flowed to the ground": sacred topography, biblical landscapes and conceptions of space in the *Libellus de expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum*,' *Journal of Medieval History* 47/3 (2021) 366–80. On the suggestion that the author was English, see Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2.478; Ailes and Barber, in *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, 2.17; On the suggestion that the author might have been an English Templar, see J. Willoughby, 'A Templar Chronicle of the Third Crusade: Origin and Transmission,' *Medium aevum* 81/1 (2012), 126–34.

skill displayed in the account would have been beyond that of most knights and members of the military orders. Instead, they proposed that the *Libellus* was written by someone who had received substantial training in theology, likely a monk. Certainly, the author focused on the spiritual rather than the temporal aspects of the Christian presence in Outremer. As we will see, this is particularly evident in his interpretations of defeat. Moreover, I agree with Brewer and Kane's assertion that the complex use of scripture also indicates that the intended audience was ecclesiastical rather than secular.[416]

The *Libellus* includes a record of a speech attributed to Roger de Moulins, Grand Master of the Hospital. According to the *Libellus*, it was given to the Hospitallers on the morning of 1 May 1187 before they suffered defeat against the Ayyubid forces at Cresson later that same day. Seeking to encourage military fervour and courage, he is quoted as having addressed them in the following manner:

> Dearest brothers and eternal friends, do not be afraid of those growling dogs who prosper today, [as] tomorrow they will be sent into a pool of fire and sulphur [Rev. 20:10]. You, however, are the chosen lineage, a holy nation, a purchased people [1 Pet. 2:9]; you are the eternal who will rule with the Eternal One.[417]

Roger here invoked the fate prophesied to await the Antichrist and the unbelievers at the end of time, as they were to be 'thrown into the lake of burning sulphur' [Rev. 20:10], a symbol of God's wrath. By attributing these words to the Grand Master of the Hospital, the anonymous author of the *Libellus* at once characterised the Muslims as apocalyptic enemies while also emphasising that their downfall would be inevitable. In this way, he conveyed a vision of future Christian glory, similar to that expressed in King Henry's letter, through the use of apocalyptic rhetoric.

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[416] Brewer and Kane, in *Libellus*, 6.

[417] 'Fratres karissimi et semper amici ne terreamini ab hiis canibus rugientibus qui hodie florent, cras quoque in stagnum ignis et sulphuris mittentur. Vos autem estis genus electum, gens sancta, populus adquisitionis; vos estis eterni quia cum eterno regnaturi.' Ibid.

The speech is not mentioned in any other sources that report on the battle at Cresson or the decisive defeat suffered by the Christian army.[418] Therefore, it is impossible to determine if Roger actually spoke these words. However, the decision by the author of the *Libellus* to include this particular passage and its apocalyptic reference is significant in itself. It speaks to the manner in which he sought to influence how his audience would understand the events of 1187. Indeed, writing after the defeats at Cresson and Hattin, as well as the surrender of Jerusalem, it was evident that the words of the Grand Master would hold a different meaning. The Christian community was seeking to make sense of Saladin's repeated victories and the loss of the Holy City. On the morning of 1 May 1187, the association of the Sultan's forces with the apocalyptic figures from Revelation served as a rallying cry. However, by the time this part of the *Libellus* was written, the power balance between the Christian community and the Muslims in the East had fundamentally shifted. In this new reality, the passage would have served as a message of hope to the faithful, an indication that the dominance of their adversaries would soon come to an end, as the Book of Revelation had prophesied. By conflating spiritual expectations and military defeat in this manner, the anonymous author was able to inspire confidence in a positive outcome. At the same time, descriptions of the Muslim armies in terms of apocalyptic evil dehumanised those perceived to be the enemies of Christ and legitimised further violence against Saladin's forces.

Catastrophic messianism

There is one final apocalyptic narrative, often used by contemporaries to explain defeat, which merits attention here. Indeed, harnessing a rhetorical tool that modern scholars have termed 'catastrophic messianism', some authors suggested that crusades launched in response to defeat would create, or contribute to creating, the right conditions for the Last Days.[419] Such narratives viewed defeat in

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[418] Accounts of the battle at Cresson can be found in several contemporary sources. See, among others, *La Chronique d'Ernoul*, 146; *Itinerarium*, 25–6; Urban III, 'Dum attendimus,' in R. Hiestand (ed.), *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius 3 (Göttingen, 1985), no. 148, 322–4.

[419] Gregg, 'Three Theories of Religious Activism and Violence, 348; Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*, 156.

Outremer as an unfortunate but inevitable step in God's divine plan for the end of the world because this initial setback had prepared the ground for further campaigns to the East. The use of this rhetoric was explicitly exhortative. It presented participation in the crusades as an opportunity to realise the promise of individual and collective salvation. By connecting military warfare to spiritual redemption in this way, authors could shape contemporary attitudes and encourage Christians to take the cross.

This is evident, for instance, in the anonymous exhortative poem 'De nova via nove civitatis', which has survived in a single twelfth-century manuscript from Laon. It was addressed to those who might take the cross and those who would preach it.[420] Heinrich Hagenmeyer, who published the first edition of the poem, argued that it was most likely written in Europe in 1187 before news of Saladin's conquest of the Holy City had reached the West. Still, he felt that there was insufficient evidence to establish a definitive date of composition.[421] Subsequent analyses, including those published by Goswin Spreckelmeyer and William Jackson, slightly modified Hagenmeyer's conclusion. Suggesting a narrower timeframe, they both argued that the poem was written at some point during the summer months of 1187.[422] The following stanza leads to me believe that their conclusions are largely correct:

> The borders of this city [Jerusalem] have been attacked by a great crowd; thousands of barbarians have gathered, seeking the destruction of our people.[423]
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> (9.1–4)

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[420] 'De nova via nove civitatis', Laon, Bibliothèque municipale Suzanne Martinet, Ms 471, fols 64r-v. Edited in H. Hagenmeyer, 'Deux poésies latines relatives à la IIIe croisade,' *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881), 582–5.

[421] Ibid., 581. Richard Doney suggested instead that the author was a Jerusalemite but gave little evidence for his assertion. See Doney, *Crusade Songs*, 335.

[422] Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, 91–103; Jackson, *Ardent Complaints*, 12.

[423] 'Civitatis huius confinia
Multitudo invasit nimia;
Barborum concurrunt milia;
Gentis nostre querunt excidia.'
Hagenmeyer, 'Deux poésies,' 583.

From these lines, it is evident that while the city remained in Christian hands at the time of writing, the Muslim forces had already advanced substantially into the Kingdom. As such, the news of the defeat at Cresson on 1 May or indeed both that loss and the failure at Hattin two months later appear to have already been known to the author of the poem. However, given that the loss of Jerusalem was not known in the West until November, we should extend the timeframe slightly beyond the summer. A date between May and early November 1187 would be more appropriate.

As Spreckelmeyer argued, the title 'De nova via nove civitatis' suggests that the anonymous author believed that the increased dominance of the Muslims in the East served a purpose for the Christian community.[424] The heading connected the military response for which the precarious position of the Holy Land called to the image of the 'New Jerusalem' as set out in Revelation 3:12 and 21:2.[425] This vision explains how a city centred around the newly built Third Temple would appear in preparation for the arrival of Christ and his residency there during the Last Days. The title thus creates the impression that a new expedition to the East in response to the defeats suffered against the Muslim forces in recent years would help bring about the descent of this heavenly city. This suggestion was further strengthened by the two stanzas that read:

> Let not the cleric be excused, nor the layman be delayed! Let every age and every rank be equipped for military service so that they may destroy the wickedness of perfidious men.
> (23.1–4)

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[424] Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, 91.

[425] Revelation 3:12 reads '…et nomen civitatis Dei mei novae Hierusalem quae descendit de caelo a Deo…'. Revelation 21:2: reads '…et civitatem sanctam Hierusalem novam vidi descendentem de caelo a Deo…' *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem,* ed. Weber.

> Let him approach this earthly city equipped with arms so that, having adopted good behaviours, he may obtain the heavenly Jerusalem.[426] (24.1–4)

It is important to note that the vision of the New Jerusalem as it is used here is not only eschatological but also apocalyptic. As both the title and this stanza suggest, the author is not only promising future salvation to those who would take the cross but also the ability to bring about the immediate arrival of that city in which Christ would reside before the Last Judgement. In this way, the poem suggested that the crusades could bring about the first of that series of events that would characterise the world's final days. Participation in military campaigns against the Muslim enemy is presented as a catalyst for God's divine plan. The poem's anonymous composer thus engaged in catastrophic messianism by promoting the perception that God had allowed the defeat in preparation for this more glorious event.

As highlighted above, such rhetoric would have served as a powerful exhortation because it proposed that Christians could participate in and be a witness to the realisation of individual and communal salvation by taking the cross. Furthermore, the narrative presented served to overcome the anxiety caused by the tension between the expectation of continued Christian dominance in Outremer with divine support and the reality of repeated defeats. It provided a convincing explanation for why God had temporarily allowed the Muslims to dominate by suggesting that this was necessary to obtain the heavenly city and the Messianic Kingdom.

The same functions could be fulfilled by those accounts which suggested that territorial loss in the Holy Land provided an opportunity to bring about the

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426 'Non excusetur clericus,
Nec retardetur laicus!
Omnis etas, omnis ordo accingantur militia!
Ut per eos perfidorum atteratur malitia.

Hanc terrenam civitatem,
Armis accinctus adeat,
Ut celestem Ierusalem
Bonis adscitus, habeat.'
Hagenmeyer, 'Deux poésies,' 584.

mass conversion of pagans, an event that was expected to occur during the Last Days. This narrative appears to have been an especially popular rhetorical tool after the loss of Edessa.[427] It was in part based on Romans 11:25–6, where Paul proposed that the majority of Gentiles would accept Christ before Israel would be saved.[428] However, the popularity of narratives that described the defeat at Edessa and subsequent Second Crusade as an opportunity for the End Time conversion of Muslims should also be attributed to the prominence of other prophecies in the mid-twelfth century.[429] Indeed, one of the most popular Sibylline texts, the Latin *Sibylla Tiburtina*, which circulated in various versions from the eleventh century onwards, predicted that a Last World Emperor, a great end-time king, would convert the Jews before the arrival of the Antichrist.[430] The Sibyl prophesied that this apocalyptic figure would 'summon all the pagans to baptism and the cross of Jesus Christ will be set up in every temple.'[431] Ernst Sackur and Paul J. Alexander

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[427] See, for instance, 'Chronica sancti Petri Erfordensis moderna,' MGH SS rer. Germ. 42.117–369, 176.

[428] '…nolo enim vos ignorare fratres mysterium hoc ut non sitis vobis ipsis sapientes quia caecitas ex parte contigit in Israhel donec plenitudo gentium intraret et sic omnis Israhel salvus fieret sicut scriptum est *veniet ex Sion qui eripiat avertet impietates ab Iacob*…' Romans 11:25–6. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem,* ed. Weber. I have italicised here for ease of reading.

[429] Evidence of their prominence among the German elite, for example, can be found in Otto of Freising's *Gesta*. In the prologue to the first book of this work he quotes a prophecy concerning King Louis VII of France about which he writes, 'Quod scriptum tante auctoritatis a probatissimis et religiosissimis Galliarum personis tunc putabatur, ut a quibusdam in Sibillinis libris repertum, ab aliis cuidam Armenio divinitus revelatum affirmaretur.' Otto of Freising, *Gesta*, 116.

[430] 'Die tiburtinische Sibylle,' in E. Sackur, *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen: Pseudomethodius, Adso und tiburtinische Sibylle* (Halle, 1898), 114–87. For a discussion of medieval interpretations of the text and of the various versions in circulation see B. McGinn, 'Oracular Transformations: The 'Sibylla Tiburtina' in the Middle Ages,' in I. Chirassi Colombo and T. Seppilli (eds.), *Sibille e linguaggi oracolari: mito, storia, tradizione : atti del convegno, Macerata-Norcia, settembre 1994* (Pisa, 1998), 603–44. For a discussion of prophecy of pagan conversion, see C. Erdmann, 'Endkaiserglaube und Kreuzzugsgedanke im 11. Jahrhundert,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchen geschichte* 51 (1932), 384–414; See also, R. Lerner, 'Refreshment of the Saints: the Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought,' *Traditio* 32 (1976), 97–144, 110.

[431] ' et omnes paganos ad baptismum convocabit et per omnia templa crux Iesu Christi erigetur.' Sackur, 'Die tiburtinische Sibylle,' 185. For an overview of the transmission of the Latin Tiburtine Sibyl, see P. J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, CA.,1985); A. Holdenried, *The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050–1500* (Aldershot, 2006).

both argued that the Latin versions of the text were based on a translation from a late fourth-century Greek original.[432] This was challenged by David Flusser, who instead proposed that the medieval versions were based on a late first-century Jewish-Christian oracle.[433] However, as Bernard McGinn has shown, Flusser's arguments are unconvincing when taking into account the contents of the prophecy.[434] In sum, a fourth-century provenance is most probable.

It was not uncommon for mid-twelfth-century authors to suggest that the predictions of the Sibyl would be fulfilled in their lifetimes. For example, Bernard of Clairvaux used the prophecy when promoting the campaign against the pagan tribes east of the Saxons and the Moravians that would become known as the Wendish Crusade. In a letter written in March 1147 'ad universos fideles', he connected the notion that Israel would obtain salvation through the conversion of pagans, as set out in Romans 11:25–6, to the planned expedition against the Polabian Slavs. Indeed, he suggested that the kings and princes who had taken the cross would bring about the conversion of these peoples.[435] Although there is no mention of the Last World Emperor in Bernard's letter, the belief that earthly leaders rather than divine agents would achieve the end-time conversion of pagans can only be found in the *Sibylla Tiburtina*. This puts it beyond doubt that Bernard's rhetoric regarding the Wendish Crusade was inspired by this

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[432] Sackur, 'Die tiburtinische Sibylle,' 155–63; P. J. Alexander, *The Oracle of Baalbek. The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, DC., 1967), 63–5.

[433] D. Flusser, 'An early Jewish-Christian document in the Tiburtine Sibyl,' in A. Benoit, M. Philonenko and C. Vogel (eds.), *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme: Infleunces et affrontements dans le monde antique: Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon* (Paris, 1978), 153–83.

[434] The text includes detailed references to events that occurred during the reigns of Emperor Constantine and his sons. B. McGinn, '"Teste David cum Sibylla": The Significance of the Sibylline Tradition in the Middle Ages,' in J. Kirschner and S. F. Wemple (eds.), *Women of the Medieval World. Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy* (Oxford, 1985), 7–35, 27–8; Idem, 'Oracular Transformations,' 612.

[435] 'Non dubito quin auditum sit in terra vestra, et celebri sermone vulgatum, quomodo suscitaverit spiritum regum Deus et principum ad faciendam vindictam in nationibus et exstirpandos de terra christiani nominis inimicos…. Sed alium damnum veretur longe amplius de conversione gentium, cum audivit plenitudinem eorum introituram, et omnem quoque Israel fore salvandum… Consilio domini Regis et episcoporum et principum, qui convenerant Frankonovort, denuntiamus armari christianorum robur adversus illos, et ad delendas penitus, aut certe convertendas nationes illas signum salutare suscipere…' Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad universos fideles,' 432–3.

prophecy.[436] At the same time, it presents a form of catastrophic messianism because the abbot of Clairvaux called for the crusaders to create the right conditions for the Last Judgement by converting the pagan tribes. Nevertheless, the abbot appears not to have approached the campaigns against the Muslims in the East in the same way. Indeed, there are no references to the Sibyl in his writings concerned with the defeat at Edessa and the Second Crusade.

However, some do appear to have made this connection. Several accounts of Zengi's victory and the campaign launched by Pope Eugenius connected the reference to pagans in the *Sibylla Tiburtina* with the Muslims in Outremer and suggested that their conversion could be achieved by those who had taken the cross. This can be seen, for example, in Helmold of Bosau's *Chronica Slavorum*.[437] It was conceived as a continuation of Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* and completed around 1172. Recounting the Christian response to the defeat at Edessa, Helmold recorded the words with which Bernard preached the Second Crusade at the Diet of Frankfurt on 13 March 1147. He wrote how the abbot encouraged the Christian princes to set out to Jerusalem,

> to restrain the barbarian nations of the East and submit them to the law of Christianity, saying that the time when the multitude of nations have to enter so that all of Israel can be saved is approaching.[438]

In describing Bernard's exhortative efforts, Helmold appears to gloss over the fact that the abbot distinguished much more explicitly between the mission to convert the Polabian Slavs on the one hand and the campaign to the Holy Land on the other. Helmold thus applied the notion that pagans would be converted by worldly

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[436] H.-D. Kahl, 'Crusade eschatology,' 36–7; S. Reuther, *Sibyllinische Vorstellungen bei Bernhard von Clairvaux: Eine Frage von Konzeption und Urheberschaft des Wendenkreuzzugs* (Munich, 2012).

[437] Helmold of Bosau, *Chronica Slavorum*, MGH SS 21.1–99.

[438] '…ut proficiscerentur Ierusalem ad comprimendas et christianis legibus subigendas barbaras Orientis nationes, dicens, appropinquare tempora, quo plenitudo gentium introire debeat et sic omnis Israel salvus fiat.' *Chronica Slavorum*, 57. This passage is also discussed in Flori, *L'Islam et la fin des temps*, 288.

rather than divine forces, taken from the *Sibylla Tiburtina*, to Bernard's rhetoric. The resulting text reads as if the abbot encouraged the conversion of the Muslim adversaries as part of the Second Crusade to expedite the events of the Last Days.

The same is evident in the anonymous composition 'Fides cum Idolatria'.[439] This song, which has survived as part of the *Carmina Burana* collection, depicts the situation in Outremer as an allegorical struggle between personified faith and idolatry. Its content suggests that the anonymous author was well-educated and, as Hans-Dietrich Kahl has shown through analysis of the poem's metrics, that he was writing in Germany.[440] Furthermore, there are echoes throughout the text of Bernard of Clairvaux's crusade encyclical 'Ad archiepiscopos orientalis Franciae et Bavariae'. Since this letter was sent in September 1146 at the earliest, the poem must have been composed after this date. A *terminus ante quem* of May 1147, when the German crusading army departed, can be established as the text indicates that preparations were still in full swing.

Like Helmold of Bosau, the song's composer proposed that the Second Crusade provided the right opportunity to fulfil the prophecy set out in the *Sibylla Tiburtina*. Indeed, he suggested that in response to the threat to Jerusalem caused by the surrender of Edessa, an earthly ruler would arise to take vengeance on the Muslims. In the fourth and fifth stanzas, this man is described as the 'prince of princes', a reference to Daniel 8:25, who 'God will place as the foremast' of the ship, which allegorically represented the Second Crusade.[441] Earlier allusions to various passages from Revelation heightened the apocalyptic atmosphere of the song and indicated that the author was referring to the Last World Emperor found

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[439] 'Fides cum Idolatria,' ed. Traill, *Carmina Burana*, 1, no. 46, 154–61. For a detailed discussion of this composition, see Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, 119–31; H.-D. Kahl, '*Fides cum Ydolatria*: Ein Kreuzfahrerlied als Quelle für die Kreuzzugseschatologie der Jahre 1146/47,' in H. Maurer and H. Patze (eds.), *Festschrift für Berent Schwineköper: Zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen, 1982), 291–308. 'Fides cum Idolatria' is the only song from the Carmina Burana collection that pertains to the Second Crusade.

[440] Kahl, '*Fides cum Ydolatria*,' 307.

[441] 'Princeps vocatur principum,
qui colla premit gentium…'. 'Fides cum Idolatria,' 1.154.

'Navis in artemonem
quem Deus ponet hominem…'. Ibid., 1.156.

in the *Sibylla Tiburtina*.[442] This identification was further strengthened by the author's association of this 'prince of princes' and the military campaign he would lead with the conversion of the Muslim enemy. He proposed that when the leader of the Christian army had secured peace in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Muslim enemy would be destroyed, a fate from which they could only escape through conversion:

> The City of Confusion has deceived you, Gentiles. You are leaning on a reed; a hand that is about to bring defeat. Turn back, turn back, respect the work of the Creator![443]
> (6.1–6)

As discussed above, the Tiburtine text is singular among the other prominent Sibylline prophecies of this period in predicting that the Last World Emperor would bring about the conversion of the pagans. It is, therefore, likely that the composer of 'Fides cum Idolatria' was inspired by this text and believed that the campaign launched after the loss of Edessa presented an opportunity to expedite the events of the Last Days.

This interpretation of defeat and its consequences could influence contemporary morality in two significant ways. On the one hand, it could alleviate anxiety felt at the news of Zengi's conquest by providing an explanation that challenged neither the legitimacy of Christian expansion in the East nor God's omnipotence or his love for the faithful. On the other hand, it encouraged

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442 'Iohannes super bestiam
sedere vidit feminam
ornatam, ut est meretrix,
in forma Babylonis.
sed tempus adest calicis
ad feces usque sceleris.'. Ibid., 1.154.

443 'Confusionis civitas
decepit te, Gentilitas,
inniteris harundini
cladem lature manui;
revertere, revertere,
factoris opus respice!' Ibid., 1.156.

confidence in the outcome of the Second Crusade by connecting the expedition to visions of Christian triumph.

Such catastrophic messianism that focused on the end-time conversion of the Muslims, as we find in Helmold of Bosau's Chronicle and in the anonymous 'Fides cum Idolatria', was not a regular feature in the responses to Saladin's victories at the end of the twelfth century. This discrepancy could be due to the increased popularity of prophecies that predicted that conversion of the Jews and pagans would only occur *after* the demise of the Antichrist.[444] Inspiration for this notion came in part from older sources, such as Adso of Montier-en-Der's tenth-century *De ortu et tempore antichristi,* which includes an alternative Sibylline prophecy. Adso predicted that Elijah and Enoch would convert the Jews only after the Antichrist had appeared.[445] Moreover, Robert Lerner has shown that it became increasingly commonplace throughout the twelfth century to suggest that the Antichrist would have to be defeated before the unbelievers could be converted.[446] The increasing dominance of the Muslims in Outremer, who were frequently described in terms of apocalyptic evil, might thus have been interpreted as a sign that conversion could not be achieved until the tide had turned in favour of the Christian community. Furthermore, contemporaries gradually moved away from the idea that Christians or their leaders would themselves bring about the conversion of the unbelievers, suggesting instead that Christ would be responsible for this apocalyptic act after his return.[447] In short, the notion that crusaders could achieve the End Time conversion of pagan groups became a less commonplace feature of accounts of defeat.

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[444] Lerner, 'Refreshment of the Saints,' 110.

[445] Ibid.

[446] Ibid., 110–5. It should be noted that this interpretation had already been proposed by some prominent eschatological thinkers, such as Otto of Freising, in the 1140s. Otto of Freising, *Chronica,* 596.

[447] As Lerner demonstrates, this is true, for example, of Hildegard of Bingen. Hildegard of Bingen, *Scivias*, ed. A. Führkötter and A. Carlevaris, CCCM 43–43A (Turnhout, 1978), 1.5.177–8, 99; Lerner, 'Refreshment of the Saints,' 112–3.

Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that several narratives were available to authors who sought to place the defeats suffered in the Holy Land in an apocalyptic framework. Some created the impression that the hardships experienced by Christians were akin to or part of the tribulations the community expected during the Last Days following the doomsday prophecies of the New Testament. Others connected the defeat to the spiritual health of Christendom by presenting the loss as the result of that prophesied period of apostasy provoked by the arrival of the Antichrist or described the conflict in Outremer in language reminiscent of the final confrontation between the forces of Good and Evil as set out in the Book of Revelation. Moreover, a decidedly positive outlook was provided by those authors who interpreted the loss of territory in light of prophecies of God's ultimate triumph over apocalyptic forces of evil. This is true also for those who paid no mind to scriptural predictions that the Christian community would be restricted to prayer and martyrdom during the eschaton and instead suggested that the defeat had provided the crusaders with an opportunity to play an active role in creating the right conditions for the end-time victory of God and his people.

In the accounts of those who responded to defeat in this way, worldly events became instances of cosmic importance. Military conflicts were presented as spiritual battles for the fate of Christian souls in which the faithful had to participate. This participation could take various forms but had to be built on devotion to God's word. By placing worldly events in an apocalyptic light, authors thus suggested that the faithful were not just witnessing history but could participate in the divine plan for the movement towards the Last Judgement. In short, a degree of spiritual capital was conferred on those who responded to defeat with speculation about the Last Days. It allowed contemporaries to influence how people imagined their existence, their temporal location and, most significantly, spoke to how Christians could obtain salvation.

More specifically, such rhetoric had the potential to add a sense of urgency to calls for moral regeneration. When used by authors who explained defeat as a divine punishment and called for spiritual renewal to win back God's favour, it implied that only a limited time remained to effect this change. Furthermore, in this way, authors cleared up any confusion as to why God had allowed the enemy

to emerge victorious by connecting the loss of territory in Outremer to familiar models of apocalyptic prophecy. They proposed that the defeat suffered had been an unfortunate but inevitable part of his plan. At the same time, it could reinforce the faithful's self-perceived identity as God's chosen people by portraying the Christian community as his agents in the end-time war against the forces of the Antichrist. Furthermore, such characterisations of the Muslims as figures of apocalyptic evil dehumanised the enemy and rendered calls for a violent response to defeat more legitimate. Finally, interpretations of the loss of territory as an event of apocalyptic significance conveyed an inherent optimism. Indeed, Christian predictions about the end of the world invariably concluded with God's triumph. Therefore, the implication was that the tide would ultimately turn in favour of the Latin Christians in Outremer.

At the same time, it is important not to overstate the extent to which contemporaries shaped their accounts to achieve mobilisation or some other goal. That was undoubtedly part of it, but it does not explain everything. Their understanding of the world was both dualist and eschatological. They believed that there were forces of Good, represented by Christ, and Evil, represented by the Antichrist. At the same time, many thought that God directed the march of Christian history towards a conflict between both sides. Their world was impregnated with such biblical notions and apocalyptic vocabulary. As such, eschatological elements of this kind in responses to defeat were both sincere expressions of concern and effective tools to encourage moral redirection. The two did not contradict one another.

Chapter 4 — Ritual Purity and Pollution in Narratives of Defeat

Introduction

In his *De re militari*, Ralph Niger compared the expansion of heretical beliefs among Christians in Europe to the spread of leprosy that trampled on and made a fool of 'the purity of the faith'.[448] Using similar terms of ritual cleanliness and contamination, he put forward that many of the Christian inhabitants of Outremer were criminals who had likewise caused that region to be polluted by their presence.[449] According to Ralph, sin not only caused defeat but also disturbed the integrity of the faith and harmed the surrounding space. Such descriptions of sin as a contaminating action that implied that it had the potential to disrupt normal spiritual processes can also be found in the works of other authors who blamed the loss of territory on the behaviour of the Christian community.[450] Their use of such rhetoric was likely based upon Ezekiel 36, which speaks extensively of the polluting effect of sinful behaviour.

However, the sins of the Christians were not thought to be the only source of such ritual contamination. As we have already seen in the first chapter of this

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[448] '…iam enim noster occidens, qui olim fidei speculum et exemplar esse solet omnibus gentibus, multiplici interdictarum sectarum lepra scatet adeo, ut nemo sit qui earum numerum et differentias plene sciat… Quis enim fructus, si Ierosolima terrestris edificetur et mater nostra Syon interim dissipetur, si Palestina a Sarracenis liberetur et malitia infidelitatis interim domi grassetur, et dum infidelitas foris expugnatur domi puritas fidei conculcetur et infatuetur?' Ralph Niger, *De re militari*, 187–8.

[449] 'De fugitivis et sceleratis inhabitantibus Palestinam. Astipulantur et argumenta quedam, quod maxime sceleratis, quibus interdiceretur aqua et igni in patria sua vel alias effugissent penas, ad Palestinam transfugere soliti sunt. Ex talibus utique terra illa populum sibi fecit, in qua et liberius delinqueretur quoniam omnium terrarum scelera in ea coagularentur.' Ibid., 194.

[450] Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, 249–50; Richard, 'An Account of the Battle of Hattīn,' 176; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 1.254; Richard of San Germano, 'Chronicon,' 341; Peter the Chanter, *Notule super Psalterium*. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. lat. 14426, fol. 62v–63v. For Peter the Chanter's interpretation of Saladin's victory, see also R. Allington, 'The Ruins of Jerusalem: Psalm LXXVIII, the Crusades and Church Reform,' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (2022), 1–21, 10; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina,* 274; Darmstadt addition to Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina*, 281.

thesis, Ralph also used such language of purity and pollution to describe the effect of the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem on the Holy Land. He wrote,

> The Saracens have recently seized the land of our promise, having imprisoned the king, his princes, and the people. With their unclean hands, they have touched the sanctified temple, the Holy of Holies, the Sepulchre of the Lord, and the sacrosanct wood of the Cross.[451]

In Ralph's eyes, both the sinful behaviour of the Christians and the desecration caused by the Muslims represented a violation of the normal spiritual order, thereby damaging the community's relationship with the divine. The loss of territory resulted from an initial corruption of Christian morality and caused further spiritual harm by allowing those perceived as God's enemies to occupy sites previously dedicated by the Latins. Particularly significant were those locations that were believed to hold some degree of spiritual potential, spaces which were sacred because they allowed for interactions between the divine and the temporal. Such spiritual centres fulfilled three vital functions for the Christian community: they were thought to enable the faithful to communicate with the divine, facilitate healing in this world and salvation in the next, and provide meaning to the Christian cosmos by calling to mind its history, social structures and religious doctrine.[452]

The view that these spaces could be polluted as a result of defeat appears to have been shared by many twelfth-century authors. After the loss of territory in Outremer, they were forced to reconcile the notion that these sites were felt to be intrinsically Christian with the plain fact that that space was now controlled by those considered to be the enemies of Christ. In responding to this challenge,

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[451] 'Sarraceni terram nostre promissionis, captivato rege et principibus eius et populo, nuper occupaverunt et sanctificationem templi et sancta sanctorum sepulchri dominici et sacrosancte crucis lignum pollutis manibus contrectaverunt…' Ibid., 186.

[452] This assessment of the significance of sacred space is based upon Mircea Eliade's definition of the three primary functions of such sites. M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (New York, NY., 1974), 367. Not all spiritual centres were equally important to twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Christians. A hierarchy of sacred sites existed, at the top which stood the Holy City, and more specifically, the Holy Sepulchre. Jerusalem would eventually lose this position when crusading fervour waned.

commentators did not usually describe lost territory in Outremer as permanently harmed by the enemy but instead characterised it as 'polluted'.[453] The fundamental Christian character of the space and its ability to function as an *axis mundi* between the celestial and the mundane were thought to have been temporarily disrupted by the Muslim occupation rather than entirely erased. To signal this process, authors used terms such as '*pollutio*' ,'*spurcicia*' ,'*profanus*' and '*immundicia*' and their equivalents in vernacular languages in their responses to defeat.

How and why such language was used in response to territorial losses by the Christian community has been a significant subject of debate among historians for many decades. In 1960 Norman Daniel proposed that hostile descriptions and exaggerations concerning Islam and the Muslim community, including pollution rhetoric, were partly adopted by contemporary commentators in response to Christian feelings of cultural and intellectual inferiority.[454] Several historians subsequently defended this conclusion, most prominent among them William Montgomery Watt. He maintained that malicious language was used to alleviate and compensate for a shock felt by Christians upon realising that Islamic civilisation was in many ways superior to that of Christendom.[455] In 1992, Penny Cole, whose research lies at the heart of most recent assessments of the language of ritual pollution in crusader recruitment sources, effectively challenged this view. She assessed that, rather than responding to Christian feelings of inferiority, such rhetoric was primarily an attempt to vilify the Muslim community, thereby expressing Christian superiority and encouraging those in the West to embark on military campaigns in retaliation for the offence.[456] Similar conclusions were

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[453] M. Eliade, 'Symbolism of the Centre,' *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism* (Princeton, NJ., 1991), 40.

[454] N. Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960), 270.

[455] J. Kritzeck, 'Moslem – Christian understanding in Medieval Times,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 4 (1962), 388–401; W. Montgomery Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (Edinburgh, 1972), 72–84; See R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge MA, 1962), 9–12 for a comparison between Christian and Islamic societies.

[456] Cole, '"O God, the Heathen Have Come into Your Inheritance",' 111. See also Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 38.

reached by John Tolan, Tomaž Mastnak and Uri Shachar.[457] Nevertheless, this chapter will argue that the use of rhetoric concerned with ritual contamination is more complex than scholars have thus far recognised. While I do not doubt the legitimacy of Cole's assessment of the function of contamination rhetoric, there remains more to be understood about how the ritual purity–pollution dichotomy shaped behavioural codes and attitudes.

The transitory nature of defeat

The first part of this chapter will argue that authors presented the idea that defeat had caused ritual pollution in different ways but, in most cases, did so for a singular purpose: to demonstrate that defeat had not destroyed but only temporarily obscured the spiritual potential of the sacred space lost to the Muslims. While the pollutant remained, communication with the divine was obstructed, but it could be restored if the space was cleansed and reconsecrated. This narrative encouraged optimism about the situation in Outremer because it implied the impermanence of the Muslim occupation. Moreover, it allowed authors to present recovery expeditions as a spiritual necessity that would restore the purity of the sacred sites and, thereby, the community's ability to come into closer contact with the divine in those places.

Indeed, as is the case in many religions, the medieval Christian concept of ritual pollution was inherently transitory. Ezekiel 10, Ezekiel 8:6, Hosea 5:6, Proverbs 1:28 and Isaiah 1:15 suggest that the divine presence is not bound to a space that is usually considered sacred but can temporarily withdraw itself in response to moral or ritual defilement. However, its essential function is not erased by such contamination, and scripture suggests that the presence of the divine can be restored through appropriate forms of cleansing and rededication of the space. Its essential function appears to be guaranteed, even if the faithful are unable to

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[457] J. V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, NY., 2002), 120; T. Mastnak, *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World and Western Political Order* (Berkeley, CA., 2001), 128–9; U. Shachar, 'Pollution and Purity in near Eastern Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Crusading Rhetoric,' in E. Baumgarten, R. Mazo Karras and K. Mesler (eds.), *Entangled Histories* (Philadelphia, PA., 2017), 229–47. Shachar further argues that Christian, Muslim, and Jewish notions of ritual contamination were heavily influenced by one another so that accounts that use language concerned with pollution bear witness to the interconnectivity between these religions in the Holy Land.

enjoy the salvific benefits of the site for a time.[458] While the salvific qualities were felt to be unavailable to the Christians because of contamination by the Muslims, it was not thought to cause the extinction of the site's function as an *axis mundi* between the celestial and the mundane. What *was* affected by enemy occupation was the ability of the Christians to interact with the divine. To repair the relationship with God, pollution had to be followed by rituals of restoration.

This pattern was familiar to medieval Christians from both Old and New Testament examples, including the destruction of the First Temple and the subsequent restoration of the space with the building of the Second Temple on the same site (2 Kings 25 and 2 Chronicles 36:22–3) and the contamination of the Temple by merchants and money changers and the subsequent cleansing of that space by Christ (Matthew 21:12–7, Mark 11:15–9, Luke 19:45–8 and John 2:13–6). Moreover, many Christians had personal experience with ritual impurity because individuals could likewise be contaminated through contact with an impure object, person or space, causing a barrier between the individual and the divine. Building on Leviticus 15, the Church maintained that contact with blood, especially female-gendered blood, such as menstrual blood and blood resulting from childbirth, had a polluting effect and thus rendered the individual unfit to partake in religious ceremonies.[459] For these reasons, the audiences of the sources analysed in this thesis would have been familiar with the concept of ritual contamination. They would have understood that to describe the lost sites as 'polluted' suggested that the salvific potential of these spaces was disrupted but could be restored if appropriate action was undertaken.

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[458] M. Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, 367–69; O. Limor, 'Sharing Sacred Space: Holy Places in Jerusalem Between Christianity, Judaism and. Islam,' in I. Shagrir, R. Ellenblum, and J. S. C. Riley-Smith (eds.), *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar* (Oxford, 2010), 219–31, 219. On the retention of the spiritual potential of objects and spaces when they are temporarily inaccessible, see J. Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago, IL., 1987), 12.

[459] C. de Miramon, 'La fin d'un tabou ? L'interdiction de communier de la femme menstruée au Moyen Âge. Le cas du XIIe siècle,' in M. Faure (ed.), *Le sang au Moyen Age: actes du quatrième colloque international de Montpellier, Université Paul-Valéry (27-29 novembre 1997)* (Montpellier, 1999), 163–81; P. McCracken, *The Curse of Eve, the Wound of the Hero Blood, Gender, and Medieval Literature* (Philadelphia, PA., 2003); E. W. Goldstein, '"By the Blood That You Shed You Are Guilty": Perspectives on Female Blood in Leviticus and Ezekiel,' in M. Hart (ed.), *Jewish Blood: Reality and Metaphor in History, Religion and Culture* (London, 2009), 57–69.

To be sure, then, narratives of ritual contamination could encourage optimism about the situation in Outremer because they implied that the effects of the Muslim occupation could be temporary. Moreover, such rhetoric added force to calls that the crusades were a spiritual necessity because it suggested that participants would allow Christendom to once again enjoy the salvific benefits of the sites in question by cleansing them. In short, framing the loss of territory in terms of ritual pollution meant that contemporaries could connect the event to salvation history. As a result, these narratives provided an additional way of realising the moral potential of defeat by speaking to the Christian community's spirituality. Therefore, it is unsurprising that many accounts of the loss of territory showcase such rhetoric. Indeed, the suggestion that defeat caused Christian space to be polluted appears in responses to most major losses of territory under discussion here.

After Zengi's conquest of Edessa, the narrative featured prominently in the writings of propagandists for the Second Crusade. Eugenius, for instance, described the successes of the First Crusade in terms of ritual cleansing in the *narratio* of his *Quantum praedecessores*. He wrote that its participants had liberated Jerusalem 'from the impurity of the pagans'.[460] This spiritual victory won almost half a century earlier is subsequently contrasted with the recent loss of Edessa, suggesting that Zengi's forces had again introduced 'the impurity of the pagans' into the city, plunging it back into a state of pollution. While this conveyed a pessimistic picture of the current situation, it also provided some cause for optimism about the future: the Christians had already been able to cleanse the city once during the First Crusade, so why would they not be able to do so again? Ritual contamination was a temporary state that could be remedied if appropriate action was undertaken.

The image of pollution at Edessa was further amplified by the pope's assertion that 'the relics of the saints have been trampled on [*conculcationem sunt*] by

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460 'Ad ipsius siquidem vocem ultramontani et precipue Francorum regni fortissimi et strenui bellatores et illi etiam de Italia caritatis ardore succensi convenerunt et maximo congregato exercitu, non sine magna proprii sanguinis effusione, divino eos auxilio comitante civitatem illam, in qua Salvator noster pro nobis pati voluit et gloriosum ipsius sepulcrum passionis sue nobis memoriale dimisit, et quam plures alias, quas prolixitatem vitantes memorare supersedimus, a paganorum spurcitia liberarunt.' Eugenius III, *Quantum praedecessores*, 90.

the infidels'.[461] The verb '*conculcare*' was frequently associated with notions of ritual contamination, sometimes being used as a synonym for '*contaminare*' or '*profanare*'. This was likely because of the associated image of feet touching a sacred object, as this part of the body is considered intrinsically impure by many religions, including Christianity.[462]

Peter the Venerable adopted the same rhetoric in his sermon *De laude Dominici Sepulchri*, likely preached during Eugenius' stay in Paris between April and June 1147.[463] Historians have generally agreed that the text was intended to be preached to both lay and churchmen.[464] Certainly, the complex and scholarly nature of the text indicates that it was intended on the one hand to appeal to clergymen who could preach the cross, while several of the exhortatory passages suggest that Peter was also seeking to generate enthusiasm for a new campaign among those who were actually permitted to take up arms.

The sermon is above all an exposition on the sacred nature of the Holy Sepulchre, from where, the abbot writes, all salvation flows.[465] Peter stressed that Christ was summoning his people to his tomb, and although he primarily

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[461] '…sanctorum reliquie in infidelium conculcationem sunt…' Ibid., 91.

[462] See, for example, 'Annales Stederburgenses', MGH SS 16.197–231, 221; Bernard of Clairvaux 'Ad archiepiscopos orientalis Franciae et Bavariae,' 312; Richard of Cluny, 'Chronicon,' MGH SS 26.76–86, 82; Henry of Albano, 'Ex quo vox illa turturis,' 11; 'Plange, Sion et Judaea,' 315; 'Annales Pegavienses, MGH SS 16.232–70, 265–6; James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, 162. The Old Testament (Ex. 30:17–21) established that the act of washing one's feet was mandatory before taking part in certain rituals, indicating that their original state was considered impure. This is confirmed by the New Testament, for instance, in John 13. *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, Weber. Other religions likewise view the feet as sources of contamination. Indeed, in Buddhism, even the pointing of one's feet toward a Buddha statue or monk is felt to be disrespectful. A. Nugteren, 'Bare Feet and Sacred Ground: "Viṣṇu Was Here",' *Religions* 9/7 (2018), 208–28.

[463] Peter the Venerable, *De laude Dominici Sepulchri*, in G. Constable, 'Petri venerabilis sermones tres,' *Revue bénédictine* 64 (1954), 224–72, 232–54.

[464] V. Berry, 'Peter the Venerable and the Crusades' in G. Constable and J. Kritzeck (eds.), *Petrus Venerabilis 1156–1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of his Death* (Rome, 1956), 141–62, 152–3; Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, 49–50; Idem, '"O God",' 103; Phillips, *The Second Crusade*, 125. Constable, 'Petri venerabilis sermones tres,' 229; A. L. Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence: Spiritual Rewards and the Theology of the Crusades, c. 1095–1216* (Leiden, 2014), 252. For further context, see also Kritzeck, 'Moslem-Christian Understanding,' 395 and M. T. Brolis, 'La Crociata Per Pietro Il Venerabile: Guerra di Armi o Guerra di Idee?,' *Aevum* 61/2 (1987), 327–54.

[465] 'Sed electus est medius et communis locus in toto orbe terrarum ad diffundendam communiter et festinanter salutem orbi terrarum…'. Peter the Venerable, *De laude*, 238.

encouraged a spiritual response founded on internal contemplation, there is also a decidedly more material side to his argument.[466] Indeed, he suggests that the act of protecting the physical tomb of Christ can likewise lead to salvation.[467]

At the same time, Peter followed Eugenius in highlighting the importance of the First Crusade as an act of ritual purification that had been of great importance for Christian salvation. The text praised those who took part in the expedition for having 'cleansed the site and dwelling of celestial purity from the filthy deeds of the impious with pious blades' and for having freed the Holy Sepulchre from 'rule by the faithless'.[468] As in *Quantum praedecessores*, the support expressed for a new crusade in this sermon implied that the Holy Land was at once again at risk of ritual contamination. This strengthened the notion that the campaign was a spiritual necessity. The participants of the Second Crusade would demonstrate not only their devotion but also guarantee the purity of the most important sacred site: the Holy Sepulchre. Indeed, the spiritual importance that the text attributes to the tomb of Christ suggests that pollution by the Muslim enemy would be devastating to the spiritual health of the Christian community. This interpretation is confirmed by Peter's letter to Louis VII in 1146, likely after the Council of Vézelay at Easter.[469]

Otto of Freising's account of Zengi's conquest, included in his *Chronica sive historia de duabus civitatibus*, was more explicit than *Quantum praedecessores*. Where the pope primarily implied that Edessa had been polluted by contrasting the cleansing effect of the First Crusade with the state of the city after defeat, Otto left no room for doubt. He wrote that the Muslims 'foully polluted the churches of Christ, especially the Basilica of the Blessed Mary, ever virgin, and that [church] in which

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[466] 'Gloriosum insuper ad ipsum sepulchrum suum orbis terrarum populos convocando.' Ibid., 246. Comprehensive discussions of the sermon can be found in Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, 49–52 and Bysted, *The Crusade Indulgence*, 251–3.

[467] 'Nam qui in hac peregrinatione eis ad patriam tendentibus per suscaeptae carnis humilitatem factus es via, apparebis eis per divinae potentiae maiestatem veritas et vita sempiterna, qui vivis et regnas Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum.' Peter the Venerable, *De laude*, 254.

[468] '…piis gladiis ab impiorum sordibus caelestis munditiae locum et habitaculum expurgastis… ' and '…et Dei vestri gloriosum eius sepulcrum per vos a perfidorum dominio liberatum est…' Ibid., 247.

[469] Peter the Venerable, 'Ad Ludovicum regem Francorum,' in G. Constable (ed.), *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA., 1967), 1, no. 130, 327–30.

the body of Saint Thomas the Apostle is buried, by bringing in things which were not permissible [2 Macc. 6:4] in disgrace of our Saviour….'[470]

Shortly after the council at Vézelay in March 1146, Nicholas of Clairvaux expressed similar concerns over the impact of the growing strength of the Muslims in Outremer. Writing '*in persona domini Clarevallensis*' to Count Conan III of Brittany and his barons, he asserted that the Muslim forces 'strive to profane the places consecrated by the blood of Christ.'[471] This line echoes a passage found in two *litterae generales*, sent by Bernard to encourage support for the Second Crusade. Here, the abbot asserted that 'if there will be no one who resists, they [the Muslims] will soon overrun the city of the living God, destroy the workshop of our redemption, and pollute the holy places, enriched by the blood of the immaculate lamb.'[472] As Eugenius had done in *Quantum praedecessores*, Bernard subsequently reminded his audience of how their ancestors 'eliminated the pagan filth' from the Holy Land.[473] In this manner, he likewise presented the First Crusade as the paradigm of ritual cleansing and spiritual restoration. The image of the Holy Land as a Christian space on the verge of contamination was made even more vivid as Bernard asked the recipients of the letter whether they would 'give that which is sacred to the dogs and pearls to swines', in reference to the Sermon on the Mount [Matt. 7:6].[474]

Although most modern-day Christians no longer associate notions of ritual impurity with dogs, such discourse features in the sacred writings of all three Abrahamic religions. The negative image that emerged was shared by Christians,

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[470] '…ecclesias Christi et precipue beatae Mariae semper virginis basilicam, et eam, in qua corpus Thomae apostoli reconditum est, ad Salvatoris nostri ignominiam introferens ea, quae non licebat [2 Macc. 6:4], fede polluit'. Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, 550–3.

[471] '…loca Christi sanguine dedicata profanare contendunt,' Nicholas of Clairvaux, 'To Conan III, Count of Brittany,' 50.

[472] 'Prope est, si non fuerit qui resistat, ut in ipsam Dei viventis irruant civitatem, ut officinas nostrae redemptionis evertant, ut polluant loca sancta. Agni immaculati purpurata cruore.' Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad archiepiscopos orientalis Franciae et Bavariae,' 312; 'Heu, prope est, si non fuerit qui resistat, ut in ipsam irruant civitatem dei viventis, ut officinas nostre redemptionis evertant, polluant loca sancta agni immaculati purpurata cruore.' Bernard of Clairvaux, 'Ad gentum Anglorum,' 291.

[473] 'Quam multi illic peccatores confitentes peccata sua cum lacrimis, veniam obtinuerunt, postquam gladiis eliminata est spurcitia paganorum!' Ibid., 313.

[474] 'Itane dabitis sanctum canibus et margaritas porcis?' Ibid.

Jews, and Muslims alike in the Middle Ages.[475] It is possible that this hostility toward dogs was further amplified among ancient and medieval communities because of the widespread presence of rabies. Given such connotations, it is unsurprising that medieval Christians frequently assigned canine qualities to their Muslim enemies to reinforce the image of the Holy Land as contaminated in the aftermath of defeat.

The same imagery can be found in the 'Fides cum Idolatria', the exhortative composition written in May or June of 1147.[476] Although, as we have seen, the author appears more concerned with apocalyptical speculation than Bernard, the text largely follows the same rhetoric. It also references the Sermon on the Mount, albeit in more favourable terms:

> The glorious Sepulchre, which was described by the prophets, is being attacked by dogs. [But] we will not give them what is sacred, nor will pearls be cast before swines to be mocked.[477]
> (13.1–6)

Both Bernard and the anonymous author thus used the imagery of dogs to sketch a picture of the Holy Land as vulnerable to ritual contamination. Still, the author of the 'Fides cum Idolatria' struck a decidedly more positive tone. Whereas the abbot appears unimpressed by the general response to the papal call for crusade, the composer of the above-cited lines demonstrates great faith in his co-religionists.

This discrepancy is in line with the different attitudes these authors displayed to the idea that defeat had been a divine punishment for sin. As we have

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[475] The Bible characterises dogs as impure in, for example, Jer. 15:3, Deut. 23:18, Prov. 26:11, Peter 2:21-22, Matt. 7:6 and 1 Kings 22:18. See S. Menache, 'Dogs: God's Worst Enemies?,' *Society and Animals* 5/1 (1997), 23–44 for further examples and an assessment of the image of dogs in Judaism and Islam.

[476] 'Fides cum Idolatria,' 1.154–161.

[477] 'Sepulcrum gloriosum
prophetis declaratum
impugnatur a canibus,
quibus sanctum non dabimus,
nec porcis margarite
mittuntur deridende.' Ibid., 158.

seen in earlier chapters, Eugenius, Peter, and Bernard stressed the notion that Zengi's conquest had been the necessary result of the sinful behaviour of the faithful and that in orchestrating this military loss, God had prepared an opportunity to demonstrate spiritual regeneration. By describing the lost territory as ritually impure, they could strengthen this idea that military failure was a spiritual problem that warranted a spiritual response. This line of thought is much less prominent in 'Fides cum Idolatria'. Indeed, throughout the text, the composer adopted a much less paternalistic tone towards his audience.

The decision by propagandists of the Second Crusade to use language concerned with ritual pollution in their responses to the loss of Edessa was not novel. It depended heavily on the rhetoric used in earlier Christian discussions of the crusading movement. Certainly, the notion that military expeditions to the Holy Land were necessary to cleanse important spiritual centres from Muslim contamination already featured in sources relating to the First Crusade.[478] Yet, before the late-eleventh century, the idea that the presence of other orthodoxies could pollute sacred sites had not been a significant concern for Latin Christians. Pilgrims made transitory use of the space and do not appear to have felt that adherents of other faiths could harm its spiritual function. The advent of the crusading age instigated a change in this regard. Suddenly, the use of such sites by followers of other religious traditions (even other Christian traditions) was no longer felt to be correct. A new image of the East emerged in which the sacred sites had always, by divine right, belonged to Latin Christendom but were now unrightfully occupied by the Muslims. In line with this new interpretation, shared use of such spaces rapidly came to be considered harmful to the salvific potential of the sites in question. Those who took the cross did so primarily to permanently expel non-Christians and secure these spaces, especially the Holy Sepulchre, for

[478] Robert the Monk wrote, for example, 'His, ut prefatum est, alternis bellorum conflictibus gens Gallicana fines orientis penetravit, et immunditiis gentilium, quibus per annos circiter quadraginta Ierusalem fuerat inquinata, divina opitulante gratia emundavit.' Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, ed. M. G Bull and D. Kempf (Woodbridge, 2013), 101. See also Raymond of Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, ed. and tr. J. Hill and L. L. Hill (Philadelphia PA, 1968), 115, 144–5; Hugo of Fleury, 'Modernorum Regum Francorum Actus,' MGH SS 9.376–95, 394; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. S. B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), 6.

exclusive Christian use.[479] Indeed, four out of the five surviving versions of Pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont indicate that this call to military action contrasted the purity of the supposed original state of the sites with the impurity of the Muslims who had taken control over them.[480]

Following the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, characteristics of spaces that had previously marked its religious functions, especially any traces of Muslim worship, were either transformed or erased.[481] After this event, the language of purity and pollution came to occupy a more significant role in Christian thought regarding Outremer. The crusaders had achieved their initial goals and controlled most spiritual centres in the Holy Land. The new, exclusively Christian character of these sacred sites was more susceptible to contamination by those who attributed other meanings to them. Indeed, before the First Crusade, the status of space as ritually pure did not depend on the absence of those who adhered to different religious traditions, but after 1099, it was felt to be determined by it. From that point forward, Christian commentators suggested that the salvific potential of such spaces would be disrupted by the entrance of people belonging to other faiths. When Muslims did gain access to these sites, it was felt that they distorted them, creating disorder and thereby, following Mary Douglas' definition, pollution.[482]

The violent character of the defeats suffered in the Crusader States might further have added to the belief that the sacred sites were contaminated by their new Muslim occupants. A long tradition existed in both scripture and canon law of seeing violence and the spilling of blood on consecrated ground as a form of contamination that could prevent believers from accessing the salvific potential of

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[479] S. G. Nichols, 'Poetic Places and Real Spaces: Anthropology of Space in Crusade Literature,' *Yale French Studies* 95 (1999), 111–33.

[480] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, 119–23; Baldric of Bourgeuil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 6–10; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, 112; Robert the Monk, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, 5–6.

[481] On the process of the conversion of common sacred sites in the wake of the First Crusade, see E. Poleg, 'Inanimate Conversion,' *Material Religion* 14/4 (2018), 485–99.

[482] M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York, NY., 1966), 2.

such spaces.[483] The notion that blood can act as a pollutant that places a barrier between believers and the divine is one of the central precepts of Leviticus 14 and 15. Similarly, Numbers 35:30–3 states that the act of committing murder pollutes not only holy sites but the entire land.

Ritual pollution through violence was felt to necessitate cleansing rites to restore the space and its spiritual function. The earliest medieval example of such ceremonies can be found in eighth-century sacramentaries from north-eastern France.[484] Furthermore, Gratian's *Decretum* includes rules surrounding the reconsecration of churches profaned by violence.[485] This suggests that canon law likewise recognised that the spilling of blood could be an obstacle to customary rituals at the time of Latin expansion into the East. Perhaps the most illustrative contemporary example of such rulings in practice is that of Canterbury Cathedral, where no service was held for a year after Thomas Becket had been murdered at the altar. Only when the appropriate cleansing rituals were carried out could the space once again fulfil its spiritual function.[486]

Paradoxically, violence, the very act that had caused pollution, was also posited as the key to cleansing and reconsecration. The papacy and its propagandists encouraged Christians to take up arms against the Muslims in Outremer to restore the spiritual functions of lost sites. They called not just for moral rectitude in the face of divine punishment but also for an armed response against their enemies. Violence and bloodshed were felt to possess the power to cleanse those things that had been profaned. This complex attitude towards blood, which was seen as both a contaminant and a powerful restorative agent, was founded on scripture. Leviticus, as mentioned above, describes menstrual blood

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[483] D. E. Thiery, *Polluting the Sacred: Violence, Faith, and the 'Civilizing' of Parishioners in Late Medieval England* (Leiden, 2009), 48.

[484] See, for example, Paris, Bibliotheque nationale de France, Ms lat. 12048.

[485] 'Ecclesiis semel Deo consecratis non debet iterum consecratio adhiberi, nisi aut ab igne exustae, aut sanguinis effusione, aut cuiusquam semine pollutae fuerint; quia sicut infans, a qualicumque sacerdote in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti semel baptizatus, non debet iterum baptizari…' Gratian, *Decretum*, D. 68 c. 3. Edited in *Corpus iuris canonici 1: Decretum magistri Gratiani*, ed. E. Friedberg (Leipzig, 1879; reprinted Graz, 1959), 254. Citing the Nicene Council.

[486] S. Hamilton, 'Responding to Violence: Liturgy, Authority and Sacred Places, c.900-c.1000,' Virtual Lecture. Royal Historical Society, 18 June 2020.

and the blood resulting from childbirth as impure. In contrast, the blood from circumcision and the animal blood that priests use in the temple is considered pure. For medieval Christians, the most significant example of blood as a ritual detergent was the blood of Christ, by which the salvation of all Christian souls was made possible and which they received in the form of the Eucharist. That this positive function of blood was likewise crucial in the Latin East is evident in William of Tyre's assessment that the slaughter of the inhabitants of Jerusalem in 1099 was a righteous act, inspired by God,

> so that those who had profaned the sanctuary of the Lord with their superstitious rituals and made it hostile to the faithful might cleanse his property by losing [their] blood and with the atoning sacrifice of death pay for [their] crimes.[487]

In short, authors who described the defeat at Edessa in terms of ritual pollution were building on a tradition of viewing the use of violence as a contaminant and a newer practice of describing the Muslim presence in the East in the same way. By tapping into this same narrative strategy to interpret Zengi's victory, propagandists of the Second Crusade, including Eugenius, Peter the Venerable, Bernard and the anonymous composer of 'Fides cum Idolatria', could strengthen their assertions that the planned expedition was a spiritual necessity. Indeed, such rhetoric linked military failure to salvific history because it presented the Muslim victory as harmful to the religious potential of sacred sites.

Given the spiritual capital that such language of ritual pollution thus transferred onto contemporary authors, it is unsurprising that commentators employed the same strategy in response to Saladin's conquests in 1187. In September of 1187, Eraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote to all the secular

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[487] 'Iustoque dei iudicio id certum est accidisse, ut qui superstitiosis ritibus domini sanctuarium prophanaverant et fidelibus populis reddiderant alienum, id proprii cruoris luerent dispendio et morte interveniente piaculare solverent flagitium.' William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, 412; For more on the restorative function of blood see D. Biale, 'Pollution and Power: Pollution in the Hebrew Bible,' *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol Between Jews and Christians* (Berkeley, CA., 2007), 9–43, 9. For an alternative view on how blood came to be viewed as a cleansing agent in the Latin East, see Shachar, 'Pollution and Purity,' 239.

leaders in the West about the events that had taken place at Hattin. Although Jerusalem itself had not yet been lost, he asserted that in those cities that had not been able to hold out 'the faithless enemies of the cross of Christ lie with Christian women in front of the altars and are turning the churches into stables for the horses.'[488] Some of the patriarch's peers likewise made indignant references to this latter act by Saladin's men.[489] Indeed, the transformation of Christian churches into stables by the Muslims appears to have been an especially painful issue for many Christians. It is mentioned in Baldric of Bourgeuil's versions of Urban's sermon at Clermont and by others who wanted to encourage support for the First Crusade.[490] Jay Rubenstein has argued that this strong reaction stemmed from the perceived disrespect to Christ and the apocalyptic anxieties associated with the use of sacred space to house animals.[491] Indeed, the Syriac Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, written in the seventh century, prophesied that Muslim conquerors would 'stable their flocks in the tombs of the saints'.[492] The text was particularly popular in the late eleventh century, so it is not unlikely that it inspired this part of Urban's exhortation, which, in turn, inspired later authors.

In another letter, also sent in September and with the same purpose in mind, the patriarch stressed the contamination caused by Saladin's victory in stronger terms. Again, the Sermon on the Mount was used to sketch an image for the reader, as the patriarch wrote that 'in our days we have been made to witness

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[488] '…perfidi quidem inimici Crucis Christi coram altaribus iacent cum feminis christianis, in ecclesiis equorum stabula facientes.' Edited in Jaspert, 'Zwei unbekannte Hilfsersuchen des Patriarchen Eraclius', no. 2, 511–6.

[489] Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, MGH SS 21.101–250, 169; 'Annales Stederburgenses,' MGH SS 16.197–231, 221; Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, MGH SS 26.219–87, 252.

[490] Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven*, 123.

[491] Baldric of Bourgeuil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 7; Guibert of Nogent, *Dei gesta per Francos*, 101.

[492] '…καὶ τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς λάρναξι τῶν ἁγίων δεσμήσουσι…' Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypse*, ed. and tr. B. Garstad (Cambridge, MA., 2012), 48–9.

the sorrowful and lamentable desolation of the sacred church at Jerusalem and watch how that which is sacred is given to the dogs.'[493]

Responses to news that Jerusalem had been lost not long after the defeat at Hattin include similar characterisations of the Muslims in the East. A letter included in Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* encourages secular leaders in the West to travel to the East because 'by driving the dogs from the patrimony of Jesus Christ' they will liberate the Holy Land from its chains.[494] Conrad of Montferrat supposedly wrote the document at Tyre to Archbishop Baldwin of Canterbury in 1189. However, it is not authentic and was likely written by Roger himself, who based it on the letter by Conrad to the Archbishop recorded in Ralph of Diceto's *Ymagines Historiarum*.[495] As such, it cannot tell us much about Conrad's understanding of the nature of the sacred sites in Jerusalem after their loss to Saladin, but it does indicate that the characterisation of the Muslims as dogs, and the associated notion of ritual contamination, remained influential many years after Eraclius included it in his account.

Further evidence of this can be found in the early thirteenth-century *Poetria nova* by Galfred of Vinsauf. As we have seen in Chapter 1, this treatise gives advice and examples on the proper composition of poetry. In a unique passage, the author recounts the defeat at Hattin from the perspective of the personified relic of the Holy Cross. After being captured by the Muslims, the cross exclaims: 'I, the

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493 'Meroris et doloris nostri magnitudinem, pater reverende, pietatis vestre auribus exponere vix sufficimus, qui gentis nostre contritionem et luctuosam ac lamentabilem sancte Ierosolimitane ecclesie desolationem et sanctum canibus dari in diebus nostris videre reservati sumus'. Eraclius, 'Ad papam Urbanum,' in B. Z. Kedar, 'Ein Hilferuf aus Jerusalem vom September 1187,' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 38 (1982), 120–2.

494 'ut confortetis reges, commoneatis fidelis, ut canibus expulsis a patrimonio Iesu Christi, misericorditer subveniant, vincula solvant…' Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, 1.153.

495 S. Neocleous, 'The Byzantines and Saladin: Opponents of the Third Crusade,' in B. Z. Kedar, J. Phillips and J. Riley-Smith (eds.), *Crusades: Volume 9* (Oxford, 2010), 87–106, 99–100. Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, 1.60–1.

stolen cross, bewail having been abducted by the force of beastly hands and polluted by the touch of dogs.'[496]

Moreover, shortly after the letters by Eraclius were sent, Pope Gregory VIII issued *Audita tremendi*, in which he included a scriptural reference that would become central to the pollution rhetoric of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As previously discussed, the encyclical was first issued on 29 October 1187 in response to news of the defeat at Hattin and was reissued several times. In the *narratio* of all four versions of the text, the words of Psalm 78(9):1–2 are used to set out what had happened:

> God, the pagans have entered your inheritance, they have polluted your holy temple, they have reduced Jerusalem to the guarding of orchards, [they have given] the flesh of your saints to the beasts of the earth and as food to the birds of the sky, etc.[497]

This psalm was most often understood to lament the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians or its occupation by Antiochus and asked for forgiveness for the sins that had brought this divine scourge upon the people.[498] References to it were made to remind Christians that Saladin's victory at the Horns of Hattin was divinely orchestrated to punish God's people for a lapse in morality, just as the plight of the Israelites had been. At the same time, however, it evokes the Old Testament concept of impurity, according to which defilement acts as a barrier to

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496 'Crux ego rapta queror,
vi rapta manuque canina,
Et tactu polluta canum…'
Galfred of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, ed. E. Gallo, *The 'Poetria Nova' and its Sources in Early Rhetorical Doctrine* (Paris, 1971), 38–9. For further context see Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, 131–42.

497 '"Deus, venerunt gentes in haerediatem tuam, coinquinaverunt templum sanctum tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem in pomorum custodiam, carnes sanctorum tuorum bestiis terrae, et escas volatilibus coeli, etc" [Psalm 78:1–2].' Gregory VIII, *Audita Tremendi*, 89. For a detailed discussion, see Cole, '"O God"', 96–7 and Allington, 'The Ruins of Jerusalem: Psalm LXXVIII,' 1–21.

498 A. Linder, 'Deus Venerunt Gentes: Psalm 78 (79) in the Liturgical Commemoration of the Destruction of Latin Jerusalem,' in B.-S. Albert, Y. Friedman, S. Schwarzfuchs (eds.), *Medieval Studies in Honour of Avrom Saltman. Bar-Ilan Studies in History* 4 (Ramat-Gan, 1995), 145–72, 165–6.

the fulfilment of a space's spiritual function. By citing Psalm 78(9):1–2, Gregory implied that efforts to defend Jerusalem, accompanied by moral regeneration, were not just necessary to preserve the rightful Christian ownership but indeed to protect the all-important salvific function of the most sacred spaces in Christendom. This undoubtedly added immediacy to his exhortation.

It should be noted that this was not the first time this passage from the psalm was used in the crusading context. Indeed, Baldric of Bourgeuil had suggested that it was referenced in Urban II's sermon at Clermont.[499] However, its inclusion in Gregory's encyclical appears to be the first time that it was used in the immediate context of military failure in Outremer.

Following its inclusion in *Audita tremendi*, Psalm 78(9):1–2 was accorded a central role in responses to news of Jerusalem's surrender. The psalm was consistently referenced in contemporary narrative accounts, including the anonymous *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* and the anonymous *Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*.[500] Moreover, recent research by Amnon Linder and Cecilia Gaposchkin has shown that it significantly impacted liturgical practices in the years that followed.[501]

Perhaps as early as 1188, but certainly by 1193, the General Chapter of the Cistercian Order had inserted the entirety of Psalm 78(9) into their Mass for the Dead.[502] Another liturgical innovation that appeared around the same time was the so-called 'Clamor for the Holy Land', a body of supplicatory prayers to be performed during daily mass. It was introduced by Gregory's successor, Clement

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[499] Baldric of Bourgeuil, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, 6–7.

[500] *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, 14; *Historia de profectione Danorum in Hierosolymam*, in M. C. Gertz (ed.), *Scriptores Minores Historiæ Danicæ Medii Ævi*, 2 vols (Copenhagen, 1918–20), 2.443–92, 462.

[501] A. Linder, *Raising Arms: Liturgy in the Struggle to Liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2003). See also Linder, 'Deus Venerunt Gentes'; B. M. Kienzle, 'Preaching the Cross: Liturgy and Crusade Propaganda,' *Medieval Sermon Studies* 53/1 (2009), 11–32, 25; M. C. Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons: Liturgy and the Making of Crusade Ideology* (Ithaca, NY., 2017), 192–201.

[502] *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, ed. J. Canivez (Leuven, 1933–35), ad an. 1194, Stat. 10, 172. The same rite was confirmed in 1195 (Ibid., Stat. 1, 181–2). For further context, see Linder, *Raising Arms*, 26; Idem, 'Deus Venerunt Gentes', 151–2; Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 184–5.

III and built around Psalm 78(9).[503] The earliest evidence of this rite can be found in Arnold of Lübeck's chronicle, who wrote that the pope had instituted the novel liturgical sequence in an encyclical that spoke of the 'impious surrender [of Jerusalem], the murder of the servants of God and other abominable acts perpetrated by the Saracens in the Holy Land…'.[504] The Clamor was also mentioned by Roger of Hoveden in both his *Gesta* and *Chronica*, as well as in the annals of Conrad of Scheyern.[505] The Clamor remained central to the liturgy of the crusades in later decades, as repeated confirmations of this rite by the papacy, for example in Innocent III's encyclical *Quia maior*, demonstrate.[506]

A further example of the popularity of Psalm 78(9), and of the pollution imagery it conveyed, comes from a collection of sixteen prayers kept in the library of the archbishop of Lucca as part of a miscellany known as Lucca MS 5. Cara Aspesi, who wrote her doctoral thesis on this manuscript, has argued they were most likely recorded in the crusader camp outside Acre between 1189 and 1191.[507] One of these prayers is not otherwise found in the sacramentary tradition. It consists of twenty incipits taken from different psalm passages. Four were taken from Psalm 78(9), starting with 'Deus, venerunt gentes…'.[508]

In short, this psalm was placed at the centre of the papal response to the loss of Jerusalem and its message was subsequently adopted by communities across Christendom. I do not believe that this is a coincidence. The psalm combines three of the four narrative themes this thesis has shown could shape contemporary morality, since these allowed commentators to speak to how faith was to be lived by connecting defeat to salvation history. Indeed, while the first few lines speak of

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[503] Linder, *Raising Arms*, 1–95.

[504] '…de tam impia traditione et occisione servorum Dei et de ceteris abhominationibus a Sarracenis in terra sancta perpetratis…' Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, MGH SS 21.100–250, 70. See also Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 195.

[505] Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, 2.53; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 359–60; Conrad of Scheyern, 'Chounradi Schirensis annales a. 1077–1226,' MGH SS 17.629–33, 630.

[506] Innocent III, *Quia maior* (April 1213), PL 216, cols. 817–22. For a detailed discussion of this encyclical, see Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades*, 104–8 and Gaposchkin, *Invisible Weapons*, 207.

[507] C. Aspesi, 'The *libelli* of Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, MS 5: liturgy from the siege of Acre?,' *Journal of Medieval History* 43/3 (2017), 384–402, 390.

[508] Lucca, Biblioteca Arcivescovile, MS 5, fol. 56.

ritual contamination, verses five, eight and nine of that same psalm suggest that God's people's sins had caused the devastation. References to these parts of the psalm could thus present the loss of territory as an opportunity for spiritual renewal. At the same time, this part of the Old Testament was likely written in the aftermath of the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and thus established a connection with the fate of the ancient Israelites. This amplified and legitimised interpretations of defeat as a divine punishment since the protagonists of the Hebrew Bible had lost the city in the same way. Furthermore, it encouraged optimism for the future because if the Israelites had eventually been allowed to return, so would the Christians if they showed themselves devoted to God's cause.

However, as we have seen, contemporaries above all appealed to the first lines of the psalm, those that expressed the belief that the Muslims would shortly or had already distorted the salvific potential of holy places. By responding to the defeat in this manner, they likewise implied that there was still hope. While pagan forces had taken possession of the Holy City and the sacred spaces it contained, reference to Psalm 78(9):1–2 implied that the effect of their presence could be temporary because the concept of ritual pollution was inherently transitory. It indicated that the occupied sites could once again serve to strengthen the connection between God and his people if cleansed of the contaminant. Consequently, such rhetoric underpinned claims that participation in the Third Crusade was a religious necessity, an act that could repair the spiritual health of the Christian community.

Perhaps inspired by the interpretation of the loss of Jerusalem expressed in the first lines of Psalm 78(9), different narratives emerged across various genres that likewise conveyed the idea that Saladin's forces had polluted the Holy Land.

One such response to the loss of Jerusalem can be found in the anonymous crusading song 'Christiani nominis corruit insigne'.[509] This Latin verse made up of thirteen stanzas has survived in a single fourteenth-century miscellany of

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[509] 'Christiani nominis corruit insigne,' AH 15, 258–9. For further context see Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied*, 153–63. In the early twentieth century, Auguste Molinier dismissed the song as having little historical value (*Les sources de l'histoire de la France des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494*), *3: Les Capétiens, 1180-1328*, ed. A. Molinier (Paris, 1903), 32) and it has thus far received almost no attention from historians of the Third Crusade. Spreckelmeyer's brief discussion remains the only detailed study of the work to this day.

unknown provenance.[510] Its contents suggest that it was written between early 1188 and May 1189, when the rulers of England, France, and the Holy Roman Empire had each taken their crusading vows but had not yet set out.[511] Using terms of ritual pollution, the text opens with a call for Christians to come to the aid of the Holy City because 'a procession of unclean origin and shameful people reigns in Jerusalem' (1.3–5).[512] The composer later adds that 'They have turned the royal city a prostitute [Isaiah 1:21] and that special house [Holy Sepulchre] into a stable' (5.5–8).[513] As we might expect from an exhortation to warfare, the author addresses himself to a lay audience and, in particular, to the Christian military elite – the 'flourishing knighthood of the Christian people' (3.1–2).[514] Drawing on *Audita tremendi*, the composer reminds his audience that the expedition launched after the defeat in 1187 presented an opportunity for all sinners to

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[510] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus 883, fols. 100r–101v.

[511] Some scholars have argued instead that it was written around 1350. See J. Szövérffy, *Secular Latin Lyric*, 103–4.

[512] 'Spurci pompa germinis
Et gentis indignae
Regnat in Jerusalem…'.
'Christiani nominis corruit insigne,' 258.

[513] 'Factum in prostibulum
Civitas regalis
Versa est in stabulum
Domus specialis.' Ibid.

[514] 'O florens militia
Christianae gentis…'. Ibid.

redeem themselves in the eyes of God.[515] To amplify this point, he wrote that 'a pool has appeared, suited to salvation, in which so many shall be cleansed by blood.' (7.3–6).[516]

While it is unclear whether this line refers to the blood of the Christians or of their enemies, it certainly demonstrates the idea that blood could both pollute and purify. Moreover, the image of Outremer as a ritual washing place is reminiscent of earlier compositions, such as Marcabru's 'Pax in nomine Domini'.[517]

The author subsequently compared those who fulfilled their crusading vows to the Maccabean warriors before returning to the situation in Jerusalem.[518] In a striking show of optimism, the author presents the imminent restoration of the Holy City not only as a possibility but as a foregone conclusion. He writes that she sits 'among scattered ash only a little longer' (a reference to Lamentations 2:1)

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515 'A summo pontifice
Exiit edictum,
Neminem detineat
Scelus vel delictum,
Indulgentur penitus
Culpae maledictum,
Si quis occubuerit
Per iter indictum.'. Ibid.
Spreckelmeyer has pointed out (*Das Kreuzzugslied*, 157) that the composer's emphasis on the salvific function of the crusade is reminiscent of a similar passage from Bernard of Clairvaux's exhortatory letters for the Second Crusade ('Ad archiepiscopos orientalis Franciae et Bavariae', 313). Moreover, the same perspective can be found in the anonymous composition 'Quod spiritu' from the *Carmina Burana* collection. Its anonymous author encouraged Christians to join the Third Crusade by noting that God 'had destroyed Jerusalem so that through this work, we would be able to wash away our sins' ['Ierusalem voluit perdere, ut hoc opere sic possemus culpas diluere.'] (5.4–6). 'Quod spiritu,' ed. Traill, *Carmina Burana*, 1, no. 48, 166–70, 170.

516 'Vestris qui sceleribus
Estis involuti,
Piscina comparuit
Congrua saluti,
In qua quotquot sanguine
Fuerint abluti….'. Ibid.

517 See pages 52–5.

518 For a discussion of the moral potential of comparisons to the Maccabean warriors, see pages 149–61.

because the crusaders are rushing to her aid.[519] According to the author, the time of suffering caused by the pollution of the sacred sites noted at the beginning of the work would not endure because the Christian armies would soon retake what had been lost.

In short, by combining such rhetoric of ritual contamination with an emphasis on the sinfulness of the faithful, the composer was able to speak to Christian spirituality on multiple levels. The text suggests that participation in the Third Crusade was necessary not only to restore the spiritual health of individuals, as it would cleanse their souls of the stain of sin but also for the spiritual health of the community as a whole. Indeed, the crusaders would rid the holy sites in Jerusalem of the earlier mentioned 'procession of unclean origin and shameful people' and restore the salvific potential of these spaces.

Broadly similar arguments appear in exhortative texts written by papal propagandists. Indeed, a contemporary response that likewise combined several of the narratives discussed in this thesis to shape the attitudes and behaviours of the Christian community is Peter of Blois' *Conquestio*. As we have seen, this treatise described the successful conquest of the Holy City by Saladin as a divine punishment for the sins of the Christian people. Furthermore, it used Old Testament citations and apocalyptic imagery to strengthen this interpretation of defeat. By combining these narrative themes, Peter presented Saladin's victory as an opportunity for spiritual regeneration and restoration of the Christian community's relationship with God. To amplify this interpretation of the losses suffered in 1187, Peter also spoke of the Muslim occupation of Jerusalem in terms of ritual contamination. He reproached those who had taken the cross for delaying their departure using language associated with impurity, writing that,

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519 'Sedens adhuc modicum
Cinere conspersa
Tuum lauda medicum,
Civitas dispersa,
Ad te nostra convolat
Gens bene conversa…'.
'Christiani nominis,' 259.
The Old Testament describes the sprinkling of ash over one's head or the practice of sitting on ashes as a sign of mourning or repentance. Beyond Lam. 2:10, examples can also be found in 2 Samuel 13:19, John 3:6, Esther 4:3, Jeremiah 6:26, Micah 1:10, Job 42:6 and Daniel 9:3. It is associated at varying times with ritual purification [Numbers 19:17] and destruction [Deuteronomy 28:24].

'they who allow their mother to be dishonoured, trampled upon and prostituted are not sons but stepsons, which is worse….'[520] As discussed in reference to the encyclical *Quantum praedecessores*, the verb '*conculcare*' was related to the concept of pollution.[521] The same is true for the verb '*prostituere*', closely connected to sexual corruption and defilement. Moreover, in further condemnation of the lack of devotion shown by Christians, Peter lamented that the faithful 'hear that the sacred things are profaned' but were not moved by this news.[522]

As set out at the start of this chapter, the medieval Christian concept of impurity was inherently transitory. While it disrupted the regular functions of consecrated spaces, the qualities which caused these sites to be considered sacred were guaranteed. Appropriate cleansing rituals could restore them to their original state of purity. While it conveyed that the situation in the East was serious, describing the lost territories as polluted could therefore simultaneously signal that there was still hope for the future of Outremer. The damage done by the enemy could be reversed if action was undertaken to expel the contaminant. Such narratives thus connected territorial loss to the spiritual health of the Christian community and supported Peter's overall argument that it was in the spiritual interest of the faithful to participate in the planned campaign.

The language of pollution used in the *Conquestio* echoes the rhetoric found in two of Peter's earlier texts. Indeed, Roger of Hoveden records a letter sent by Peter to King Henry II of England in which he expressed doubt as to whether the Holy City would hold out against such 'filthy dogs'.[523] John Cotts has suggested that this letter was written after Peter learned of the surrender of Jerusalem in November or December. However, the author's doubt as to whether the city would be able to resist the onslaught of Saladin's armies means that it must have been written in September or October before news of its fall had reached the papal

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[520] 'Sane qui matrem suam dehonestari, conculcari et prostitui sustinent, non sunt filii sed privigni, quod gravius est…' Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 83.

[521] See page 216.

[522] 'Vident infelices occupari et destrui a filiis diffidentie terram, in qua steterunt pedes domini, audiunt prophanari sancta, fratres suos incarcerari, torqueri, occidi, et non moventur super contricione Ioseph [Amos 6:6].' Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 83.

[523] '...et adhuc utrum Ierusalem poterit canibus immundis resistere, dubitatur.' Roger of Hoveden, *Gesta*, 2.15.

curia.[524] Furthermore, Peter used the same label to describe the Muslims in his *Passio Raginaldi*, a text which, as we have seen, was likewise written before Peter knew of the fall of Jerusalem. To justify his call for violence against Saladin's forces in the name of religion, he concludes: 'I believe that it is most acceptable to God if these filthiest dogs are dragged out of the Holy Land'.[525]

Peter's writings conveyed that such contamination was detrimental to the spiritual potential of the sacred spaces in Outremer. This is made most explicit in the *Passio Raginaldi*, where he writes:

> It is of value for the Christians if, inflamed with the zeal of charity, they fiercely fight against those who blaspheme Christ, pollute the sanctuary of the Lord and in their arrogance and misconduct degrade the glory of our Redeemer.[526]

According to Peter, the Muslim occupation thus distorted divine glory. Since it was thought to be through the earthly manifestation and reflections of God's glory that mankind could be redeemed, this suggests that consequences for the salvific potential of the occupied sites were catastrophic. If the faithful could not perceive Christ's greatness, they would not be able to obtain salvation. Not only was participation in the crusades thus an opportunity for Christians to demonstrate a renewed devotion to the divine cause but also to cleanse the sacred sites in Outremer. In this manner, the earthly impressions of divine greatness would be restored to their original state and might once again serve to strengthen the relationship between God and his people.

At the same time, Peter's use of terms associated with ritual pollution, which was understood as an inherently transitory state by medieval Christians, conveyed optimism about the future of Outremer. As in the 'Christiani nominis

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[524] Cotts, *The Clerical Dilemma*, 228.

[525] 'Credo acceptissimum deo esse si de terra sancta canes immundissimi exturbentur…' Peter of Blois, *Passio Raginaldi*, 70. Peter refers to the Muslims and Saladin in particular as dogs throughout the text (Ibid., 40 and 54).

[526] 'Cedit equidem Christianis ad meritum, si zelo caritatis accensi eos impugnant viriliter qui Christum blasphemant, qui sanctuarium domini polluunt atque in superbia et abusione sua gloriam nostri Redemptoris humiliant.' Ibid., 70.

corruit insigne', there is no suggestion in either his texts or the Latin crusade lyric that the contaminating presence of the Muslims would in any way permanently harm the ability of these spaces to once again act as an *axis mundi*. On the contrary, if western Christendom showed itself contrite, God would allow his people to cleanse Jerusalem and restore the holy sites to their original function. To support his idea, Peter refers to the restoration of Jerusalem and the Temple after God allowed the Israelites to return from Babylonian exile when they showed themselves repentant. Referring to Isaiah, he suggests that if his audience demonstrated a similar moral shift, the Holy City would once again 'rise from the dust' and 'put on [her] garments of splendour', referring to Isaiah 52:1–2.[527]

Thus, Peter employed the notion that pollution could be temporary to influence Christian morality by reminding his audience of the spiritual benefits of the military campaign that leaders in the West had agreed to but had not yet undertaken.

However, it is worth noting that the *Conquestio* used terms of ritual contamination slightly differently from the anonymous 'Christiani nominis corruit insigne'. As we have seen, the latter text encouraged all sinners to set out on crusade and cleanse Jerusalem because this would demonstrate their devotion to God and restore the integrity of their souls. Spiritual restoration would happen during the campaign and did not necessarily have to precede the restoration of the lost territory. On the other hand, Peter stressed that those who had taken the cross should first and foremost repent so that they might once again enjoy God's assistance. Only then would they be able to cleanse the Holy Land of the Muslim pollution effectively with divine aid. Recovery and rededication of the sacred sites are not posited as the means to salvation but as the reward for the process of moral renewal without which one's soul could not be saved. For Peter, victory and the consequent expulsion of the Muslim pollutant depended entirely on an initial moral change. Indeed, at the end of the treatise, Peter reminds the Christian

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[527] 'Exsurge, exsurge de pulvere captiva filia Syon, que recepisti de manu domini duplicia…' Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 79; '…*Induere*, inquit, *vestimentis glorie tue*, *captiva filia Syon, induere vestimentis glorie, Ierusalem civitas sancti*.' Ibid., 80. Dust, like ash, is at times associated with ritual pollution in the Bible [Lev. 14:41] as something that is trodden underfoot.

leaders in the West that they would have already expelled the enemy from the Holy Land had they shown greater devotion.[528]

Rhetoric of ritual purity and pollution was also used in a slightly different form in the discourse of other papal propagandists. For instance, in the thirteenth treatise of Henry of Albano's *De peregrinante civitate Dei*. As we have already seen, Henry, like Peter, blamed Saladin's victory on the sins of the Christian community and expressed disappointment at the delayed mobilisation of western leaders.[529] The papal legate claimed that no success could be achieved unless the faithful demonstrated greater devotion. To amplify his argument, terms of ritual pollution feature heavily in the text. Indeed, seeking to remind his audience of the dire state in which the Holy Sepulchre found itself without aid from the West, Henry wrote:

> His [Christ] name is being abused by the pagans and, alas, his glorious Sepulchre is being oppressed, spat upon, [and] treated with contempt by the filthiest people, [and] the wood of the life-giving cross, which was consecrated by his body. At the same time, his limbs adorned it like pearls, has not only been captured, sneered at, and disgraced by the filth of all the enemies but is even being offered to Muhammad so that Muhammad might be glorified through Christ's disgrace...[530]

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[528] 'Romanorum imperator, et rex Francorum, qui votum huius viae quandoque professi sunt, si in electa paucitate, et humilitate devota, non in multitudine gravi et indisciplinata processissent, evacuassent exactoris iugum, et pacem in terra perpetuam confirmassent.' Peter of Blois, *Conquestio*, 94.

[529] See pages 96–7, 107–8, 136–7, 158–9 and 186.

[530] '…et nomen eius ignominiose ab ethnicis blasphematur, et gloriosum sepulcrum eius, proh dolor! turpissime conculcatur, conspuitur, exprobratur, et lignum salutiferae crucis, quod in corpore eius dedicatum est, et ex membris eius tanquam margaritis ornatum, non solum captivatur, subsannatur, et omnium inimicorum spurcitiis dehonestatur, sed etiam tandem Machometo offertur, ut de Christi ignominia Machometus glorificetur…' Henry of Albano, *De peregrinate civitate Dei*, cols. 355. These lines echo a passage in Henry's letter to the German elite. See Henry of Albano, 'Ex quo vox illa turturis,' 11. On Henry's use of the imagery of the Body of Christ see A. Marx, 'Jerusalem as the Travelling City of God: Henry of Albano and the Preaching of the Third Crusade,' in B. Z. Kedar, J. Phillips, N. G. Chrissis and I. Shagrir (eds.), *Crusades: Volume 20* (London, 2021), 83–120, 92–3.

The picture painted in this passage had the potential to cause great anxiety about the spiritual impact of Saladin's victory. Henry chose to mitigate this concern differently from the authors thus far discussed in this chapter. He did not rely on the Christian understanding of ritual pollution as a transitory state of being that temporarily harmed the salvific potential of the community. Instead, the papal legate suggested that the pollution of the sacred sites in Jerusalem had no impact on the faithful's ability to obtain salvation.

For Henry, these physical places were only of secondary importance. What truly mattered was the state of the 'invisible Holy of Holies', with which he meant the relationship of love and devotion that existed between God and his people. These, he wrote, 'are not destroyed by the passage of time, they are not changed by the fluctuations of the seasons, they cannot be corrupted by the desecration of the enemy.'[531] For Henry, Saladin's victory could not disrupt the bond between the faithful and the divine because it existed independently of the occupied material sites. The worldly holy places served primarily to facilitate and strengthen the spiritual Jerusalem. They provided 'a ladder to the invisible ones', a Jacob's ladder [Gen. 28:12].[532] In short, for Henry, salvation did not depend on access to the now occupied physical spaces but on individual contemplation on and devotion to the mystical symbolism of such sites.

Therefore, what should genuinely worry the Christian community was the state of the spiritual Jerusalem.[533] The 'invisible Holy of Holies' described by the papal legate might be immune from pollution by the Muslim occupation of the worldly Jerusalem, but they were certainly not immune from contamination by the Christians themselves. Indeed, as I have demonstrated in the previous chapters of

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[531] 'Haec sunt Christianorum Sancta sanctorum; haec nulla vetustate deleri, nulla temporum varietate mutari, nulla possunt profanatione hostium inquinari.', Ibid., col. 353.

[532] 'Sed voluit divini consilii inscrutabilis altitudo, quaedam visibilia sancta Christianis conferre, quae visibilium sectatores, qui ad invisibilia Sancta sanctorum non conscenderunt, visibiliter intuentes, scalam sibi ad invisibilia facerent; habentes ea argumentum ad fidem, incitamentum ad dilectionem, signum ad recordationem, causam ad venerationem, remedium ad sanctificationem; securum tandem et commune omnibus auxilium contra omnem tribulationem.' Ibid.

[533] 'Primo igitur terrenae Ierusalem ruinam deploret, licet eam spiritualis Ierusalem ruina praecesserit; nec terrenae ulla nocuisset adversitas, nisi prius dominata fuisset iniquitas Ierusalem spirituali.' Ibid., col. 351.

this thesis, Henry asserted that the Muslim victory over the Christians had been caused by sin. This claim was strengthened by his use of appropriate Old Testament narratives and apocalyptic speculation.

It is noteworthy that the papal legate reserved this argument for this theological treatment of the crusade and did not apply it to his broader mobilisation efforts. Two letters, one sent by Henry to Emperor Frederick in late 1187 or early and one to the German princes in 1188, similarly speak of the contamination of the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre.[534] However, unlike the thirteenth treatise of *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, neither letter mentions the spiritual Jerusalem or the belief that pollution of the physical city would not be detrimental to the community's spiritual health. Indeed, these two documents contain an argument much closer to that of Peter of Blois. Both focus on the importance of the earthly Jerusalem and build on the Christian understanding of ritual pollution as a transitory state that could be resolved without causing permanent damage to suggest that the crusade provided an opportunity for complete restoration.

Moreover, by reminding the audience of the significance of the polluted territory for the redemption of the faithful, the second letter implied that participation was a spiritual necessity. Of course, the reason for this is that these two documents had a much more practical application. They were not meant to encourage contemplation upon the theological significance of the Holy Land but to mobilise a lay audience to take part in the Third Crusade. As such, where the spiritual Jerusalem took precedence in the thirteenth treatise of Henry's *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, the earthly Jerusalem was given centre stage in these letters.

Still, the treatise did not suggest that the contamination of the physical Holy of Holies should be ignored. In fact, it was in allowing this act that God had prepared an opportunity for redemption. God had wanted to convey to the Christian community that they had strayed away from the expected moral line

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[534] 'Flebilis heu! Casus ille tristis et inopinatus eventus, quo sanctarium Domini datum est in manus gentium et terra illa sancta, in qua steterunt pedes Domini, nefandorum spurcitiis patet et arreptionibus paganorum…' Henry of Albano, 'Flebilis heu,' in W. Holtzmann (ed.), 'Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Friedrich Barbarossas,' *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 48 (1930), 384–413, 412–3; 'Quis terram illam sanctam, quam redemptioni nostre ipsi dedicarunt pedes domini, spurcitiis paganorum non doleat exponi? Quis crucem salvificam captam non deploret et conculcatam ab ethnicis et sanctuarium domini profanatum.' Henry of Albano, 'Ex quo vox illa turturis,' 11–4, 11.

through the loss of the worldly Jerusalem. Following the above-cited passage that speaks of the abuses suffered by the Holy Sepulchre at the hands of 'the filthiest people', Henry wrote:

> These things were not done because Mohammed could do them but because Christ desired them, wanting to give the Christians an occasion to be zealous for the glory of their Lord, to avenge the injury to the Father, and recover their inheritance. Look, now is the appropriate time [2 Cor. 6:2], when those who have been approved may be made manifest; when the Lord shall recognise who shall be with him; who shall be to him the faithful, who the unfaithful; who estranged sons, [and] who his own [sons].[535]

According to the papal legate, the pollution of the physical Jerusalem had thus been orchestrated by God to provide an avenue for salvation for his people. After seeing how they had been punished with defeat for their sins, those who were repentant could demonstrate their renewed devotion by expelling the pollutant from the physical Jerusalem. It is also worth noting that this passage supports the idea that the Muslim forces were not themselves responsible for the victories at Hattin and Jerusalem but were simply tools in God's plan to save Christian souls. As I have already argued, authors commonly discredited the enemy's success in this manner by asserting that they had not actually been responsible for their military achievements. Such rhetoric could encourage confidence in the future of Outremer because it presented a less frightful image of the enemy, who was not, in fact, superior in military strength and skill and suggested that the Christians were in control over the outcome of future campaigns to the East.

There are similarities and differences between the interpretations of Peter of Blois and Henry of Albano. Both felt that a widespread lapse in morality had caused Saladin's success. Moreover, both presented participation in the Third

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[535] 'Non enim haec acta sunt, quia Machometus potuit, sed quia Christus voluit, volens dare Christianis occasionem zelandi Domini sui gloriam, vindicandi Patris iniuriam et haereditatem propriam vendicandi. Ecce enim tempus acceptabile, quo probati manifesti fiant; quo probet Dominus, qui sint eius; qui sint ei fideles, qui perfidi; qui filii alieni, qui proprii.' Ibid., col. 355.

Crusade as an opportunity to demonstrate that the message which God had wanted to communicate by allowing the Christians to suffer defeat had been understood. However, they used language relating to ritual pollution in different ways. For Peter, the contamination of the sacred sites by Saladin's forces affected the ability of the faithful to enjoy the benefits of divine glory and, by extension, to obtain salvation. However, in his *De peregrinante civitate Dei*, Henry emphasised that pollution of the physical sacred sites in Outremer did not affect the community's ability to obtain salvation because it was not dependent on the earthly Jerusalem but on the spiritual Jerusalem. Redemption was available to individuals as long as they maintained their spiritual relationship with God. The cleansing of the physical sacred spaces could repair this bond, but only because it demonstrated one's devotion to God, not because these sites played an important role.

Peter, on the other hand, suggested that crusading was of spiritual value not only because it showed renewed devotion but also because it could repair the earthly manifestations of divine glory, allowing Christians to grow closer to God. In short, the Christian concept of pollution as a temporary state served to support the exhortations of both authors but only Peter connected the contamination of the holy sites in Outremer to salvific history. This comparison is particularly poignant as both men were part of the same small circle of crusade propagandists at the papal curia during the final months of 1187.

Ritual status and contemporary imaginings of the Holy Land

Beyond connecting the crusades to the spiritual well-being of the Christian community and suggesting that there was hope for the future of the Latin East through its inherent temporality, the rhetoric use of ritual pollution in narratives of defeat served one other function that has not yet received attention in modern scholarship. Historians have spent much time thinking about how such language was used to shape the image of the Muslims in the eyes of Latin Christendom, but much less about how such descriptions shaped Christian perceptions of the lost space itself. In the following pages, I will argue that the dichotomy of purity and pollution allowed contemporaries to communicate to their audiences how they should visualise the Holy Land, which to most remained a remote devotional concept.

Indeed, responses to the loss of territory in Outremer demonstrate that commentators did not believe all spaces to be similarly susceptible to pollution by the Muslim enemy. None of the accounts relating to the loss of Harim to Nur al-Din in 1164 use pollution rhetoric, while several accounts written in response to the loss of Edessa to Zengi in 1144 do so in some form, as well as one or two accounts written after Banyas was lost to Nur al-Din in 1164 and in response to the loss of Damietta in 1221 to al-Kamil. At the same time, such language is ubiquitous in reactions to the loss of Jerusalem. The notion that the successful conquest of a city by those who opposed the Christian faith was neutral in one space but unclean in another indicates that the character of the space itself determines whether it changes ritual status after being lost to the Muslim enemy. For an area to be susceptible to pollution, its original state must have been one of ritual purity. Indeed, using Douglas' conclusion that dirt is 'merely matter out of place', an originally profane space cannot be contaminated by an impure presence because the impure is not out of place therein.[536] It can only affect an area that starts as pure. In this way, the defilement caused by the Muslim enemy depends on the original purity of the lost territory — they define and reinforce one another.[537] It logically follows that those sites described by Christian commentators as profaned by Muslim conquests were those spaces that were initially thought of as ritually pure and where communication with the divine had thus been possible. As a result, the description of some sites as polluted but not others could be used as a tool to mark the borders of Christian sacred space in the East. Simply put, I propose that we can discover what geographical realities twelfth and early thirteenth-century Christian authors envisioned when thinking about the Holy Land — which tends to be rather vaguely defined as the area between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River — by looking at those spaces which

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[536] Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 44.

[537] There are parallels here with Louis Dumont's discussion of the holistic hierarchy as represented in the Hindu caste system, as he writes that, 'the impurity of the Untouchable is conceptually inseparable from the purity of the Brahman. They must have been established together, or in any case have mutually reinforced each other, and we must get used to thinking about them together.' In other cultures too, then, the sacred and the profane are dependent on one another for their validity. See, L. Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*, tr. M. Sainsbury (Chicago, IL., 1974), 54.

contemporary commentators felt to be susceptible to ritual pollution by the Muslim enemy.

The disparity between the original character of spaces that were described as polluted after their loss and those that were not is apparent in the works of commentators, who described specific sites as contaminated while not using the same rhetoric in response to other defeats, even though both events transpired in much the same way. This demonstrates that these authors were familiar with pollution language and were willing to use it, but only in the appropriate context.

William of Newburgh, for example, characterised both Edessa and Jerusalem as polluted by the conquests Zengi and Saladin in his *Historia rerum Anglicarum*. Of the defeat in 1144, he wrote,

> In this manner, Edessa, which had never been conquered and was an old fosterer of the Christian faith, was seized and driven into the might of the vilest people. Its borders being penetrated by the unyielding fury of the enemy and surrendering to their most filthy possession, the cult of the Christian religion has been entirely destroyed across the Euphrates.[538]

He similarly described how the Holy City fell into 'the hands of a profane and vile race' and 'the vilest Saladin occupied it, expelled the faithful, and, having seized the signs of the Christian religion, profaned it with the sacrilegious acts of his filthy sect.'[539] Yet, William did not use similar terms associated with ritual contamination in his descriptions of other defeats that were suffered during the decades that separated the surrender of Edessa and that of Jerusalem. Indeed, he

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[538] 'Sic capta et in potestatem spurcissimae gentis redacta est Edissa tantis retro temporibus semper invicta, et antiqua fidei Christianae alumna. Latissimis quoque finibus eius pertinaci hostium furore pervasis, et in eorum immundissimam possessionem cedentibus, Christianae religionis cultus trans Euphraten funditus deletus est.' William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, 1.59.

[539] 'Civitas Sancta… Incidit in manus gentis profanae et immundae…' Ibid., 1.249; 'Spurcissimus Saladinus occupavit, fidelium populis vacuavit, et, abrasis Christianae religionis insignibus, immundissimae sectae suae sacrilegiis profanavit.' Ibid., 1.250.

recorded the loss of Banyas in 1164 rather neutrally, writing only that it had 'fallen into the hands of the enemy'.[540]

Where does this difference in the rhetoric used to describe territorial loss come from? The answer can be found in how Christians assessed the impact of Muslim conquests on sacred versus profane space. The system of values that William associated with Edessa and Jerusalem was simply different from that which Banyas inspired in his mind. His descriptions of Edessa and Jerusalem as polluted indicates that he believed that the original state of these cities was one of ritual purity. Had this not been his perception, he would not have described the cities as contaminated by the Muslim conquest because a space that starts as impure is not susceptible to further pollution. Indeed, a regular marketplace, street, or stable in the West could not be polluted by violent conquest or the presence of enemies of the faith since such areas were profane by their very nature. However, spaces dedicated to religious rituals were considered pure and had to remain removed from the profane to retain their spiritual function. The presence of impure objects and people could contaminate them, thereby obstructing access to their spiritual benefits. Therefore, William's rhetoric indicates that he considered Edessa and Jerusalem to be *terrae sanctae* but did not view Banyas in the same light.

Using pollution language as an indicator, we do not always find a consensus among contemporaries regarding the territories that were believed to belong to the Holy Land. Where William described Edessa as contaminated by Zengi's conquest, James of Vitry, writing two decades later, did not. His *Historia orientalis* gives a detailed account of the city's Christian history but no terms of ritual contamination were used to describe its surrender in 1144.[541] Instead, James wrote that

> our enemies took away from us by force, not just the Promised Land but almost all regions, cities, and fortresses from Egypt to

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[540] 'Denique postquam Caesarea Philippi, quae nunc Belinas dicitur, et erat quasi clavis finium Christianorum contra Damascum, inciderat, ut supradictum est, in manus hostiles…'. Ibid., 1.243.

[541] James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, 184 and 418–24.

> Mesopotamia… The calamity of this bitter adversity and tribulation began with the misfortune of the county of Edessa.[542]

The fact that James did not describe the city as polluted by the Muslim conquest suggests that he viewed Edessa as distinct from the Holy Land. However, he adopted an entirely different tone when describing the loss of Jerusalem further on in the same work. Comparing the enemy to dogs, as I have shown was a common practice, he responded to Saladin's victory by writing that 'the sacred places are being profaned and trampled on by filthy dogs, that the wood of the Cross is being held and touched by impious and unworthy men…' and that 'the Holy Land, liberated by so much Christian blood, has again been occupied by unfaithful and profane men…'.[543] James was evidently prepared to use terms of ritual pollution when illustrating the impact of defeat on spaces he considered sacred. Therefore, his choice not to employ similar rhetoric in his account of the loss of Edessa demonstrates that he did not view this space in the same spiritual light.

These contrasting perceptions of the spiritual significance of the Mesopotamian city in the accounts of William of Newburgh and James of Vitry might be explained by their disparate experiences with Outremer. While there is no evidence to suggest that William ever set foot in the Crusader States, James served as the Bishop of Acre for nearly a decade and participated in the Fifth Crusade. As a result, he would have been more familiar with the geographical reality of the Latin East, including the fact that Edessa was far removed (nearly 700km) from the Holy City. That is not to say that William was entirely unaware of the distances between the different Crusader States. Indeed, the above-quoted passage in which he described the loss of Edessa shows that he was aware that the city lay beyond the Euphrates.

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[542] '…quod non solum terram Promissionis, sed omnes fere regiones, civitates et munitiones ab introitu terre Egypti usque Mesopotamiam… inimici nostri nobis violenter abstulerunt… Huius autem adversitatis et amare tribulationis calamitas, a comitatu Edessano infaustum sumpsit exordium.' James of Vitry, *Historia orientalis*, 420.

[543] '…audiens sancta prophanari et a canibus immundis conculcari, pretiosum salutifere crucis lignum ab impiis et indignis hominibus detineri et contrectari, Terram sanctam tanto Christianorum sanguine liberatam, rursus ab infidelibus et prophanis hominibus occupari…' Ibid., 444.

Nevertheless, James would have been far more aware of the actual distances between the different Crusader States. Moreover, in writing his *Historia orientalis*, James paid particular attention to the geographical layout of the Holy Land, focussing on the biblical landmarks in and around Jerusalem.[544] James may have felt that it was too great a stretch to assign similar spiritual significance to Edessa with this knowledge in mind and, therefore, did not describe Zengi's conquest in the same terms of ritual pollution as Saladin's successes.

A comparison between the use of pollution rhetoric further highlights that there was no agreement on whether entire cities or only the spaces reserved for worship were susceptible to Muslim contamination. This indicates that there was no consensus on whether entire cities or only specific sites should be considered sacred because of their association with scriptural history and therefore belonged to the *terra sancta*.

This disparity in contemporary views on which spaces were susceptible to ritual pollution is also evident in the earlier discussed responses to the defeat at Edessa. As we have seen, William of Newburgh suggested that the Muslim occupation had contaminated the entire city.[545] In expressing this view, he followed several more contemporary works, such as Richard of Cluny's Chronicle, written between 1150 and 1174, and an anonymous French chronicle continued up to 1161. Indeed, in both these texts, the entry for the year 1145 includes the line 'everything has been trampled underfoot, the whole has been polluted….'[546] However, the contamination was described as more incidental by other authors. For example, Otto of Freising and Bernard of Clairvaux referred only to the pollution of specific sacred sites within Edessa.[547] They wrote that the city's

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[544] This is evident, for example, in his descriptions of the four Crusader States in Outremer. Ibid., 182–208.

[545] See page 242.

[546] 'Conculcata sunt omnia, profanata sunt universa…'. Richard of Cluny, 'Chronicon,' MGH SS 26.76–86, 82; 'Conculcata sunt omnia, prophanata sunt universa…'. 'Chronicon anonymi ab orbe condito usque ad annum 1161,' 12.118–21, 120.

[547] See pages 217–8.

churches and altars were made impure by the entry of Zengi's forces but did not suggest that their presence had contaminated the entire city.[548]

The same is true for accounts written after the loss of Jerusalem. The majority of contemporary responses, including those by Henry of Albano and Peter of Blois, describe the pollution of specific spiritual sites within the city, rather than all space *intra muros*.[549] Yet, not all clergymen appear to have interpreted the effect of Saladin's victories in this manner, as is evident from the anonymous composition 'Sede, Sion in pulvere'.[550] Sylvia Schein attributed this text to Henry of Champagne. However, the fifth stanza, which includes the line 'By the will of divine grace, only the count of Campagne stirs up embers of hope' (5.1–3), suggests that Henry was the poem's intended subject of praise rather than its composer.[551] Written within a few years of Saladin's victory, it approaches the loss of the Holy City primarily from a theological standpoint. Therefore, it is likely that the composer was a member of the clergy and perhaps someone linked to the retinue of the count of Champagne or one of his supporters.[552] Adopting a narrative strategy that has been discussed at length in this thesis, it is suggested that the defeat at the hands of Saladin's forces was a divinely prepared

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[548] The same view was expressed in several other contemporary responses. For example, 'Casus monasterii Petrishusensis,' MGH 20.621–83, 274; 'Chronicon S. Martini Turonensis,' RHGF 12.461–78, 473; Sigebert of Gembloux, 'Continuatio Valcellensis,' MGH 6.458–60.

[549] Henry of Albano, *De peregrinate civitate Dei*, col. 355; Idem, 'Ex quo vox illa turturis,' 11; Peter of Blois, *Dialogus*, 408. The same interpretation was put forward by several contemporaries, including the anonymous author of the exhortative song 'Graves nobis admodum dies effluxere', recorded by Roger of Hoveden and Martin of Pairis. See 'Graves nobis admodum dies effluxere,' in Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, 3.37–8; Gunther of Pairis, *Historia Constantinopolitana*, PL 212, cols. 223–55, 227.

[550] See page 145.

[551] Schein, *Gateway to the Heavenly City*, 165;

> 'Divinae nutu gratiae,
> Solus comes Campaniae
> Spei favillam suscitat…'.

'Sede, Sion in pulvere,' 164.

[552] Richard Doney suggested a chaplain serving in the retinue of a young knight. Doney, *Crusade Songs*, 441.

opportunity for redemption.[553] This connection between military failure and the ability of Christians to secure salvation was further amplified through the use of terms associated with ritual impurity. However, unlike Henry of Albano and Peter of Blois, the composer suggested that the contamination brought in by the Muslim enemy had affected the entire city, lamenting 'that the Holy City has been polluted, that the sacred places have been spat upon' (2.4–5).[554] The disparity between these interpretations of the impact of Saladin's victories suggests that contemporaries imagined the composition of the Holy Land differently. Authors who only described specific sites in terms of ritual impurity attributed particular spiritual importance to those spaces. Their rhetoric implies that they imagined the original state of the space outside these areas of particular significance to be profane. Contrarily, contemporaries who described all space within a city as contaminated by enemy occupation considered the original state of all space within the city to be sacred.

It is worth noting that terms associated with ritual pollution were not generally used to describe the effects of defeat to the Muslims when the city of Damietta was lost several decades after Saladin's victories at Hattin and Jerusalem.[555] This may not appear surprising at first since Egypt was not conventionally considered part of the Holy Land and had few consecrated sites that the presence of the enemy could profane. However, the question of why contemporaries did not choose to describe the city as polluted is more complex. Indeed, location alone is not sufficient to explain the difference in the language used in the aftermath of al-Kamil's victory. As we have seen, the effect of defeat on Edessa, which was nearly twice as far away from the Holy Sepulchre, was frequently described in terms of ritual pollution. Nor can the difference be ascribed to the fact that the Muslim conquest of Damietta had been less bloody

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553 'Forsan scrutator cordium
Generali judicium
Particulare praetulis…'.
'Sede, Sion in pulvere,' 164.

554 'Quod urbem sanctam pollui,
Quod loca sancta conspui…'.
'Sede, Sion in pulvere,' 164.

555 I have identified only two exceptions. Richard of San Germano, 'Chronicon,' MGH SS 19.321–84, 341; 'Marchisii scribae annales a. 1220–1224,' MGH SS 18.142–56, 149.

than that of Edessa. While Zengi's forces had slaughtered the Latins in the city, al-Kamil allowed the Christian inhabitants to leave in all security. However, so had Saladin in 1187, and, as we have seen, this did not prevent commentators from suggesting that the enemy had polluted the city.

Instead, the lack of references to ritual pollution in responses to the loss of Damietta appears to be due to a fundamental difference in how the city was viewed in comparison to Edessa and Jerusalem. At the beginning of this chapter, I noted that defeat forced contemporaries to come to terms with the reality that spaces which were felt to be intrinsically Christian had been claimed by those perceived as enemies of the faith. They often responded to this tension by suggesting that the lost territories had temporarily been made impure rather than permanently destroyed. Yet, Damietta appears to have not generally been viewed as Christian at all. Contemporaries did not describe the city as rightfully belonging to the faithful as part of the inheritance of God's chosen people, despite repeated efforts by papal propagandists to highlight associations with the biblical past. Indeed, mobilisation efforts for the Fifth Crusade had explicitly stressed that Egypt was equally part of the Holy Land as any of the regions around Jerusalem occupied by the First Crusade, an effort which Jessalyn Bird has termed 'the sacralisation of Egypt'.[556] For example, Oliver of Paderborn and James of Vitry both emphasised the connection between the region surrounding Damietta and the Flight to Egypt recorded in Matthew 2:13–23.[557] Moreover, in a letter sent to the crusaders at Damietta after the initial conquest of the city, Pope Honorius III suggested that in ensuring the success of the campaign, God had prepared a new land for his people. Indeed, the letter compared the papal legate Pelagius to

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[556] Bird, 'Preaching and Narrating the Fifth Crusade,' 323–5.

[557] 'Inter Kairum et Babylonem ecclesia beate Marie demonstratur, ubi cum puero Ihesu moram fecisse dicitur, quando fugit in Egyptum et corruerunt idola Egypti. Kairum distat a Damiata itinere trium dierum. A Kairo usque ad hortum balsami distantia magni miliaris consideratur, qui terram habens sabulosam muro clauditur. Fons est in medo, de quo trahit antiquorum relatio et fama celeberrima divulgatur, gloriosam virginem in eo lavisse.' Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, 262–3; 'Unde in eodem loco [Damietta], in qua Beata Virgo ex itinere fessa dicitur requievisse, constructa est ecclesia, quam habent Sarraceni in magno honore.' James of Vitry, 'Postquam divine propitiationis,' in R. B. C. Huygens (ed.), *Lettres* (Leiden, 1960), no. 4, 101–11, 102. This passage is also discussed in M. Cassidy-Welch, *War and Memory at the Time of the Fifth Crusade* (University Park, PA., 2019), 50.

Joshua, who had led the Israelites into the Promised Land.[558] Looking at the use of language associated with ritual pollution, we can see that these efforts did not have much effect. The vast majority of responses to the loss of Damietta recorded that the city was 'given back' to the Muslims without any mention of a Christian past beyond the crusades.[559] There is no suggestion in any of the surviving source material that the region inherently belonged to the Christian community, as there was in response to the losses of Edessa and Jerusalem. Analysis of the use of terms associated with ritual pollution thus demonstrates that Edessa and Damietta were viewed in a different spiritual light. Both lay far away from the region between the Jordan and the Mediterranean that is conventionally understood as the 'Holy Land'. However, many contemporaries described Edessa in a way that signalled that it was of similar spiritual significance, while they did not use such narratives in reference to Damietta.

In short, authors could apply such rhetoric to their responses to defeat to convey how they visualised the Holy Land. By using such rhetoric in reference to specific lost spaces but not others, they indicated that the original ritual status of these sites had not been the same. An area that was profane even under Christian rule could not be made impure by violent conquest or the presence of enemy forces. However, space that was considered sacred had to remain removed from the profane to retain its spiritual function. Impure objects and people could contaminate such space, thereby obstructing communication with the divine. It follows that those spaces which twelfth-century authors described as contaminated by the Muslim conquests were those sites that were felt to perform a salvific function for the community. By using such language to describe some lost cities

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[558] 'Pelagio scilicet episcopo Albanensi, quem paulo ante ob similitudinem muneris quo in Dei exercitu Apostolicae Sedis nomine fungebatur, Iosue appellaverat…' Honorius III, 'Ad crucesignator Damiata potitos', 393. For a discussion of this document, see P.-V. Claverie, 'Totius populi Christiani negotium': The crusading conception of Pope Honorius III, 1216–21,' in E. J. Mylod, G. Perry, T. W. Smith, J. Vandeburie (eds.), *The Fifth Crusade in Context: The Crusading Movement in the Early Thirteenth Century* (New York, NY., 2017), 27–39, 35.

[559] See, among others, Alberic of Trois Fontaines, 'Chronicon,' MGH SS 23.631–950, 911; 'Annales Colonienses Maximi,' MGH SS 17.723–847, 836; 'Annales S. Iustiniae Patavini,' MGH SS 19.148–93, 152; 'Annales S. Rudberti Salisburgenses,' MGH SS 9.758–810, 782; 'Chronicon Turonense,' 467–9; 'Continuatio Admuntensis,' MGH SS, 9.579–93, 581; Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, 277; 'Reineri annales,' MGH SS 16.651–80, 679.

but not others, medieval authors thus indicated to their audiences that certain losses were of greater importance to the community's spiritual health. They could indicate precisely which areas in their opinion did and which did not rightly belong to the Christian community as God's people. As a result, such language served to establish concretely which sites ought to be the objectives of any further military missions to the East for an audience that would have been largely unfamiliar with the geographical realities of this remote region.

By analysing contemporary usage of terms associated with ritual impurity, we can thus get a greater sense of what the term '*terra sancta*' meant to medieval Christians. Notably, the source material demonstrates that no consensus existed among contemporaries as to which spaces should be considered sacred and which should not. Many authors described Edessa as polluted by Zengi's forces, while others did not. Similarly, some responded to Nur ad-Din's victory over the Christian armies at Banyas with narratives that appealed to the dichotomy between ritual purity and pollution, while most commentators did not employ such rhetoric. At the same time, some described the entirety of the lost territory as contaminated by the Muslim enemy, while others applied these descriptions only to spaces that had previously fulfilled a spiritual function for the community. Nevertheless, what can be established is that responses to defeat written during the second half of the twelfth century appear to have been unified in viewing the Holy Land as an agglomeration of incidental sacred sites in an otherwise profane land rather than a monolithic sacred region. The picture that emerges is a collection of independent sacred sites; for some, these consisted of entire cities while others spoke just of places of worship as affected by contamination, but certainly not one of a uniform holy space stretching from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River.

Conclusions

To conclude, the loss of territory in Outremer forced the Christian community to reconcile their belief that specific spaces in the East were intrinsically Christian with the reality that these sites were now claimed and occupied by those who were seen as the enemies of Christ. Surviving source material demonstrates that contemporaries often resolved this issue by suggesting that the lost territories had

undergone a change in ritual status as a result of military defeat. In this manner, they could convey that the spiritual potential of such spaces had not been permanently destroyed by the presence of their enemies but only temporarily distorted. It could still act as an *axis mundi* between the divine and the temporal, but this communication would remain unavailable to Christians while the pollutant remained.

Such rhetoric allowed authors to influence contemporary morality in several ways. Firstly, descriptions of lost territory could convey optimism about the future of the Latin East. Ritual contamination was understood to be an inherently transitory state. Narratives that used terms associated with impurity implied that the lost sacred spaces could be restored to their original state if appropriate cleansing rituals were carried out. The spiritual damage caused by defeat thus had the potential to be impermanent. At the same time, this strengthened suggestions from crusade propagandists that the campaigns launched in the wake of defeat were necessary to restore the salvific functions of sacred spaces lost to the enemy. Such responses thus implied that action by the Christian community was integral to salvation history because the effect of the Muslim occupation on sacred space could be reversed through the expulsion of the contaminant.

Secondly, by describing some spaces as contaminated by the enemy but not others, authors could communicate how they envisioned the composition of the Holy Land. Indeed, such rhetoric allowed them to define which sites ought to be the objectives of future expeditions to Outremer, a region that to most remained a remote devotional concept. While the source material demonstrates that there was no agreement as to which spaces were considered spiritually significant beyond the most important sites of worship in Jerusalem, they appear to have unilaterally thought of the Holy Land as an agglomeration of individual sacred sites in an otherwise profane land, rather than a monolithic sacred entity.

Furthermore, this chapter has shown that commentators often combined terms associated with ritual pollution with interpretations of defeat as a divine punishment. This further legitimised suggestions that military failure was a spiritual problem that warranted a spiritual response. The notion that the sins of the faithful had caused the loss of territory was used to propose that participation in the crusades should be viewed as a divinely orchestrated opportunity to

demonstrate spiritual regeneration. At the same time, descriptions of space as polluted amplified the spiritual character of the expeditions by presenting the participants as agents of ritual purification.

In short, the use of language associated with pollution served not just to vilify the Muslim enemy, as historians have primarily argued. I have shown that by describing lost territories as contaminated, authors placed military defeat in the framework of salvation history and thereby influenced contemporary attitudes in several ways.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined how efforts to make sense of traumatic defeats in the Holy Land could be used to produce shifts in morality. It has drawn inspiration from the theoretical insights delivered by scholars, such as Reinhart Koselleck, who have thought about the different ways in which communities are affected by defeat. Building on the research previously carried out on this subject, which I have termed the 'sociology of defeat', the central questions driving my study have been: what were the narratives which emerged after the loss of territory in Outremer, and how could they be used to shape contemporary attitudes? By examining a broad range of source material, my research has brought attention to four interpretative themes that were frequently used to make sense of military failures in the East and influence the attitudes and behavioural codes of the Latin Christian community. These are the central themes around which this thesis has been structured.

I have shown that contemporaries often explained the loss of territory as a divine punishment for the sins of the faithful. In this way, they could mitigate the psychological impact of defeat in the Holy Land by indicating that military failure did not signify that God had permanently abandoned his people or his designs for Christian dominance in Outremer. Instead, they suggested, he had only temporarily withdrawn his assistance to warn Christendom that spiritual regeneration was needed. Defeat had been divinely orchestrated to provide Christians with an opportunity for redemption.

Such narratives thus presented defeat as an unfortunate but necessary part of salvation history. This interpretation could take different forms, depending on which sections of society were held responsible and how God's intervention (or lack thereof) was conceptualised.

Authors' choices on these issues determined the precise direction in which their accounts could guide the attitudes and behaviours of those who encountered their words. However, while their approach could thus differ in these aspects, all those who framed defeat as a spiritual opportunity were able to leverage an apparent understanding of the legitimate path towards salvation to influence contemporary morality. As such, we can say that they gained spiritual capital through the use of such narratives. The broad range of source material discussed here demonstrates that this spiritual capital was widely available, whether or not it complemented existing spiritual authority acquired through education or membership of the secular or regular Church.

This thesis has also explored how other narratives of defeat were developed to interact with the idea that military failure had been brought about by sin. I have suggested that authors thereby reinforced their interpretation of loss as a divine punishment and could influence contemporary behaviours and beliefs in additional ways.

Indeed, my analysis has shown that authors often referenced episodes from the Old Testament to increase the potential of their narratives to steer the views and behaviours of their audiences. Contemporary source material demonstrates that their use of biblical narratives did not blindly follow broader exegetical practices. Instead, those responding to defeat took care to select scriptural passages that suited the context of war and crusade. In this way, they used appropriate biblical paradigms to explain that God's redemptive designs had historically steered the outcome of warfare in the Holy Land. This legitimised their interpretations of defeat. Furthermore, we have seen how the integration of scriptural narratives into narratives of loss could encourage both spiritual renewal and confidence in the outcome of future campaigns, strengthen group identity by emphasising a shared past, and, finally, provide the language with which Christians could express the grief felt upon learning of the loss of territories in Outremer.

Moreover, I have proposed that commentators likewise used apocalyptic interpretations of defeat to influence contemporary morality. The sources under examination highlight that different imagery was used to connect territorial loss to the events of the Last Days. Some compared the suffering of the Christians in Outremer to the hardships expected during the eschaton. Other commentators combined accusations that defeat was a divine punishment, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, with references to a period of apocalyptic apostasy. Others still presented defeat as an opportunity to participate in the final confrontation between the forces of Good and Evil. These interpretations could alleviate the anxiety caused by the news of the loss of territory in the East as they implied that the defeat suffered was part of God's divinely ordained plan toward the Final Judgement. At the same time, such rhetoric encouraged spiritual renewal and devotion by proposing that only a limited time remained to obtain salvation. Apocalyptic rhetoric could also strengthen calls for military mobilisation and inspire hope that the lost sites would eventually be returned to Christian hands by incorporating prophecies of God's ultimate triumph over apocalyptic forces of Evil.

Finally, I have argued that the belief that the Muslim occupation of the surrendered territories would not be permanent could also be expressed through the use of language concerned with ritual pollution. Such rhetoric simultaneously strengthened crusade exhortations by connecting the recovery of the lost sites to the spiritual health of the Christian community. Furthermore, I have shown how the use of terms of ritual purity and contamination had the potential to shape how the Latin community in the West visualised the Holy Land. Significantly, the evidence suggests that it was not thought of as a monolithic entity but rather as an agglomeration of spiritually important sites.

It is important to note that the analysis of the material presented throughout this thesis demonstrates that these four narrative themes were frequently brought to interact with one another within a single source. In this way, authors could amplify the moral potential of their accounts of what had happened. This is especially evident in the work of papal propagandists, such as Peter of Blois and Henry of Albano. They sought to encourage a military movement built on strong spiritual foundations. To this end, they used all the tools

available to them, every one of the rhetorical weapons in their arsenal, to influence the attitudes of fellow Christians.

Indeed, we have seen how references to the Old Testament were frequently used to render interpretations of defeat as a divine punishment more impressive. Similarly, contemporaries also employed apocalyptic speculation in conjunction with an emphasis on sin to suggest that the community found itself in that period described in Revelation as the Great Apostasy, a time of iniquity inspired by the arrival of the Antichrist. Furthermore, passages taken from the first part of the biblical canon were at times inserted into accounts to suggest that the Muslim occupation of certain sites could cause those places to be ritually polluted. We have seen, for instance, how Gregory VIII and others used the imagery taken from Psalm 78(9) to convey this notion. Finally, the belief that sin had caused defeat was often combined with anxiety over the ritual pollution of sacred sites by the presence of those perceived to be the enemies of the Christian faith. This is perhaps unsurprising, for the inherent symmetry between these narratives would have appealed to authors: an initial corruption of the Christian soul that had caused the unfortunate but necessary corruption of the Christian sacred space at God's command.

The overarching argument presented in this thesis — that narratives of loss were multifaceted and had a significant moral potential — departs from previous scholarship on the subject. Not only have historians previously paid little attention to the experience of defeat in the context of holy war, but on the relatively rare occasions that the topic has been discussed, they generally have oversimplified how Christians understood territorial loss. Indeed, while Giles Constable, Elizabeth Siberry, Penny Cole and Martin Aurell have acknowledged that defeat was often seen as a divine punishment, they have not recognised that these rationalisations could take many forms. I have shown that such discussions, which do not note the range of narratives of defeat nor the many ways in which they could shape beliefs and practices, can only ever be of limited interest to students and scholars of medieval interpretations of defeat.

Moreover, this thesis presents the first considerable study of how different interpretations of defeat could be used to shape the values and views around which the community oriented itself. In the introduction, I proposed that the loss of territory in the context of holy war has a moral potential because it forces contemporaries to explain how it could be that God had not guaranteed their success. In such circumstances, worldly factors, including the strength of one's enemy or a lack of military resources, are not enough to make sense of what had happened. Instead, efforts to overcome the tension between the expectation of victory with divine support and the reality of defeat require a process of profound introspection to discover why events had not turned out as expected. The different interpretations that subsequently emerge can reshape behavioural codes and attitudes, as they question peoples' way of being in the world, searching for factors that might explain military failure.

As we have seen, the influence that these narrative strategies could exercise over contemporary morality almost always pertained to the devotional experience of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Christians. They allowed contemporaries to speak not only to the depths of personal devotion but also to the group's perception of its status as an elected people and of the ability of sacred sites to facilitate communication with the divine. In short, authors realised the moral potential of defeat by connecting the loss of territory to different aspects of salvation history. This endowed their accounts with a degree of authority on how faith was to be lived and, thus, accorded their authors spiritual capital.

My final task is to draw the reader's attention to those questions which I have not been able to answer here, but that may prove of interest to future scholarship.

My research has established that defeat in the context of holy war has significant moral potential. By connecting military failure to salvation history, medieval Christians could influence the attitudes and conduct of their peers. Moving beyond the geographical and chronological bounds of this thesis, we might ask whether the loss of territory was similarly used to guide morality outside of the context of the crusades.

The conclusions of this thesis can be tested by comparing the sources that I have examined to narratives of defeat produced in connection to other theatres of religious war. For instance, did Christian commentators explain the loss of territory to the Muslims in Andalusia in a similar way? Was the decisive Almohad victory at Alarcos in 1195 likewise blamed on Christian sin? Was this defeat also placed in the framework of God's desire to save souls? And, if so, whose sins were condemned? Was God thought to have actively involved himself in the destruction of the Castillian army? Did contemporary authors legitimise and strengthen such claims using the same narrative strategies I have identified here? A study that seeks to answer these questions has the potential to confirm whether the interpretations of defeat highlighted in this thesis are distinctive due to the unique position of the Holy Land in Christian thought or to show that the same approaches to defeat can be identified in accounts of religious conflict outside of Outremer.

We might go one step further and test whether my hypothesis that much of the rhetoric employed in response to territorial loss in the Latin East is actually unique to the context of religious war. What narratives of defeat were put forward when the victorious party could not be condemned as an enemy of the faith because they were themselves Christian? Was military failure likewise used to steer morality when it could not easily be connected to God's designs for the redemption of his people? For example, did Flemish, English and German authors employ similar narrative strategies after the defeat at Bouvines in 1214? Did French authors use comparable rhetoric in the wake of their defeat at Kortrijk in 1302? Did they likewise explain these losses as spiritual failures, or is this approach truly exclusive to the context of holy war?

To be sure, the findings of this thesis open up several avenues for future research that invite us to look at medieval moralities through the lens of narratives of defeat and loss of territory.

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